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THE

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THE

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BY

EYRE EVANS CROWE.

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HISTORY OF FRANCE

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CHARLES THE SIXTH TO THE ACCORD OF CHARTRES.

1380—1409.

THE power of the crown, and indeed monarchy itself, were in the course of the ensuing century, subjected to the severest trials, and to the most serious perils and obstructions in the two rival and brother countries of France and England. The danger and complications arose from the same cause, the authority and ambition of the princes of the blood. The efforts of statesmen, legists, and clergy, had been to increase the power of the monarch, by representing it, like his person, sacred; and this, blended with feudal ideas of blood affinity, included the whole royal race in the same circle of transcendent dignity and rights. In France the throne was built on no other foundation than this exuberant loyalty. The English reared up institutions; and parliamentary sanction came to be considered almost as good a title as descent. The absolute principle of French royalty seemed much better adapted for the indefeasibility and continuance of monarchic rights; so it temporarily proved. In the midst of all

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the weakness and imbecility of Charles the Sixth, no French prince, however exalted or ambitious, aimed at grasping the crown: whereas in England those of royal descent, though reduced to merge the dignity of princes in the rank of nobles, did not shrink, whenever an opportunity offered, from placing themselves in direct competition with the reigning monarch, hurling him from the throne to occupy it themselves, and procuring parliamentary sanction for their flagrant usurpation. An observer of the fifteenth century might have augured the destruction of royal power in England; and yet the result of some eighty or a hundred years' predominance and pretension, and even triumph, of the princes of the blood was in both countries the same, that of strengthening the crown, giving it permanence in France, and for a long time in England an ascendency against which it was in vain to struggle.

The weak point of absolute monarchy, the crevice in its armour, is the nonage or incapacity of the reigning sovereign. Orientals have sought to obviate these defects, by ruling that the eldest prince of the royal race, not the direct descendant of the reigning sultan, succeeds to the throne. This has led to scenes of fratricide appalling to contemplate. The true, and what may be considered the European, remedy is to be found in institutions, and the existence of classes skilled and interested in maintaining the monarchy and its governing power. But classes or institutions strong enough to accomplish this during a minority, must also be strong to control the power and thus excite the jealousy of an absolute prince. For, as the French proverb says, "we can only find support in that which resists." Hence the proneness of the crown to destroy that which could alone give it firmness and stability. And it may be asserted that there is no way of communicating to a monarchy or a dynasty that permanence, save by its yielding a portion

of its actual power to other classes, and allowing popular, as well as aristocratic institutions to rise up as bulwarks round the throne.

It is the mutual tendency of the several classes in a progressive society to consolidate their respective rights, and thus found institutions. Political rights are but the consequence and the guarantee of civil ones, and the mere struggle to obtain the latter leads to the creation of the former. The annals of the reign just narrated, and of the one now entered upon, mark the efforts of the French, and especially of the Parisian citizens, to guard their property and to acquire power or rights for the purpose of doing so. Unfortunately all such attempts in France were made by each class separately, and even in antagonism with the others; king, nobles, and commons, always at strife and never in unison, carrying on a civil war of class, which in the end proved fatal alike to all.

A great cause of this towards the close of the fourteenth century in France was, that whilst the civic and industrious classes were anxious for good and equable government, regular and moderate taxation, and fair justice, the nobles, who had recovered their local immunities and jurisdiction, were, for the most part, soldiers, serving one prince or another, and thus more interested in sharing the spoil of the people than inclined to join them in the protection of property and rights, or in the formation and maintenance of laws. If feudalism thus revived or was resuscitated, as some historians complain, it was no longer an independent feudalism, that warred on its own account and paid its retainers from the revenues of its domains. It was a mercenary feudalism, which filled the courts and the camps of princes, no longer offering its military services by duty or by tenure, but giving them in return for a share of that revenue and that wealth which was raised

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exclusively from the middle and civic classes.* Hence it was that nobles and citizens are throughout this epoch arrayed against each other, at least in the north and centre of France, and that it was found impracticable for the two classes in their respective orders to agree or work together for their common advantage. The nobles, with scarcely any exceptions, rallied to the prince or the crown; the citizens desired no better than to trust the crown also, and find a defender in it, and they had been fortunate to find such in many sovereigns, especially in the monarch just deceased. But his successor was a boy with the reckless and chivalric taste of the Valois; the government was conducted by his uncles, who displayed the worst qualities of the aristocratic or princely ranks. The citizens therefore came to have no hope, no support, save in themselves. And they were thus compelled to seize an influence and grasp an authority which they wanted the prudence to moderate, the skill to wield, or the perseverance to consolidate, whilst the want of political ideas, traditional rights or old institutions, suggested nothing noble or salutary to struggle for, and gave nothing firm by which to hold.

Charles the Fifth had done all in the power of a monarch, who had nought to rely upon save his own absolute authority, to regulate the succession and guardianship of his son. Six years previous to his death he had issued an ordonnance, with the usual formalities, appointing in case of his demise before his son reached

* Froissart records how the army which won the battle of Rosebecque was paid. The Bretons and Burgundians received their arrears out of the sums extorted from the Parisians. The other chiefs, "such as the Counts of Blois, La Marche, of Eu, St. Pol, Harcourt, Coucy, the Dauphin of Auvergne, and the great barons were assigned to take on their lands and counties what the king owed them for their service, and to enable them to pay their followers. "How they got paid," says Froissart, "I know not. For almost immediately fresh *tailles* were put upon these provinces in the king's name; and the *taille* of the king was always to be paid first, that of the *seigneurs* left in arrear."

the age of fourteen, his next brother, the Duke of Anjou, Regent, whilst the guardianship of the prince was committed to his paternal and maternal uncles, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, who were to have for the royal maintenance the revenues of the *prevoté* of Paris, of the *bailliage* of Senlis, and of all Normandy.* These guardians were bound to consult a council of nobles, prelates, and functionaries, together with six citizens of Paris. During the period which elapsed between this ordonnance and his death, Charles had greater reason to be distrustful of the Duke of Anjou, whom he had been compelled to deprive of the government of Languedoc for his severity, rapacity, and malversation, and whom, in consequence, he did not summon to his deathbed. The Duke of Berry, another of his brothers, was honoured by that mark of confidence. The Duke of Anjou, though uninvited, had not only hurried to the Château of Beauté, near Vincennes, the king's residence, but even ensconced himself in a chamber adjoining that of the dying monarch. And no sooner had his breath departed, than the Duke hastened to seize the jewels and personal property which Charles, says Froissart, possessed without number.

The four uncles of the young monarch seemed to agree upon the expediency of convening an assembly of dignitaries and nobles. They came to Paris for this purpose, and summoned "to *parlement* the representatives of the clergy, the barons, the men revered for wisdom, as well as those eminent in dignity, such as presidents of the judicial chambers." Whether the six citizens of Paris, ordered to be summoned to such a council by the late king, were included in the number, does not appear. The assembly at once presented the aspect of two parties, that which by the mouth of the king's advocate, Desmarets, demanded all power for the

* Recueil des Ordonnances, Régistres du Parlement.

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Duke of Anjou, till the king should be of age; and that which, through the Chancellor D'Orgemont, insisted on the observance of Charles's ordonnance, committing the guardianship of the prince, with fitting revenues, to the other royal dukes. Instead of those of Burgundy and Bourbon, named in the ordonnance, D'Orgemont proposed Berry and Bourbon, the Duke of Burgundy being no doubt sufficiently occupied with the administration of his duchy. The pretensions on both sides proving irreconcilable, the armed followers of the princes proposed leaving the decision to the "lance's point." The assembly, to obviate such an extremity, appointed arbiters, who were to give their opinion in four days. They decided that the young king should be crowned without delay, that in the meantime the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon should guard the royal person; the revenue of the kingdom to be paid into the royal treasury; the Duke of Anjou was to keep the jewels and ready money of the late king, and was to have the title of regent, but for any public matter was to convoke a council of princes.*

If the Duke of Anjou consented to this diminution of his authority, it was that being in command of the principal military force, he could raise money under a host of pretensions, and set at nought the provision of the revenue being paid into the royal treasury. These moneys he was anxious to grasp, and to amass for the purpose of prosecuting his claim to the crown of Naples, which he pretended to inherit as the adopted heir of Queen Jeanne. The ambition of the French prince was, as usual, founded upon the patronage of the Pope or anti-Pope, Clement, who was supported by France, and who in turn sought to substitute the Duke of Anjou on the throne of Naples for Charles Durazzo, nephew and nearest heir of Jeanne.

* Religieux de St. Denis, Juvenal des Ursins.

These circumstances, generally known in Paris and the region around, indisposed the people from paying even the usual contributions, whilst, under the Duke's direction, the tax-gatherers pressed with more than wonted rigour. The soldiers, instead of being paid out of the treasury, were to be satisfied out of the new levies; and as these were not forthcoming, the population of Compiègne and of all Picardy expelling the officers of the revenue, the soldiers began to live at free quarters, to plunder and commit excesses. The people murmured, they had been told of the dying recommendation of Charles the Fifth to alleviate the burthen of taxation, and of his having even prepared an ordonnance to that effect. They came to demand of the Duke of Anjou that this recommendation should be followed. An evasive answer was returned, and the citizens in consequence began to hold nightly meetings, and to ventilate these new ideas, until, says the chronicler, "all that was wanting to make them rebel was a chief."*

The dukes, his guardians, brought the young king from Melun towards the end of October. Olivier de Clisson, in consequence of the dying advice of the late king, had been appointed constable, and sent forward to Rheims to prepare for the coronation. No sooner had Charles left the Castle of Melun than the Duke of Anjou hurried thither. The rumour ran that his royal brother had walled up there a large mass of gold in lingots; and he summoned the treasurer, Savoisy, to reveal to him the place of concealment. That officer at first declined; he had promised Charles to disclose the secret only to his son on reaching his majority. But the Duke of Anjou called the headsman, and under the threat of instant decapitation, Savoisy showed the hiding-place, which was said to contain 15,000 golden

* Religieux de St. Denis.

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crowns. The prince then hastened to the ceremony of coronation. At the banquet which immediately followed, there was a dispute between the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy for precedence, the latter seizing and keeping the uppermost seat. As the court returned from Rheims, it avoided the great towns, lest, says the chronicler, "the young monarch should be obliged to confirm franchises, deliver prisoners, and remit subsidies." The capital, however, could not be passed over. The citizens gave the king a magnificent reception; but such marks of attachment to his person were accompanied by as manifest symptoms of discontent with his counsellors.

The Dukes of Berry and Burgundy, probably with the view of averting popular odium from themselves, openly accused their brother of Anjou with taking the revenues from the public treasury against the recent compact, and leaving the troops unpaid. Unable to still the public discontent, Caldoe, the provost of the merchants, convoked an assembly of the townsfolk in the burgesses' parlour at the Châtelet. His eloquence was exerted to tranquillise them; but a leather vendor indignantly asked, "If the exactions of the princes were never to cease? The taxes now demanded were more than the people possessed. And as if this was not enough, they were treated with contempt, and told that the earth ought not to pretend to mingle with the heavens. The people's patience was exhausted, and their only hope was in arms; for it was better to die than live under misery and oppression."

Hundreds rose at the voice of the truthful orator, and, seizing the provost, compelled him to lead them at once into the presence of the Duke of Anjou. That prince was terrified at the sight of such importunate visitors, and obliged to ascend a marble table with his chancellor, in order the more solemnly to give ear to the popular request, that the present exorbitant tax

should not be levied. An answer was promised for the following day; and as there was no adequate force, for the troops had many of them disbanded, it was necessary to yield; and the people were informed by the chancellor that the subsidies as well as the duty on the sale of commodities should no longer be levied.

Several nobles had joined the crowd to see how it would fare in its requests; and, finding them granted, they thought it unjust that the people alone should obtain the usual immunities consequent upon a new reign. The boon conferred by previous kings, at the time of their accession, on the nobility was the cancelling or diminution of their debts. As the Jews were the usual lenders, this aim was attained by mulcting them and substituting a less onerous amount of debt for that which had accrued. But of late years the Jews had obtained royal protection in return for especial payments, and hence the crown was unwilling to sacrifice them. The nobles, therefore, excited the people to plunder indiscriminately the houses of the tax agents and those of the rich Israelites. In the habitations of the latter were the contracts and engagements by which the debtors were bound. For the sake of destroying these the Jews' quarter was attacked, and themselves massacred in the defence of their property; whilst, to cloak the villany under the garb of religion, the young children were carried away to be baptized.

The Duke of Anjou perceived that the turbulence and triumph of the Parisians were owing chiefly to the rivality of his brother princes. To divert their hostility, therefore, he gave up the government, and of course the spoliation, of the south to the Duke of Berry; whilst the Duke of Burgundy was endowed with equal authority in the north. The Duke of Anjou himself consented to exercise his authority, as regent, in concert with a council. Freed from the enmity of

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his brothers, he convoked an assembly of nobles, clercs, and notable citizens at Paris in the commencement of 1381, in the hope of obtaining their sanction to his once more levying the great subsidies; but they declined to approve of more than a duty of twelve deniers a pound upon all commodities sold in towns. Even this the inhabitants universally refused to pay.

This syncope of government in France might have afforded a fair opportunity for English invasion, had not similar circumstances and influences prevailed on the other side of the Channel. Whilst the Duke of Anjou was grasping all the money and amassing all the materials of war for the reduction of Naples, the Duke of Lancaster was similarly bent on the acquisition of a kingdom in Spain. Thus the forces and enmity of the two countries were diverted one from the other. The English had previously made great efforts to support the Duke of Brittany, De Montfort; but since the death of Charles the Fifth, the invader of Breton rights, both the duke and his nobles looked to the maintenance of their privileges and of their independence more in accord with the French court than in alliance with that of England. The Duke of Buckingham, at the head of an army, had besieged Nantes, then held by French soldiers. But, unable to capture it, he had retired to Vannes; the Duke of Brittany seizing the opportunity to send envoys to Paris, who found no obstacles in the way of peace. The Duke of Brittany acknowledged the suzerainty of Charles the Sixth, and the army under the Duke of Buckingham embarked for England, leaving garrisons, however, in the important towns of Cherbourg and Brest.

The Duke of Berry, with a select army of soldiers, marched to take possession of the government of Languedoc, to the great annoyance and alarm of the population, to which it was well known that, during

his government of Poitou, he had levied three *tailles* in one year on the inhabitants of that province. If the prince's coming was unwelcome to the Languedocians, it was equally so to the governor whom Charles the Fifth had given them, the Count of Foix, and who was as just and able as he was popular. The great rival of this puissant noble in the south was the Count of Armagnac, and to him, it was known, the Duke of Berry gave his utmost confidence. All ranks and classes of the southerns met in consequence at Toulouse, and sent delegates to remonstrate with the young king, and declare to the Duke of Berry himself the refusal of the province to receive him. The mission was indignantly received by Charles, who had no greater desire than to place himself at the head of an army. The resistance of the south to his command seemed the best of opportunities for the gratification of this desire, and he accordingly proceeded to take the *oriflamme* from St. Denis as the signal of war.

The Duke of Burgundy interfered to check the prince's ardour. He represented the people of Flanders as much more menacing and dangerous than those of Languedoc, and declared that if the king was to march forth in person at the head of the military array of the country, it should be in the direction of the north rather than the south. The Duke of Berry, thus left to his own resources, proceeded nevertheless into Languedoc, and laid siege to Lavaur, near which he was fearlessly encountered by the Count of Foix, at the head of a Toulousan army composed of all classes, ignoble as well as noble.* The Duke of Berry, advised not to combat, declared it unworthy of a son of France to retreat; and he was in consequence defeated, with

* M. De Bastard has shown how the town magistracies of Toulouse, though elective, were almost always filled by nobles, thus proving the union and good feeling between different classes.—*Les Parlemens de France.*

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the loss of some four hundred of his soldiers. The victors hesitated to push their advantage over a prince of the blood; and the duke, receiving reinforcements, was enabled to hold his ground, and continue hostilities by ravaging and destroying, if not by successful encounter. At length the Pope, alarmed by the disturbed state of the south, interfered to induce the Count of Foix to desist, and the Toulousans to submit, the duke making no doubt at the same time promises to rule with moderation and justice. But such virtues were unknown to the princes of the time. He caused a hundred citizens of Beziers to be hanged, and flung almost as great a number of those of Nimes into a well. The Duke of Berry and his followers seemed animated more by the fury of wild beasts than by the rage of man. The rustic population was treated with as much rigour as the civic. The peasants fled in consequence to the mountains and forests of the Cevennes, where they formed bands under the name of *Tuchins*, and warred upon the military and the governing authorities, as well as at last upon all who were not of the labouring classes. The brothers of Charles the Fifth thus completed what De Montfort had begun, the thrusting back of the beautiful and civilised Languedoc into a state of primitive barbarism. (1381.)

The very general hostility which at this time broke forth between the upper classes and the lower ranks, which they oppressed, is very remarkable. In Languedoc it produced a permanent insurrection. In Switzerland, Suabia, the Rhine, and Flanders, towns and town constitutions sprang up, enforced their rights, and leagued for their maintenance. The civic classes of Italy were at this time completely dominant, and supreme over both pope and emperor. And as the French and English soldiers of the free and mercenary bands visited that country, warred in it, and returned from it, the popular policy and free condition of the

cities of the peninsula were as well known as the communications of the time permitted.

But the complaints and the efforts of the town classes in France differed essentially from what they had been on previous occasions. Formerly they aimed at being emancipated from the local nobility and their feudal oppressions, and from the pretensions of the higher clergy to exact the same dues and exercise the same privileges as the noblesse. The complaints now were not so much against these as against the rulers of the kingdom. The royal authority had undermined and prostrated all others. But it had framed no satisfactory principles of policy, perfected no institutions, permitted no subordinate powers to aid and direct it in the task of administration. The king himself, in the vigour of health and intellect, had alone the power and ascendency, much as he necessarily wanted of experience and skill, to conduct the government of the country at this period of transition. Even under Charles the Fifth the royal administration held but an uncertain pace. From the moment his hand was withdrawn, the royal authority became a nullity and a chaos in the hands of his successor, and of his unpopular, rapacious, and incapable uncles.

Whilst the crown and its council were thus in anarchy, those who from time to time rose up and struggled to control or resist them were equally devoid of organisation or ideas. The more eminent citizens shrank from the peril of any public effort. The Duke of Anjou's endeavour to levy even the smallest tax under the sanction of an assembly of prelates, nobles, and respectable citizens, failed. The artisans and people of lesser trades had stepped into the shoes of the better citizens, compelled by tyranny to abdicate all authority or pretensions. And they seemed resolved to submit to no increased taxation whatever. The citizens of London, of the towns of Flanders, and of the

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Rhine, had all municipal organisations, magistrates, traditions, and laws; and, notwithstanding momentary rivalry between high and low, there was still a mutual understanding which allowed of authority, and enjoined obedience. But the French kings and their legists would allow no similar institutions to grow up in the great centres of population, such as Paris, Orleans, or Rouen. The consequence was, that during a king's minority or incapacity, and amidst the struggle of those who sought to usurp and exercise his power, the great towns were in a state of weakness and confusion, for which the people blamed the government, and the government the people; each side inflicting upon the other the fearful extremities of vindictiveness and massacre.

A striking instance of the danger of coming forward, even as a useful and active magistrate, was that of Hugh Aubriot. He was a native of Burgundy, remarked and advanced for his ability by Duke Philip and King Charles the Fifth. The latter made him Provost of Paris, in which office he displayed the greatest activity. He first conceived the plan of erecting quays to the river and vaulting sewers to run into it. He built a great bridge over the Seine.* As an edile and a judge, he showed some disrespect for the privileges of the clergy, whose property interfered with the material improvement of the city, as their privileges did with its police. Aubriot had the imprudence not only to repress such abuses, but to mock the clergy themselves. They retorted with their usual weapon, an accusation of heresy. This was, at first, difficult to prove. But the provost had taken from the noble insurgents of those tumults which followed the young king's accession, the Jew children whom they had

* One of the accusations against him was that he took the ferry-boat of the monks of St. Denis from Neuilly and brought it to Paris to serve in the building of the bridge. — See *Félibien, II. of Paris.*

carried away to be baptized, and restored them to their parents. The clergy loudly declared that no greater proof of heresy than this was needed. Aubriot was summoned before the inquisitorial court of the bishop, and forthwith condemned to death. The provost had relied on the support of the Duke of Burgundy and of the nobility in general, with whom he was as great a favourite as with the public. Such support, however, was merely able to save him from capital punishment; and he was consigned, under sentence of perpetual imprisonment, to one of the dungeons of his own prevotal palace, the Châtelet.

The people, though grateful to Aubriot, were still not deeply interested in a merely administrative reformer. The dominant care of the lower-class mind at that time was how to shake off the burden of unjust taxation, which apparently was more galling than we can well conceive. So strongly was this felt in England, that in 1379 the nobles and clergy consented to pay a subsidy, and exempt the commons from it altogether. The determination of the government two years later to reverse such a provision, and throw the weight of taxation on the common people by a poll-tax, produced the insurrection of Wat Tyler.

But what chiefly excited the Parisians, and rendered them intolerant of their inept and rapacious rulers, was the example of the Flemish towns, and especially of Ghent. Louis, hereditary count of that region, resembled the French princes in prodigality and intemperance. Yet, as his subjects were wealthy and generous in supplying his wants, the early years of his reign passed without disturbance. Far from showing himself the vassal of the King of France, Count Louis preserved a most independent policy. He protected the Duke of Brittany, when that noble was the object of Charles the Fifth's hostilities, and on the latter monarch's indulging in threats of war against Flanders

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on this account, the people of Ghent offered their Count 200,000 men wherewith to resist. But his prodigality soon exhausted the supplies which his cities readily furnished. He ran in debt, and three times did his people come forward to relieve him of the burden. This but increased his extravagance and ingratitude. And he sought to levy a subsidy, by what the Religieux of St. Denis calls a forced loan, and Des Ursins a kind of *taille*. Ghent openly resisted; but, what they refused, the count hoped to obtain from Bruges. The people of this town had long desired to open a canal direct to the river Lys, at a point higher up its course than Ghent. This would have deprived the latter city of its supply of water, and at the same time have placed Bruges in communication with the interior of the country, independently of Ghent. The count granted permission to the people of Bruges to open the canal, and they set to work at it with alacrity.*

Whilst the count was still on terms of amity with the good people of Ghent, one of his devices for raising money was to levy a tax upon the boatmen of the town canal. In this project he found a strong opponent in John Yoens, chief of the corporation of boatmen. A certain Matthieu being appointed in his place, Yoens became instantly the head of the popular opposition, and on the news arriving of the people of Bruges having set to work on their new canal, he organised a band from amongst the artisans of Ghent, made them wear the white capes or *chaperons*, adopted of old by the followers of Arteveld, and marched with them to attack and disperse these workmen of the new canal. The count, irritated by such audacity, despatched in

* The people of Bruges demanded to continue the *fluviolum Reyam* to the Lys.—See *Meyer, Commentarii sive Annales Rerum Flandricium*, and the valuable modern *Histoire de Flandre*, by M. Kerwyn de Lettenhove. These authors, as well as Oudegherst, have been consulted in the narrative of events connected with Flanders.

September, 1397, the Bailli D'Auterme with 200 horse to seize the more violent ringleaders. His officers succeeded in arresting several, when the *doyen* or elder of the corporation of weavers came with his artisans to demand their liberation. The *white capes* seconded the weavers, and Matthieu mustered such of the boatmen as adhered to him to defend the *bailli*. A conflict ensued, in which the latter was slain, the count's banner dragged in the dirt, and the mob, to celebrate their triumph, entered and destroyed the houses of several eminent citizens. Still, after the tumult had subsided, the respectable class so far prevailed as to obtain the general sanction for proceeding to the count's presence and asking his forgiveness for the outrage. The deputation was not ill received, and there were hopes of peace, when Yoens, to break off the negotiations, persuaded the people in arms to proceed to Wandelghaen, the favourite country-house of the count, which they plundered and burned, and they at the same time broke the bridge which connected the count's town residence at Ghent with the open country. This rendering peace impossible, the count summoned his nobles, garrisoned and fortified the eastern towns of the province, Dendermonde, Alost, and Oudenarde. Whilst Yoens, at the head of 19,000 Ghenters, marched to Bruges, forced an entrance, and completely put down the party of the count. In the midst of his triumph he had the imprudence to accept a banquet offered him by some of the burgess ladies of Bruges. Soon after partaking of which he died, with all the symptoms of having been poisoned.

Notwithstanding the death of Yoens, his victorious troops, under their popular magistrates, Pruniaux and Van der Bosch, after taking Courtray and Ypres, invested Oudenarde. The count's garrison in the town amounted to 600 lances, who mistrusted the townsfolk, and confined them in the cloisters. Though equal to the

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defence, the garrison was straitened for provisions, and, to preserve it from surrender, it was necessary to treat. The Duke of Burgundy came for this purpose to Arras, and entered into parley with both belligerent parties. The count promised to forget the past, and even to come and inhabit Ghent. It was understood, however, that the association of the white capes was to be dissolved, and its chiefs punished. The count accordingly entered the city, but received the deputation and the concourse of people that flocked to welcome him with looks more menacing than satisfied. He insisted on the dissolution of the white capes and the punishment of those who had killed his bailiff. He was induced to adjourn the appeasement of his choler and his demands till the next day, when the people assembled to meet and greet him in the market-place. But there with the rest were drawn up the white capes, determined to defend themselves and their chiefs. The count dissembled his ire, remained a few days longer, but soon retired to Lille, and from thence betook himself to Paris to Charles the Fifth. Despairing to reduce the people of Ghent by his own resources, he came to make his peace with the French king. The court of Paris, though it received the count, was still too mindful of the hostile and independent attitude that he had ever maintained, to grant him immediate or efficient aid. He, nevertheless, continued during 1380 his efforts to humble his refractory townsfolk. He managed to seize and decapitate Pruniaux, to surprise Bruges, as well as to recapture Ypres and Courtray.

As the year 1381 opened, the people of Ghent began to be seriously discouraged by successive defeats. It was then that Van der Bosch, feeling his own authority on the wane, proposed first to his brother-chiefs, and then to the people, to elect as civic ruler and military captain Philip von Arteveld. He was the son of the famous brewer, the ally of Edward the Third ; Edward's

queen had been sponsor at his baptism; and from her Arteveld derived his name of Philip. He was known to be firm, able, and capable of exercising his power with vigour and severity. Van der Bosch declared this to be the indispensable quality for a governor, who ruled more by the support of the lower orders than the adhesion of the rich. Arteveld, in obedience to this maxim, inaugurated his reign by the decapitation of twelve citizens; the dean of the weavers, who was probably for surrender, and who was hence accused of treason, shared their fate.

The war was pressed during the spring of 1381 with vigour by the count. He sent a force of 4000 knights and numerous infantry to harass Ghent. The knights were under the command of Count d'Enghien, whose first exploit was to attack and capture the town of Gravelines. Four hundred of the townsfolk perished fighting; the rest of the population, including the women and children, were put to the sword. The Count of Flanders heartily congratulated young D'Enghien on such an exploit, and predicted for him a long career of glory and renown. But, not long after, the few who had escaped from Gravelines prepared an ambuscade in advance of Ghent, and enticed into it D'Enghien, his brother, and chief followers. The knights made a valiant resistance, but the fugitives from Gravelines had no mercy on the murderers of their wives and children. The Count of Flanders was in great grief at the death of D'Enghien, and suspended all hostilities before Ghent, confining his efforts to blockading and straitening it for provisions, by exciting the enmity of the Brabanters, and of the inhabitants on its eastern frontier.

These obstructions to its trade and its provisions created murmurs against Arteveld and Van der Bosch; and the Duke of Brabant offering to mediate, the wealthy citizens of Ghent succeeded in despatching

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two of their number to treat with the count at Harlebeke. He would not make peace, except on the condition of 200 citizens surrendering themselves. The envoys were for a submission on these terms. Arteveld and Van der Bosch answered the proposal by stabbing, with their own arms, those who made so disgraceful a proposition. Yet Arteveld himself, in the subsequent dearth of provisions, was obliged to proceed to Tournay, in the hope of bending the count. On his return, he informed the citizens that they had but three alternatives; the first, said Arteveld, is, "that we should close the gates and shut ourselves up in the town, confess our sins, and entering the churches and monasteries, set fire to them, and die the death of martyrs. God may then have mercy upon us, and the world will admit we died soldiers' deaths. If we like not this, we may put cords round our necks, and go bareheaded and barefooted to ask pardon of the Count of Flanders. I am ready to present my head first. The third alternative is to choose 6000 men and let them attack the count in Bruges; the Lord may give us power, as he did Judas Machabeus against the Syrians. If we succeed, the Romans were not greater than we."

The people replied to the discourse and the alternatives of Philip Arteveld, by demanding what was his own opinion. He replied, the last. The assembly therefore adopted it, ordered the strongest and best men to be selected; and about 5000 were ready by the following day. With 200 carriages of cannon and artillery, and but seven of provisions, they proceeded to Bruges, and encamped within a short distance of the town. (1382.)

The count sent to reconnoitre them, and learning they were but 5000, whilst he had with him 800 mounted knights and upwards of 4000 foot, he marched out to meet Arteveld. Froissart depicts the Ghenters on this occasion as pious almost to

fanaticism, and as breathing those Jewish exhortations to liberty and contempt of princes, on which the friars of the camp and city eloquently enlarged. The count's officers, beholding their aspect, advised him to await the moment when the Ghent people, who were short of provisions, would be less formidable. He agreed with this opinion, but the partisans of Bruges were for fighting, and it was impossible to restrain them. They advanced accordingly, whilst the Ghenters, collecting on an eminence, received their enemies with a discharge of missiles. The Brugers fled at the commencement of hostilities, and the little army of Ghent, following fast on their heels, slew many of the fugitives, and entered Bruges with the rest in full discomfiture. The count escaped capture by taking refuge in the garret of a poor woman, and the next day fled to Lille. The vengeance of the people of Ghent was exercised upon the leather-dressers, glaziers, butchers, and fish-dealers, all of which bodies had been favourable to the count. Many of the rich citizens were also plundered, notwithstanding the efforts of Arteveld and Van der Bosch.

The struggle of the people of Ghent to maintain their privileges, and protect their property from the arbitrary rule and rapaciousness of the count was closely watched by the French townsfolk, who felt how much their fortunes and prospects depended on the result. The Duke of Anjou was no less greedy than the Count of Flanders; and he also could prevail over the wealthier and more respectable citizens to meet his wishes. But no sooner did he succeed in obtaining from an assembly of some notables its sanction for a new tax, than the Parisians followed the example of Ghent, elected chiefs of tens and of fifties, bought and furbished armour, and prepared iron chains to stretch across the streets. Fortunately for the duke he had the resource of the clergy when the laity failed

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him : his patron, the Pope, readily granted him the power to levy tenths. But these did not suffice. The Duke of Anjou, shrinking from using violence in Paris, tried it first at Rouen, and ordered the tax on the sale of provisions and merchandise to be exacted there. The attempt produced an insurrection. Some 200 citizens gave the title of king, in irony, to a fat mercer, made him issue an edict against the tax, and, marching forth with him at their head, slew the tax-gatherers, attacked the church of St. Ouen, and burnt the charters and deeds preserved there. (1382.)*

The Duke of Anjou seized the opportunity with joy. He summoned the nobility, placed the young king at their head, and marched into Normandy. The people of Rouen made no resistance. The lower orders, eager to undertake it, were overruled by their superiors, and the young king entered the city at the head of his nobles. He immediately disarmed the population, seized the ringleaders and executed them. The bells were removed from the belfries, some of the gates levelled, and Rouen was treated as a captured city.

This was almost simultaneous with Arteveld's success at Bruges — "a triumph," says Froissart, "that was learned with delight not only by the towns of Brabant and Liége, but by those of Paris and Rouen." The Duke of Anjou, equally elated by his success, proceeded to enforce the tax in Paris. The public crier called a crowd, under the pretext of denouncing the robbery of some of the king's plate, and the people being thus collected, he informed them of the renewal of the duty. No sooner had he made the announcement than he fled for his life. On the morrow the tax was first demanded of a poor vender of vegetables, who resisted. A mob soon gathered, far

* Religieux de St Denis ; Froissart.

more formidable than that of Rouen, which not only struck down the tax-gatherer, but rushed to the Hôtel de Ville, and seized all the weapons that could be found there. As these were chiefly maces tipped with lead, the insurrection took its name from them, and is known in history as that of the *Maillotins*. (March, 1382.) The people showed no mercy to the agents of the fisc, tearing some even from the altar, and they were equally vindictive towards the Jews. They also broke open the Châtelet, released the prisoners, Aubriot amongst them, whom they proposed to make their leader; he seized the occasion to escape to his native Burgundy. Such citizens and magistrates as had hitherto endeavoured to mediate between crown and citizens also made use of the opportunity to withdraw. The people, thus abandoned, mustered under their *cinquantainiers*, or chiefs of fifty, and found that they numbered 10,000 men.

The court, on learning what had taken place at Paris, hastened back from Rouen to Vincennes. But Paris was not so easily reduced as Rouen, and the Advocate-general, Desmarets, who had remained there, represented that it was only upon the king's promising to maintain his father's edict that quiet would be restored. The king acceded to this advice or demand, on the condition that the chiefs of the late insurrection should be punished. Desmarets apparently agreed; but upon the royal provost's return to the capital, and proposing to execute the notoriously guilty, the people rose and declared their determination to prevent such execution. The provost, thus prevented from making a public example, caused the principal insurgents, whom he had arrested, to be sewn in sacks and flung into the river.

The offended dignity of the crown thus avenged, but not appeased, the young king refused to enter Paris. The Duke of Anjou summoned the deputies of the

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principal provincial towns, Juvenal des Ursins says, to all appearance erroneously, the three estates, to meet him at Compiègne. To this assembly the first president of the Paris parlement represented the dilapidated state of the treasury, the exigencies of the English war, and the necessity of maintaining the royal dignity. The deputies replied they could but refer to their constituents on the important subject of requiring the old subsidy. And on some of them so referring, the inhabitants of the chief towns held by the resolution of Paris not to pay *aides* or extraordinary tax. The advances of the court thus rejected, the Duke of Anjou once more recurred to Paris. He promised that the king should again take up his residence in the Louvre, if the citizens would abandon their arms, throw open the gates of the city, and cease to stretch chains across the streets. The people, notwithstanding the exhortations of the wealthier citizens, refused to disarm. Waving this token of submission, the king merely asked to have the *gabelle* and the impost on sales. This being rejected likewise, the Duke of Anjou ordered his soldiers to commence hostilities, to ravage the environs of Paris, to arrest and ransom whatever citizens they could seize. To put a stop to this devastation, 100,000 francs were paid to the Duke of Anjou, probably raised by the wealthy citizens among themselves; upon which the king entered his capital.

The accommodation was mainly due to the anxiety of the Duke of Anjou to depart for Naples, and to scrape together previously all the ready money he could procure. His competitor, Charles of Durazzo, had invaded and taken possession of that kingdom, and threatened the life of Queen Jeanne. Charles of Anjou set forth to reduce him with all the wealth that Charles the Fifth had left, and that which he himself had collected. These riches were not more than sufficient to

maintain the 30,000 men which the duke, according to Froissart, mustered on the other side of the Alps. His departure left the first place of influence at the court of France to the Duke of Burgundy, a prince far more politic than his brethren. Although he experienced in his duchy the same difficulties which beset all magnates of finding revenue to meet expenditure, he still succeeded in conciliating the estates of Burgundy, and by remonstrances, explanations, and concessions, continued to carry on the government and maintain his power without violence or disorder. The same policy observed from the first in Paris and Rouen might have produced a really constitutional system. But, unfortunately, nobles and landed proprietors in France took part with the Crown against the citizens, who were looked upon as having surreptitiously got possession of the wealth of the country. The princes of the blood asked subsidies and taxes merely to hoard or dissipate what they produced. And hence the reluctance of the townsfolk to contribute sums for the employ of which there was no guarantee in an honest minister, or in a prudent and patriotic government.

In the meantime Philip von Arteveld had consolidated his power, assumed the Flemish title of ruler or regent, and laid siege to Oudenarde. The Count of Flanders had hitherto been unwilling to owe the recovery of his authority over the great towns to foreign, or even to French, aid. But seeing, at last, that no one in the country seemed to care for his existence, and that he had but 300 knights wherewith to face the Flemish masses, the count had recourse to his son-in-law the Duke of Burgundy, who, as heir to Flanders by marriage, was bound to look to the maintenance of his heritage. The Duke of Anjou, who had long dissuaded a war with Flanders, had taken his departure, and there was no one to gainsay the Duke of Burgundy. He accordingly promised all the assist-

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ance in his power, and hastened to the young king Charles and his court at Senlis, where he opened the matter to the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon. The king, with a falcon on his wrist, happened to break in upon their conversation, and no sooner learned its subject, than he kindled with a desire to take up arms and signalise himself against the vulgar Flemings.

An assemblage of nobles, forthwith summoned to meet at Compiègne, gave full approbation to the Flemish war. Order was given for the army to collect, in order to march to the relief of Oudenarde. Arteveld at first tried to negotiate, but the French refusing, he despatched messengers to England with offers, according to Walsingham, of acknowledging English suzerainty. The English thought the offer too serious to be accepted at once. Froissart recounts that the Flemings made demand of an old debt, whilst seeking military aid, which annoyed the English, and defeated the object of their coming. But Meyer says the English promised their aid; and he represents as one of the causes of the fall of Arteveld, "his infatuated reliance upon England."

The French army mustered at Arras, to the number of 80,000 men, and proceeded towards Flanders, in the first days of November. The little insurgent province, which then and so oft defied the power of France, was comprised between the Lys and the ocean; and the river was well guarded by the Flemings. Between its source and the sea was a marshy country, unfit for heavy-armed knights to venture upon. It was resolved, therefore, to cross the Lys by force. All the bridges had been broken, save that of Commines, which was also destroyed as the Constable Clisson approached it with 6000 men. His officers, however, discovered some boats lower down in a spot concealed by woods, and they took advantage of them to pass the river unperceived, and lie close until a sufficient force

had crossed. They then attacked Van der Bosch, who guarded the river at the head of the weavers of Bruges, the more regular and skilful combatants being before Oudenarde. Van der Bosch made ineffectual resistance; the French got possession of Commines, and poured over the Lys to the plunder of villages and habitations hitherto secure from the ravages of war, the Breton soldiers especially distinguishing themselves by their eagerness to plunder and recklessness to slay. Ypres was the next conquest of the French king, who took possession of it, and indeed of West Flanders, as if he intended to keep it for himself. The count was forbidden to pass the Lys, nor were his officers or his councillors allowed to follow the camp.

On learning the fall of Ypres, Arteveld raised the siege of Oudenarde, Froissart says, imprudently; "for had he stayed, the French would never have assailed him there, at least with success." Collecting all available forces from Ghent and the towns attached to him, he found himself at the head of 9000 Ghenters, 40,000 from other towns, and about 60 English archers. With these he marched towards Ypres, and came in sight of the enemy at Roosebecque, on the road between that town and Thourout. The French were far superior to the Flemings in number as well as in quality and equipment. Twelve thousand of them were knights; the Flemings being all artisans, armed as foot soldiers, and town militia. The French knights too were animated by the presence of their king, who could not be prevented from joining in the fight, although his brother, the Duke of Orleans, was sent away to a place of safety.

On the morning of the battle, the 27th of November, 1382, a great fog covered both armies, and tempted the Flemings to take advantage of it, and march unperceived to the attack of their enemies, a manœuvre which on a former occasion had proved successful. Arteveld

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deprecated what he considered a rash act, and proposed awaiting, not making the attack on a position well flanked and defended. The Flemings would not listen to their leader, but followed their own headlong council. The French were not to be surprised. They were drawn up in order of battle, on foot, to receive the Flemings, the king alone being on horseback, with the Duke of Burgundy. The oriflamme was but just unfurled, when the sun shone through the fog, dispersed it, and displayed the whole body of the Flemings advancing in a mass, as close as their ranks could march, presenting a forest of pikes. These, as soon as their artillery and archers had made one discharge, bore down upon the French centre, and forced it to recoil. But Clisson, who saw his advantage and announced it, ordered the wings of the French army to close at once upon the flanks of the Flemish phalanx. It was not so well prepared for defence upon the sides as for the onward rush in front, and this was soon checked by the embarrassment and struggle of the ranks behind. Instead of being able to repel the flank attacks, the Flemings were pressed both from right and left against each other. The consequent crush precluded all possibility of either fight or extrication, and 20,000 are said to have thus perished without a wound. The Ghenters fell to a man, and amongst them Arteveld. His body was pointed out to the French by a wounded townsman of Ghent, to whom his life was offered as a reward; he scorned the royal mercy.

The fatal battle field being on the road to Courtray, the routed Flemings fled thither. Charles in pursuing them, was reminded of the terrible defeat suffered by the French near that town, in memory of which the church of Courtray preserved 500 golden spurs, taken from the knights who perished with Robert of Artois, in 1302. The young king was inflamed with the desire of vengeance, and the Count of Flanders besought him

in vain to spare the town. He ordered it to be burned, and brought away "knights, squires, men-at-arms, and handsome children of both sexes *en servage*, in order to ransom them." The Duke of Burgundy carried off to Dijon the famous town clock, that struck the hours. Bruges redeemed itself by the payment of 120,000 francs. Valenciennes was also threatened. Ghent saved itself by its courage. Van der Bosch had found his way thither, and told the citizens they were always stronger when alone and without allies, and at any rate could easily raise another army in spring with their money. The Ghenters, indeed, offered to submit, on consideration of being directly subject to the king of France, and not compelled to acknowledge the count. Such terms were inadmissible; but it was already the midst of winter, and to lay siege to Ghent was a difficult enterprise, not to be attempted whilst Paris and the French towns showed turbulence as great as that of the Flemings. When the king of France was on the hill of Ypres, says Froissart, news came that the Parisians had rebelled, and held council as to the advisability of rasing the Louvre, the Château of Beauté near Vincennes, and all the strong fortresses near Paris. This was evidently in imitation of what the Ghenters had done. But one of the citizens, Nicholas le Flamand, advised them to abstain, in order to see what would be the fortune of the king's army in Flanders. The Parisians adopted the prudent advice, 30,000 of them nevertheless preparing their weapons and purchasing arms.

In the commencement of 1383, Charles, with a portion of his victorious army, arrived near Paris, and sent to have the Louvre prepared for his reception. On his approach, the citizens mustered, apparently to do him honour, and marshalled in arms at the foot of Mont Martre to receive their sovereign. Instead of feeling honoured, king and princes feared lest this array might be meant for intimidation. Had the Parisians mustered

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to aid in the expedition against Flanders, exclaimed the nobles, it would have been something. The constable rode up to the civic array, and after a few words of explanation, in which they assured him of their peaceful intentions, he bade them go home, and lay down their arms. They obeyed without a murmur. Charles ordered the gates of the city to be taken from their hinges, thrown prostrate for his soldiers to pass over, also the street chains to be removed, and brought to the Louvre. The citizens shut themselves up in their houses; but 300, principally goldsmiths and chief merchants, were arrested and put to death, and their property confiscated. Twelve of the most eminent were reserved for a special execution, which took place in the great market-place. The principal victim was Jean Desmarets, "councillor and king's advocate in parlement, of great authority in the days of the late king." He had all along acted the part of mediator and pacificator; but the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy owed him a grudge for having taken part with the King of Sicily, and so being brought to the scaffold, he was recommended to ask pardon of the king. The old man replied: "I have served three kings loyally and faithfully, their son and successor, the present king, equally so, had he the age to be sensible of it. I am guilty of no crime, and will ask no pardon save of God." Thus perished Desmarets, amidst the tears of the people of Paris.

The city was at the same time condemned to lose its elective magistrates, and to be rendered subject to the king's provost. The Bastille was completed, and a tower built joining the Louvre to the Seine. It was proposed to declare the extraordinary subsidy perpetual, and as making part of the *domaine du roi:* this does not seem to have been persevered in. The salt tax, the tax on sales, and that on wine were, however, ordered to be levied; whilst a nominal and apparent act of grace was converted into an

edict of unusual extortion. A royal sitting was convened on the steps of the palace, where court and parlement, as well as people, assembled; the chancellor read a discourse expatiating on the guilt of the citizens and the mercy of the king. When it was concluded, the princes knelt and implored mercy for the Parisians; a supplication which the people, especially the crowd of women in the court, repeated. Upon this the young king was pleased to say that he would forego capital punishment on the survivors and would commute it into fines. In consequence of this declaration the remaining citizens were summoned by threes and fours and compelled to compound for their lives, some paying 3000, some 6000 francs, till almost the entire wealth of the citizens of Paris was confiscated. The provincial cities were treated in similar manner; the immense booty, after the sums necessary to pay the arrears of the army, being seized and dissipated by the king's uncles.

The alacrity of the English to aid the Flemings had been much diminished by the recent insurrection and turbulence of the lower orders amongst themselves. The gentry, says Froissart, feared the turbulence of the Ghenters. But the English merchants soon had cause to regret the triumph of the French, their trade being altogether interrupted and their property no longer safe; even those settled at Bruges were either obliged to fly, or, venturing to remain, were imprisoned and fined by the Count of Flanders. Another interest, or personage, alarmed by the success of the French king was Urban, one of the rival popes, who had been acknowledged in Flanders, whilst Clement was recognised in France. One condition of the peace offered by the conqueror to the Flemings was the recognition of Clement. Urban, therefore, bestirred himself, preached a crusade against the partisans of his rival, appointed Henry le Spenser, Bishop of Norwich, to be its leader,

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and gave him the tithe of the clergy, as well as absolution and plenary indulgence to the soldiers who might join him. The bishop, accompanied by Sir Hugh Calverly and Sir Thomas Trivet, two of the most valiant soldiers of England, soon landed at Calais with his crusaders, invaded Flanders, took Gravelines, defeated 12,000 of the West Flemings at Dunkirk, then captured Bourbourg, Cassel, and St. Venant, and at last laid siege to Ypres. (1383.)

The courage and confidence of the people of Ghent were of course raised by this successful inroad of the English; and Van der Bosch, who had recovered his old influence over his native city, came to aid in the reduction of Ypres. King Charles had visited Orleans for the sake of taming its froward spirit, and inflicting upon it a punishment similar to that which had humbled the Parisians. Whilst in that city he learnt the successful crusade of the Bishop of Norwich. He forthwith prepared to renew the war; went to St. Dènis took forth the oriflamme, and mingling prudence with piety, passed a contract with Colin Boulard, a citizen of Paris, to provide corn sufficient to feed 100,000 men for five months. As the French army advanced, the English under the Bishop of Norwich, consisting in a great measure of apprentices and idle Londoners unused to war, were obliged to retreat to Gravelines and the towns upon the coast. They made, however, a gallant defence in Bourbourg; so much so, that the Duke of Brittany recommended the king to grant the English honourable terms, on the condition of their withdrawing to Calais. The royal dukes, who perceived that the prosecution of the war tended to throw the king into the hands of other councillors, seconded this opinion. The Count of Flanders resisted, but the Duke of Berry told the count that the war had been all his fault, and that he must now submit. There was even a report that the duke slew or struck the

count with his dagger in an altercation. The English at any rate consented to withdraw; peace was concluded, and Walsingham depicts in glowing terms its happy and abundant effects. (Jan. 1384.) Count Louis alone was discontented. He repaired in dudgeon to St. Omer, and expired soon after, leaving no male heir to the duchy.

This was fortunate for the Flemings, though fatal to the progress of French influence and aggrandisement. For the Duke of Burgundy, on becoming possessor of Flanders by right of his wife, his son about the same time espousing the heiress of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, grew into a potentate, the rival rather than the subject of the French king, actuated by divergent interests, and influenced by a different policy. He could not but perceive how much Charles and his military followers, in conquering the towns of the Low Countries, were disposed to rule and to mulct them for themselves. As Count of Flanders, the Duke of Burgundy could not brook to be set aside. Of all the princes, he had earliest perceived that peace and wealth were more abundantly and securely attained by conciliating than by crushing the civic classes; and he soon began to adopt the policy of Charles of Navarre, in declaring himself the enemy of exorbitant taxation, and of the spoliation of the townspeople by the aristocracy and the Crown. Such views must have already actuated him when he saved Ghent, and concluded, at least for 1384, that peace with England which was necessary to the Flemings for the recovery of their trade.

Another circumstance, which proved most favourable to Flanders, was that the new prince possessed other provinces in which he was more respected, and more at home. The Duke of Burgundy, when not in Paris, resided at Arras, at Metz, or at Dijon; whilst these towns had not the pretensions, like Paris, to be great

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centres, before the authority established in which all other places and provinces must bow. The absence of centralisation, or even a tendency to it, allowed the Flemish subjects of the Duke of Burgundy that liberty and those privileges, which from Paris would have been denied them, or at least been strenuously contested.

The French court took advantage of the respite from war in the north, to reduce the still froward population of the south. Pope Clement, terrified by the success and ferocity of the *Tuchins*, or insurgent peasants, who slew "all that had not horny hands," called for an expedition against them. And the Duke of Berry proceeded thither to put down a rebellion, directed not only against the gentry, but against the government. Languedoc would not "bow the neck under the yoke of taxes," but the Duke of Berry was aided by the noblesse of the country in putting down the southern *Jaquerie*, which was thus extinguished. Provence fell into disturbance when the tidings arrived of the defeat and death of the Duke of Anjou. Charles of Durazzo, instead of giving battle to the French, stood on the defensive, and exhausted the patience, health, and resources of his enemies. Charles of Anjou, who had marched into Italy so richly equipped and largely provided, was reduced to one cup, one barley loaf, and died at last of fever and despair. (Oct. 1384.)

The Dukes of Lancaster and Berry met at Calais in the autumn, for the sake of converting the truce into a peace, or at least prolonging the suspension of hostilities. But even this was found impossible. There were partisans of war both in England and in France, and the princes of the latter country were many of them impatient of repose. The King of France and his barons had acquired too much glory and booty in the late campaign to admit of their abandoning warlike projects. It was only in war that the town populations could be made to disgorge their

wealth, and that the nobles who monopolised military service and command could fully participate in the emoluments. The truce with England not only suspended hostilities with that country, but covered Ghent and the Flemish towns, which still refused to receive the Duke of Burgundy as their count. So that even that prince felt it his interest to reopen and push the war at least so far as to overcome the stubborn frowardness of the Ghenters.

A triple expedition was planned, one to Scotland and one to Guyenne, whilst the king himself was to lead the chief force into Flanders. (1385.) Such great enterprises offered the fairest pretext for taxation. Accordingly there was a manipulation of the coin and a forced loan, whilst the annual contributions were doubled.* There could be no more impolitic way of preparing to reduce the Flemings; for whilst the nobles marched against them to plunder and to crush, the French artisans betook themselves in the same direction to find in exile some respite from the rapacity of their lords. If the Duke of Burgundy gave the reins to war and its partisans, he also sought to retain the favour of the king by other means. Celebrating the marriage of his own son with a princess of Bavaria, he caused Isabella, a young and beautiful princess of the same house, to be presented to the young monarch. Charles was struck at once with her charms, insisted on making her his queen, and prayed his uncle of Burgundy to prepare and hasten the ceremony. It was performed at Amiens. (1385.)

Admiral de Vienne soon after sailed for Scotland with an auxiliary force, at the head of which he invaded the northern counties of England, and according to the monk of St. Denis, spared neither sex nor age. The king at the head of his army marched into Flanders.

* For the portions paid by each street in Paris, see MS. Bib. Imperiale, Collec. Fontanieu, portf. 101, 102.

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Being aided in this by the people of Bruges and West Flanders, he expelled the Ghenters from Dam, plundered their territories and massacred the agricultural population. Twenty-five of the principal Flemings being reserved for public execution, the king offered them pardon if they would consent to be his subjects. All manfully refused, save one, who offered even to be the executioner of his fellows. Another told the monarch, that although he slew every Fleming, their very women would rise to combat French cruelty and invasion. The Duke of Burgundy, however, compassed the aim he proposed to himself in the war. He reduced the Ghenters to consent to abandon the alliance of England, and to acknowledge him, on the condition of his recognising and promising to respect their municipal liberties as well as guarantee the freedom of their trade. These conditions were finally confirmed in a treaty towards the close of 1385, and the long quarrel between the French aristocracy and the Flemish towns was terminated by the policy and forbearance of Philip the Good. Had the strife lasted, and had the civic interests and power of the Flemings continued to be wielded by popular leaders during the period when the throne of France was almost empty, and its power disputed by rival princes, a different series of results might have ensued. But all interests and parties then thought it best to shelter themselves under the banner of one prince or another, and the senseless wars of rival families soon absorbed the struggle of either principles or classes.

Flanders being definitively pacified, the arms of the French court and its military party were turned to England. The great ambition of the soldier of that day was not so much conquest as a rich and unravaged country to plunder and wealthy citizens to ransom. Froissart, in speaking of the Gascons and the Scotch, well describes the advantage and temptation which a poor

country has to war upon a rich one. This, which had so long and so often incited the English to ravage France, now impelled the French to make if possible a descent upon England. The Constable Clisson, the chief of the French professional soldiers, was the principal adviser of this scheme, which pleased the king, though it had not the support of the royal dukes. They merely saw the expense, the risk and the doubtful result, whilst the preparatives alone required immense sums, and deprived them of the control of the public revenue to place it at the disposal of such men as Clisson. Great preparations were however made in all the ports of France and even of Spain, and numbers of men collected, who, if not content with their pay, of course lived on the country. L'Ecluse was the chief port of the expedition, and was thronged with vessels. Clisson not only fitted out a fleet in one of the ports of Brittany, but built a tower of wood, which he could bring along with him as a movable fortress, and plant in England on his landing. Guy de la Tremouille showed another kind of taste; he spent 2000 francs in gilding his vessel and filling it with paintings. As to the English, "there were an hundred thousand of them who desired no better than that the French should come. 'Let them,' was the cry, 'there shall not a tayle of them ever return to France.'" * The French, however, did not come. The king reached L'Ecluse only in September; and the Duke of Berry did not make his appearance till November. Clisson set sail with his fleet and his tower to the rendezvous at L'Ecluse. The wind blew a considerable portion of the latter into the Thames, where it was captured by the English. When all were at last assembled, the Duke of Berry declared against the expedition, said it was too late, the winds too unfavourable, and England was after all a poor country to war in. The result was the abandon-

* Berner's Froissart.

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ment of the enterprise, and of the three millions of francs expended in the preparation.

The Constable Clisson was much mortified by the failure, and was indignant at the power which the royal dukes and their high connections had over the affairs of the kingdom. To increase his own influence he made use of his war-gotten wealth to purchase the liberty of John of Brittany, son of Charles of Blois, then a prisoner in England, on condition of his espousing his daughter. He managed this through King Richard and his favourites. The Duke of Brittany was highly incensed at what he considered the hostile act of Clisson, and he avenged it by enticing the constable to a parley at Vannes, then seizing and consigning him to a prison in the Castle of Hennebon. (1387.) It was even the Duke of Brittany's intention to decapitate the constable, but the Sieur de Laval persuaded him not to commit such a murder. Finally he released his prisoner upon the surrender of several of his castles and the payment of a heavy fine. The first use that Clisson made of his liberty was to hasten to the Louvre to Charles the Sixth, and demand vengeance for the affront he had received. The king resented the injury and was eager to avenge it. But the royal dukes, who dreaded the Constable's ambition as well as his influence over the king, upheld the Duke of Brittany, and reconciled him to Charles, on the condition of his restoring the fine.

At the time when the court was agitated by these quarrels, the king was startled at receiving a most insulting defiance from the young Duke of Gueldres. The prince of the duchy was always in rivalry and disputes with Brabant, which had now become by submission Burgundian and French. This was sufficient to render the Duke of Gueldres English, and receiving a pension from King Richard, his zeal overflowed in a set challenge to Charles the Sixth (July, 1387). Succours

were sent from Burgundy to the Duchess of Brabant, who immediately besieged a frontier town of Gueldres; the young duke marched to attack the Brabanters and defeated them. The Duke of Burgundy felt the necessity of sending a French army to the reduction of Gueldres, but both he and his brother of Berry objected to the king taking the lead in person, which necessitated great taxation, a large army, and profuse expenditure. A small force and an inferior commander would have sufficed. But the king was always eager to lead his army, and he at once resolved to conduct it through Brabant into Gueldres. The Duchess of Brabant was well pleased; but the states of the country, both knights and citizens, objected to the entrance of the French, who came they knew to ravage as much as to aid. The Duke of Burgundy, therefore, not to indispose the Brabanters, arranged that the army should pass through the Ardennes, then an almost impenetrable forest. Thousands of pioneers were required to clear a way with hatchets for the army and its twelve thousand chariots. The king commanded his men not to ravage the country, but as they came irregularly forward they could not help it. The army proceeded from Chalons to Grand Pré and crossed the Meuse. Its approach was sufficient. The Count of Juliers, father of the Duke of Gueldres, interfered, craved forbearance for his son and for himself, and induced the froward prince to make submission. This was all the Duke of Burgundy required. (Oct. 1388.) And after the great expense and preparation, the French monarch and army withdrew, without acquisition of glory, or opportunity of plunder.

The expedition was chiefly remarkable for having given cause or pretext to a revolution in the government, which the young king had for some time meditated. He was weary of the tutelage of his uncles, who opposed his ardour for war and his love of ex-

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penditure, whilst they indulged in every prodigality themselves, and made no use of peace to establish a regular and efficient administration. When at Rheims on his return from the ill-conducted and ill-terminated expedition, the monarch summoned a council during the festivity of All Saints. Montagu, Cardinal-Bishop of Laon, was selected to propose, that as the king was now twenty-one years of age, he should take the reins of government into his own hands, and be no longer obedient to others. The Archbishop of Rheims seconded the proposal, as did most of the military chiefs present. It was at once so reasonable and so popular, that neither of the king's uncles durst dissent. They endeavoured to obtain some compensation for lost influence, by the acquisition of new provinces such as Normandy and Guyenne. But men from the south were brought forward who gave such descriptions of the administrations of the Duke of Berry, that the monarch refused to entrust his uncles with more commands, and even promised to visit the south, and to inquire into its grievances, at no distant day. His uncles being dismissed to their provinces, the king re-appointed most of the old ministers of his father: Bureau de la Rivière about his person, Jean de Noujant and Montagu to have the care of finances; Arnaud de Corbie of justice, Clisson and Begue de Vilaine, a lieutenant of Duguesclin, presided over military affairs. To these ministers, all comparatively obscure, save Clisson, the partisans of the princes gave the appellation of *Marmousets*.

The new councillors proceeded to introduce order and economy into the government. They diminished taxes, abrogated pensions, conciliated Paris by restoring some of its old magistracies, and made Juvenal des Ursins provost of the merchants. Although Clisson was originally for a vigorous war with England, in opposition to the lukewarmness of the princes of the

blood, he now thought fit to send Arnaud de Corbie as envoy for a renewal of the truce which was concluded for three years. The restoration of the royal authority proved, however, no remedy for abuses. Charles was as prodigal as his uncles, and expended in fêtes the money which they had devoted to their private interests. His treasurer, Noujant, was most desirous to lay by a certain sum for any urgent necessity; in order to secure the king's approval, he proposed to frame with it a golden stag, which should be marvellous as a work of wealth and art. More than the head and neck of this stag was never completed; for the king found another which pleased him better — a gilded stag, which could hold a sword and shake it. In order apparently to exhibit this, he imagined the public entrance of the queen into Paris. He himself went to see the procession in disguise, mounted behind one of his servitors, his eagerness to enjoy his own spectacle bringing upon his back many a blow from the sergeants who cleared the way for the pageant. The king boasted of having received these blows as a good joke. Another of his expensive amusements was the celebration of a magnificent funeral service at St. Denis in honour of Duguesclin.

In the pursuit of similar distractions, the king journeyed in 1389 to the south, making Lyons contribute largely to his amusement. He then visited Avignon, and went through the towns of Languedoc to Toulouse, where he was made fully aware of the extortion and tyranny of the Duke of Berry. The councillors that surrounded the king had every desire to reveal rather than cover the malversations of his uncle; and Charles was so incensed at the complaints and the proofs which started up before him, that he ordered the arrest of Betizac, the duke's treasurer. Though his guilt was extortion, it was considered less offensive to his master to burn him as a heretic.

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But the dominant taste of the monarch was for heading armies and waging war, a pretext for which was now afforded by the criminal act of one of his courtiers. This man, named Pierre de Craon, intimate with the king and his brother, lost the favour of both by betraying some of the Duke of Orleans' infidelities to his duchess. Instead of attributing his disgrace to his own imprudence, he laid it at the door of the Constable Clisson; and the Duke of Brittany, whose counsel he sought, confirmed him in the idea, out of hatred to the constable. Craon, resolving to be avenged, lay in wait one night with a number of armed followers on horseback at the end of the Rue Culture St. Catherine. The constable, who had spent the evening at the king's palace of St. Pol, must necessarily pass that way returning to his hotel; he no sooner reached it, thinly attended, than Craon rushed past and dealt him several severe blows upon the head. The constable fell from his horse against a door, which his weight drove in. The conspirators considered him a dead man, and more anxious to escape than to dismount to assure themselves of the fact, all fled. The constable however was no more than very severely wounded; and when the king, informed of the assault, hastened to him, Clisson was able to say who was his assassin, Craon at the moment of attack having announced who he was and what was his purpose. The king was exceeding wroth, ordered the assassin to be pursued, his castles in the neighbourhood of Paris to be seized, and his house there to be rased. He fled to the Duke of Brittany, who reproached him with not being able to slay a man so completely in his power. The duke, nevertheless, resolving to stand by Craon, refused to give him up, and thus drew down upon himself the anger of the monarch, who determined upon marching into Brittany. (1392.)

It was the first time that the monarch's council took

so decided a step as that of a military expedition, since the king's uncles had been dismissed. And these when summoned to join in it, acquiesced with manifest reluctance. The Duchess of Burgundy was niece to the Duke of Brittany, so that her husband deprecated the expedition, in the prosecution of which, however, the king remained resolute. The rendezvous was fixed at Le Mans, and thither king and princes proceeded in July. The state of the king's health had for some time occasioned considerable anxiety to those around him, his language and gestures being at times extraordinary and undignified. His physicians recommended repose; but the king replied that he felt far better on horseback and at the head of his army than in his court. Breaking forth therefore from the delays and obstructions of his uncles and courtiers, Charles quitted Le Mans on a hot morning in August, followed by his army on its march towards Brittany. He was followed by two pages, the courtiers remaining behind not to incommode the king with the dust, which lay thick. Whilst thus riding alone, the monarch was stopped by a kind of maniac, who seized the reins of his horse, and told him not to proceed further because he was betrayed. He with difficulty shook off the importunate intruder, and continued the journey for which he was ill accoutred, being thickly enveloped in a close black velvet jacket or doublet, and a red velvet chaperon on the head. One of the pages behind him having fallen asleep on his horse, let fall the lance which he held upon the helmet of his fellow. The clang of the steel gave an instantaneous shock to the king, who had scarcely recovered from the remarks and the warning of the maniac. He cried out that traitors were about to deliver him into the hands of the enemy, and spurring his horse with his sword drawn, rushed upon those nearest to him. He struck down some, and the Duke of Orleans himself escaped with difficulty. At last the Duke of Burgundy perceived the

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real cause, and announced it;—the king was demented. They allowed him to weary himself out for a time, seized him from behind, laid him prostrate, and conducted him, mute and not recognising any one, back to Le Mans. The expedition to Brittany is at an end, declared the royal dukes with evident satisfaction. (August, 1392.)

The derangement of the king's mind was of course a counter-revolution in the government. Those who had taken the place of his uncles in the council were not only expelled from it but committed to prison and sent to trial. The Constable Clisson stood his ground for a time, but finding himself menaced personally by the Duke of Burgundy, he thought it wisest to withdraw to his castles in Brittany, from whence he levied fierce war upon the harbourer of his assassin, the duke of that province. His enemies at court retorted by accusing him before the *parlement*, and depriving him of his title of constable, which was given to the Count d'Eu, of the family of Artois. The vengeance held over the head of the other ex-councillors, the *Marmousets*, as the royal dukes styled them, was interrupted and deferred by the recovery of the monarch to at least temporary sanity. Yet the use which he made of these lucid intervals was less to observe temperance and caution than to fling himself headlong into riotous pleasures. In the first week of 1393 there was a festivity at court; the nuptials of the queen's favourite, a German lady, were to be celebrated. It was her third marriage, and the circumstance was considered to give permission for more than usual licence. An esquire, named Guisay, proposed to the king and his companions to attire themselves as satyrs, and under cover of their masks taunt and tease the wedding party. The disguise was effected by means of linen dresses, to which tow was fixed with pitch. Five of these personages joined the company at the Hôtel St. Pol, and

indulged in the most extravagant cries, dances, and gestures, when the mad idea seized the Duke of Orleans of setting fire to the dresses of the masqueraders. They were in a flame in an instant, all except the king, whom the Duchess of Berry covered first with her robe and then led apart. The others perished, except one, who saved himself by leaping into a butt of water. The accident was likely to have become more serious by the anger of the people, who, when they learned it, attributed all to the dissolute folly of the court, and were for taking vengeance on those present for the danger which had befallen the king.

The King of Hungary, of the House of Luxemburg, menaced by the Turks, succeeded about this period in raising the dormant and almost extinct spirit of the crusaders. The court of France was, indeed, in no position to undertake an enterprise of the kind. But that of Burgundy, abounding in wealth, pride, and chivalrous spirit, grasped at the idea of its heir, the Count of Nevers, signalising himself against the Infidel. The eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, the future Jean *Sans Peur*, immediately assumed the Cross, as did the Constable Count d'Eu, the Sire de la Tremouille, the Count de la Marche, the Duke de Bar, the Admiral de Vienne, and the Baron de Coucy, in whom the Duke of Burgundy chiefly trusted for the safe guidance of his son.

This brilliant army of French princes and nobles set out in the spring of 1396, and made its way through Austria, to join the forces of the King of Hungary. That prince informed them of the prudent way of making war against the infidel. It was to equip a number of the natives of the country, as light cavalry, to meet and skirmish with the corps of Spahis, whom the Turks always threw forward. The heavy armed knights, remaining behind their light squadrons, would

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thus be fresh and prepared to do battle with the main body, when it advanced. The advice of the king of Hungary was also that of De Coucy; but the young French nobles considered such tactics derogatory to their valour; and insisted on being in the front to charge the Turks at once. The consequence was, that although De Coucy, in a preparatory encounter, defeated the soldiers of Bajazet, the French, when both armies approached each other, flung their whole numbers and ardour into an early charge, the fury of which being spent, they were, notwithstanding their valour, surrounded, cut down, and taken prisoners. On Christmas day, 1396, a knight of Artois, arrived at the royal residence in Paris, which he entered without ceremony, booted, spurred, and haggard, and flung himself at the monarch's feet to announce the defeat of the French knights by Bajazet, at the battle of Nicopolis. All had perished in the fight, or been massacred after it, by order of the Sultan, save the Count of Nevers, the constable, the Counts of La Marche and of Tremouille, and the Baron de Coucy. The palace as well as most chateaux was filled with mourning, and nought was left but to collect money for the ransom of the survivors. The Count of Nevers, the constable, and Marshal Boucicault, were redeemed; De Coucy died in captivity.

Had Charles the Sixth permanent possession of his intellect, no prince would have been more forward to head a crusade for the recovery of Christian reputation or empire, but his ever recurring insanity rendered such a project impossible. The monarch's power, too, had come to be wielded by his younger brother, Louis. His years had hitherto kept him in the shade of his ambitious uncles; but as he rose to manhood, his handsome person, gallant nature, and cultivated tastes, rendered him more agreeable to the king and to the majority of the courtiers. His wife, Valentine Visconti of

Milan, was a superior woman, who alone seemed to possess influence over the unfortunate monarch in his aberrations. The Duke gained large influence, when his uncles were set aside by Clisson and the Marmousets, to whose party he was consequently attached. He made use of them to obtain grants of provinces and pensions, which soon raised him to be a rival of the Duke of Burgundy. To the county of Touraine, with which he was originally endowed, he had added the Duchy of Orleans, the counties of Angouleme and Perigord, to which the baronies of Chateau Thierry and Coucy were afterwards added. There had been a project, sanctioned by one of the rival popes, of making for him a kingdom of Adria out of the territories of the Church, but the cardinals opposed it.* The Duke then aimed at acquiring Luxemburg, and made a treaty with the Duke of Gueldres for maintaining in those regions an armed force at his disposal.

Such ambitious purposes in the very midst of his territories excited the fear as well as the ire of Duke Philip, which grew extreme when 2000 men at arms mustered round the Duke of Orleans in Paris. A similar force of Burgundians was soon in the capital; and as the finances of neither were abundant, both armies lived on the population around. The queen and the Duke of Berry interfered to put an end to this state of things. The armies were disbanded. Soon after, the king recovering some portion of intellect, the Duke of Orleans took advantage of it to ordain a general contribution. The names of the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy were affixed to the ordonnance, but the latter disavowed his signature, and declared in public that he had been offered 200,000 livres for his consent to the levy, which he had refused. The provost of Paris was bold enough to read these de-

* *Tresor des Chartes*, col. 143, and 9424; Col. Fontanien, portf. 103, 104, for years 1393–4.

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clarations before the people, and such was the burst of their indignation, that the rapacious prince was obliged to withdraw from the contest, and leave his rival paramount, who made use of his ascendency to conclude, in 1403, a prolongation of the truce with England. The Duke of Orleans in vain sought to disturb the negotiations by sending a personal challenge to King Henry. He reproached the English monarch with being false to engagements taken when he was in France. Henry the Fourth repudiated the charge, and retorted by accusing the duke of employing sorcery to weaken the intellect of the unfortunate Charles the Sixth. Although the truce was maintained, the chiefs, and especially the maritime towns, on both sides, continued hostilities.*

Another cause of difference between the royal dukes was their opposite views respecting the schism. The Duke of Burgundy favoured the desires of the University of Paris and the clergy of France, who proposed giving up the maintenance of a French pope at Avignon. The Duke of Orleans, rigidly and narrowly French, was for supporting Benedict. He was indignant at the bold pretensions of the University, which persisted obstinately in demanding the punishment of one of his followers, for outraging several of the students. When the king recovered his reason, the Duke of Orleans took advantage of it to procure a recognition of Benedict, thus defeating all the efforts of the University, and making himself as unpopular, at least with the better class of citizens, for his maintenance of the schism, as for his enforcement of irregular subsidies.

The rivalry and antagonism on almost every subject of policy between the royal dukes suffered a great change in 1404. Philip the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, expired in that year, and was succeeded by his son

* Chroniques de Monstrelet.

John without Fear, the same who had been the prisoner of Bajazet. However fierce their feuds, the Duke of Burgundy had been restrained by his mature age and generous nature from proceeding to extremities against his nephew of Orleans. Such restraints were no longer felt by the Duke's *fearless* successor and son, who threw all the force of his vindictive and reckless nature into this personal feud.

But ere this prince could assume the influence and credit of his sire, the Duke of Orleans made use of the authority which the disappearance of his rival left him, to seize the government, repeal the order which prevented Pope Benedict, in concert with himself, from pillaging the clergy, to press taxation and rekindle in every quarter and by all means the war with Henry of Lancaster, as he styled the English king. This potentate continued to preserve peace with Flanders and with the Duchess of Burgundy, who inherited it. But the arrival at the French court of a brother of Owen Glendower excited warlike activity and hopes. Sixty-two vessels and eight hundred men were mustered at Brest for an expedition to Wales, and King Charles himself made present of a gilt royal casque, breastplate, and sword, to his brother monarch of Dolgelly. The efforts of Owen Glendower, aided by the French, terminated not long after in the Prince of Wales's victory at Shrewsbury, the account of which is preserved in Harry's characteristic letter to his father.*

When it was proposed to levy a second contribution, towards the close of the year, the Duke of Burgundy followed his father's example by opposing it in council. He declared that the levy, even if sanctioned, should not take place within his territories. He was ready to furnish whatever number of knights and soldiers might be required of him, but not money to be wasted. The

* In Rymer.

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tax was collected, at least in Paris, notwithstanding the people murmuring that a great part of the proceeds were sent off to Germany by Queen Isabella, whose intimacy with the Duke of Orleans was the subject of public scandal. An Augustin monk being appointed to preach before the court, seized the opportunity to give utterance in all its crudity to the popular belief. "Venus," he declared, "was the goddess who ruled at court, where drunkenness and debauchery prevailed, night being turned into day to illumine dissolute dances." Remonstrated with and threatened, the monk defied the vengeance of the courtiers, who, to insure his punishment, brought, on a subsequent occasion, the king in one of his lucid intervals to hear him. But Charles, instead of being shocked, was pleased with the boldness and truth of the monk's invectives, directed especially against the monstrosities of female dress, and the gross abuses of administration.

Such free spoken warnings had their effect on the mind of the king, who could not but perceive, that during the periods of his intellectual prostration he was left in most pitiable neglect. The queen abandoned all personal care of him; and even the dauphin, when questioned, declared he received neither caress nor attention from his mother. Charles showed his sense of this neglect by refusing to give the government of Normandy to the Duke of Orleans. The Dukes of Burgundy and Berry were at the same time called back to Paris to attend a solemn council in 1405, in which it was no doubt intended to put an end to the authority of the king's brother. A royal relapse offered the means of frustrating this; and to avoid meeting the council, the queen and duke carried Charles off to Melun. The Duke of Burgundy, on his approach to the capital, learned the flight of the court, and was made aware that the Dauphin, left behind at first, had but just set out to join it. The young prince had

been affianced to the Duke's daughter. By a forced march he came up with the dauphin at Juvisy, and easily persuaded him to return to Paris, instead of continuing his journey to Melun. Instant advantage was taken of his presence. The council was summoned, and the young prince made to occupy the royal seat, the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourbon around him. In addition to the usual members of the council, there were present "the Rector of the University of Paris, and many doctors and professors of the civil and canon law."

This assembly was addressed by Jean de Nielles, an orator in the service of Burgundy, who stated four chief complaints against the administration of the Duke of Orleans. The king he first declared was not taken due care of; the royal person as well as the royal children were neglected; their servitors unpaid, and compelled to support themselves by the vilest robbery. Justice was degraded in the appointment of magistrates by corruption. The revenue of the royal domains was squandered, its residences dilapidated, its forests neglected. All classes were pillaged and overtaxed by the royal officers, the clergy themselves not being exempt. The peasantry were at the mercy of brigands, who took what the tax-gatherer left. War with the English, to which the Duke of Burgundy declared himself not opposed, might be carried on at the cost of less taxes and less oppression. The orator, in conclusion, prayed the dauphin to put an end to these abuses by placing prudent and trustworthy men at the head of the government.

The Duke of Orleans answered this manifesto by raising all the troops that he could pay or command; whilst his rival, who was not so well prepared, had recourse to the Parisians, bade them seize the arms of which they had been deprived, and once more draw the chains across the streets. But however just the com-

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plaints of Fearless John, the citizens were not prepared to do battle for him. The eminent men who on previous occasions had come forward against the dukes or in their favour, had, without any consideration for their patriotism and disinterestedness, been sacrificed. The University deprecated civil war, and sent a deputation of its doctors to the Duke of Orleans. He told them "to get back to their schools. The University might be the king's daughter, but it had no claim to meddle with public affairs."

Had the rival princes decided their quarrel in open combat, this might have proved the best way of terminating it. But the Duke of Burgundy had brought a large force from the north, and the Orleanists, unable to assault Paris, did but ravage the country round. The necessity for disbanding or dismissing troops on both sides soon forced an accommodation, in which neither party was sincere, and which had for its chief result the seizure of the king, and subjecting him to a thorough cleansing and change of garment, which the unfortunate monarch had for a long time stubbornly resisted.

For a year or two the princes continued to frequent court and council together, and, unable to find, in prince, or people, or in themselves, the power wherewith to overcome a rival, their efforts were spent in counteracting the designs and policy of each other, so that no aim could be attained, and no project could be accomplished. Schism survived in the church, oppression and anarchy in the kingdom. It was sought to remedy the evil by persuading the Duke of Burgundy to besiege Calais, whilst the Duke of Orleans was to drive the English from the Garonne. But this led to results and to an arrangement which greatly increased the exasperation of the Duke of Burgundy.

The government of Picardy was given to this prince, no doubt to facilitate his military efforts to retake

Calais. Such an enterprise needed all the resources that the monarchy and its capital could supply. These were not forthcoming, and the attempt before Calais failed as egregiously as that of the Duke of Orleans to capture Blaye. The latter, nevertheless, managed to convert the war to his own aggrandisement, for as a set-off to Fearless John's getting Picardy, the Duke of Orleans obtained the far more important grant of the Duchy of Aquitaine, which raised him almost to a level with the power of Burgundy, and naturally alarmed his rival.

This seems to have determined the latter to adopt the extreme resolve of ridding himself of his foe by violence. A century previous such hatred would have resulted in open combat, for which neither prince wanted the courage. But the Duke of Burgundy saw in his cousin a criminal, who usurped and misused the king's authority, which there was no means of wresting from him; since by himself or his wife, or through the Queen Isabella, the duke contrived to keep possession of the royal person, in whatever state Charles might be. To levy war upon them was to levy it upon the king. The attempt to set up a rival authority in the dauphin, and get the Parisians to give their zealous support had failed. The Duke of Orleans had defeated this by an imposing military force, and he was now better able than ever to raise and provide for armies.

In this state of things Jean *Sans-Peur* saw no hope, save in using violence and even perpetrating murder. It was at the close of 1407. The Duke of Berry had interfered to smoothe down the exasperation of the rivals; and Jean of Burgundy, full of his new resolve, lent himself to the show of an accommodation with profound duplicity. He visited his cousin of Orleans in his sick chamber, and on his recovery, consented to hear mass and receive the sacrament with him, in token of perfect reconciliation. Queen Isabella

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had been but lately confined, at her hotel near the Porte Barbette, of a son, which perished at or soon after its birth. Its paternity was vulgarly attributed to the Duke of Orleans, who was in the habit of paying each evening a visit to the queen. One of his enemies, Octonville, whom the duke had deprived of a post in the finance department, stationed himself with a score of companions in a neighbouring house. A false message from the king was conveyed to the prince, begging him to proceed without delay on important business to the palace. The duke obeyed, and, as was expected, in such haste that he came, himself on a mule, with only two armed followers, riding the same horse, and a few torch-bearers to light the way.

It was eight o'clock of a dark November night, when the duke, thus scantily attended, was assailed as he left the queen's residence, by Octonville and his companions, crying out, *Die, die!* The conspirators struck down the prince, whose exclamation that he was the Duke of Orleans but increased the fury of the attack The assassins were determined to avoid the fault of Craon, who by only wounding Clisson defeated their purpose. The hand of the unfortunate duke was severed from his arm by a blow, and his skull broken by an axe, which scattered his brains upon the pavement. One of the esquires, who tried to cover his master with his body, perished in the act. The other fled, crying Murder! The assassins themselves also fled, shouting Fire! Half an hour elapsed ere the provost of Paris and some of the household of the unfortunate prince came to discover the body, and bear it to the hotel of the Marechal Rieux, and thence to the church of the *Guillemines*. On the following day the mutilated body was borne to the grave, attended by the King of Sicily, the Dukes of Berry, of Bourbon, and of Burgundy. The latter, in deep mourning, held one of the corners of the pall. Suspicion was in fault as to

who were the perpetrators of the foul deed. A Sieur de Canny was suspected. But the provost, with surer instinct, demanded the liberty of searching the hotels of the princes. A water-carrier in the Duke of Burgundy's service was pointed out as an accomplice of the murder. And this was no sooner bruited in the presence of the princes, than the Duke of Burgundy, instead of granting to the provost the facilities of search, called the Dukes of Berry and of Bourbon apart, and confessed to them, that "at the instigation of the demon" he had suborned Octonville and others to waylay and kill his cousin. "Alas!" exclaimed the Duke of Berry, "I have lost my two nephews," alluding to the murderer and the murdered. The council were immediately informed of the fact. When it met on the following day, at the Hôtel de Nesle, the Duke of Burgundy entered the gates; but the Duke of Berry met him, and forbade him to go farther, saying the members of the council would not have him amongst them. Even the Count de St. Pol, who till then had accompanied him, on this abandoned the duke; and the latter, withdrawing to his hotel, took horse immediately, and with six followers escaped through the Porte St. Denis, not halting until he reached his own fortress of Bapaume. Some of the Orleanists pursued him in vain, and then denounced his crime and flight to the Parisians. They received the news, if not with joy, at least with indifference, recollecting the severe fiscal oppression which they suffered from the Duke of Orleans. The ensign of that prince was a ragged staff; in opposition to which, on one occasion, the Duke of Burgundy had hoisted that of a plane. "The ragged staff is now well planed," exclaimed the Parisians.

There seldom has been a more striking example of crime, covered by boldness and popularity, than this of the Duke of Burgundy. King, queen, court, and

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princes, under the guidance of the unfortunate victim, had placed themselves in such antagonism to public opinion, and were so reprobated by it, that no support was to be found for even the most righteous vengeance. Valentine of Milan, the widowed duchess, hastened to Paris, flung herself at the king's feet, and demanded justice for the murder of her husband. The monarch promised every aid, and summoned parlement and council. Nothing, however, came of these solemnities, and the duchess retired to Blois, finding no sympathy from the people, and as yet but lukewarm friends amongst the princes and courtiers.

One of the most striking characteristics of the fifteenth century is its callous indifference to the crime of murder. One would say the people suffered so much from the aristocracy that they rejoiced even in its unmerited misfortunes. But this will not account for the indifference of the great and the influential to injustice and to crime. It must have been partly owing to the decay of chivalry, whose laws and principles, not yet replaced by any other, left a void most destructive of morals and virtue. For the moment the high principles of honour and disinterestedness were replaced by the antagonistic ones of policy, and of renown based upon and measured by success. This change was first wrought amongst the Italians, whose senseless and interminable discords extinguished all but personal feelings, the mutual hatred and alternate prevalence of upper and lower classes rendering justice impossible and government vain. Liberty and patriotism were objects utterly lost sight of, vengeance with the passionate, and success with the crafty, remaining the sole motives of action. Long ere the Italian republics expired, Italian statesmen ignored every public principle. Machiavel is the conclusion and result of four centuries of political freedom and intellectual activity. His works echo the sentiment and represent the wisdom of his

generation and age. No phase of humanity has presented so mortifying a result.

But although Italy in the fifteenth century was the leading country in Europe, surpassing its neighbours in wealth, in policy, intelligence, and letters, other countries were not behind it in contempt of justice and disregard of shedding blood. Civil war, and especially struggles between classes were marked by a total absence of humanity and mercy. The kings of France from an early period came to consider themselves as superior to the laws of chivalry, and adopted the Italian creed of policy warranting and excusing every crime. Justice in their hands became a mockery. The offended barons in chivalrous times could at least appeal to the decision of arms. The aggrieved or calumniated magnate might appeal to his peers. But these chivalrous usages were either annulled or evaded, and prince or noble was driven in search of justice or of vengeance, perforce to rebellion, to treachery, and murder.

The habits of civil life were moreover necessarily influenced by those which prevailed in war. And in the field, if the knight had not been superseded by the soldier of fortune, he was compelled to associate with him. If later the *condottieri* disappeared, it was but to give place to native soldiers, who served in the same manner for pay, and who adopted much of their mercenary and reckless character. The demoralisation of the soldier in those days was that of society and of the court itself.*

The Duke of Burgundy did not shrink from avowing himself the instigator of his cousin's death, and from even glorying in it. His first act on reaching his frontier was not only to assemble his councillors, but the estates of Flanders to meet at Ghent. To these he explained

* See Machiavel's account at the close of his first book, of the *oziosi principi* and the *vilissime arme*, which then formed the materials of history.

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by the mouth of one of his doctors or lawyers the motives of his conduct, which he defended article by article; and the orator concluded by stating that as the duke had incurred the hostility of the French court and parlement by the act, he required aid and subsidy of his estates to enable him to stand on his defence. Opposition to this demand there was none from either citizen or cleric. The Flemings detested the rapacious and tyrannical court of France, and were only rejoiced at their duke's breach with it, no matter in what cause.

Those who succeeded to the authority of the Duke of Orleans in Paris, and who ought to have seen justice done to his widow, could not, like their foe, appeal to the French people or summon the estates. They feared to levy fresh contributions, and could not raise troops. The Duke of Berry and the King of Sicily therefore proceeded to meet the Duke of Burgundy, and entreat him to at least appear to ask pardon of the king, instead of advancing in arms towards the capital. The duke had already manifested his determination by placing over his door at Amiens, two lances, one of steel and one of tinsel, thereby indicating that he offered war or peace, and was prepared for either. He refused to ask any pardon; on the contrary, a famous Parisian doctor, Jean Petit, had prepared by his desire a thesis, which maintained, with all the power and prolixity of logic, the right and justice of the homicide committed upon the Duke of Orleans. The Duke of Berry thus defied and defeated, could merely signify the king's order to Duke Jean not to approach Paris. The prohibition was disregarded, and the Duke of Burgundy made a more than usually solemn entry into the capital, the populace welcoming him, and their children shouting *Noel* before him, as was customary at the entry of monarchs.

The court had no alternative but submission. The Duke of Burgundy determined that it should drink the cup of humiliation to the dregs, by insisting that the

princes should listen in solemn assembly to the justification of the late act of murder. On a certain day in March, 1408, the dauphin presided over a meeting in the king's hotel of St. Pol (Charles himself was then in one of his fits of insanity). He was attended by Louis of Sicily, the Dukes of Brittany, Berry, and Lorraine, many nobles, the rector of the university, and a number of doctors, citizens, and people of every estate. Jean Petit, the orator of Burgundy, gravely informed this assembly, "that the Duke of Burgundy had been bound by the duty which he owed the king to cause his brother to be slain, and that he, the doctor, was bound to defend it from the many obligations received from the duke, both at college and since." He then formally accused the Duke of Orleans of the heinous crimes of greediness and ambition, which placed him on a par with Julian the Apostate, Mahomet, and Lucifer. As Moses had rightfully slain the Egyptian, so had the Duke of Burgundy justly killed the deceased prince; and it was more humane of the duke to take the matter in hand himself than to allow a count, a baron, or man of lesser degree to commit or suborn the homicide. After a vindication as trivial as the crime was heinous, Jean Petit repeated Henry the Fourth's accusation against the late duke, of having employed sorcery to disturb the intellect of the king. He added the circumstance of the late duke's having set fire to the monarch and his companions in their masquerade dresses, and attributed these and all his acts to a settled design for the seizure and appropriation of the crown.

Such a mockery of reason, such a defiance of decorum, as well as of every law human and divine, had never been perpetrated by official pedantry; although it must be confessed that the arguments of Maître Petit were in logic and in justice much akin to what lawyers and theologians had come to plead and preach in behalf of monarchy and the church, deeming all kinds of argu-

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ments licit that seemed to confound or crush the enemies of both.

The friends of the unfortunate Duke of Orleans were, as may be supposed, not converted by the arguments of Jean Petit. Queen Isabella, with her sons and her brother, the Duke of Bavaria, returned to Melun. But the most deeply disgusted auditor was John Gerson, chancellor of the university, who, although hitherto a friend of the Duke of Burgundy and patronised by him, was so shocked at the outrage offered to morality in the public defence of murder, that he devoted himself strenuously to the refutation of such doctrines, and the vindication of the principles of justice and morals. The Duke of Burgundy, however, was able to lay hold of the king in a comparatively lucid interval, and obtain letters of pardon and reconciliation signed with the royal hand and seal. He was almost immediately called away from Paris by the troublous state of the county of Liege.

John of Bavaria, appointed young to the bishopric of that city, which made him lord of the Walloon province, sought to preserve and exercise this authority without performing the understood condition, which was, that he should take orders, and be duly consecrated. He sought, in fact, to convert Liege into a lay fief.* This was inimical to the interests and privileges of the people of Liege, who insisted on having a bishop and a churchman for their chief. John of Bavaria so often promised to meet their desire, and had so often deceived them, that they ceased to put trust in him, and proposed to elect the son of the Sieur de Pernels their prelate. At last they expelled John, who took up arms, and the Liegeois, mustering under De Pernels, attacked their bishop, drove him into Maestricht, and besieged him there. All the aid that John of Bavaria could obtain from Hainault and other friendly coun-

*Annales Leodicenses.

tries, was unable to rescue or maintain him; and the Duke of Burgundy could alone protect his relative against the insolence of the Liegeois.

Jean *Sans-Peur* undertook this task, and levied a formidable army of from 8000 to 12,000 knights, some of them Hollanders, Savoyards, and Scotch. When the duke raised such a force against the people of Liege, and led it to combat, the surprise is, that he did not employ the same alacrity and resources against the Duke of Orleans, instead of recurring to baser and cowardly means. But it is possible that his knights would not have supported him in an attack upon an army led by the French king. To this large body of mounted knights the Duke added but 2000 or 3000 foot. The townsfolk of Liege numbered 40,000 foot, and had but 500 horse, with a few English archers. With these the Sieur de Pernels, who commanded, raised the siege of Maestricht, and advanced to meet the knights under the standard of Burgundy. It was, as in the Flemish war, a contest between gentry and citizens. Pernels advised the men of Liege to avoid a regular engagement, guard their towns, and stand on the defensive. They would not hearken to the advice, and the battle was fought on the field of Hasbain, near Tongres, in the month of September, 1408.

The Burgundians crossed a valley and a little stream to the attack of the army of Liege, which was drawn up in a solid square, and flanked by its waggons. The first assault was vigorously repulsed, but a body of horse sent to fall on the rear of the phalanx made some impression, and produced disturbance in their ranks. Pernels had pointed out this danger, and purposed meeting it with the few horsemen at his disposal, but the townsfolk jealously forbade, and insisted, that the knights in their alliance should dismount and combat in their ranks. The Burgundians had in their army numbers of Picard archers who did far more exe-

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cution than the *ribaudequins*, or small guns, which the people brought upon cars. After a fierce combat of upwards of an hour, the cavalry attack from behind proved fatal to the Liegeois, 6000 of whom left the main body and were cut up by the horse, the whole dispersing soon after, and leaving a complete victory to the Burgundians. "The Duke, though small of stature, showed himself of great courage, and fought in the midst of the *mêlée*." When asked, says Monstrelet, if any stop should be put to the slaughter, he replied "not," and that the enemy should be killed, not taken for ransom. He caused the two Pernels to be decapitated, and their heads presented in Oriental fashion to the triumphant Bishop of Liegé. De Fenin estimates the loss of the citizens at 28,000.

Thus once more did the mounted nobles and gentry prove themselves superior to the townsfolk, who fought on foot, — a circumstance which incited the French knights to engage the same kind of combat with the English some years later at Agincourt. John of Burgundy, in achieving this victory, committed the same fault which Charles the Bad of Navarre fell into when he crushed the Jaques. The true strength of both lay in the resistance of the middle and lower classes to the courtiers and nobles wielding the power of the Crown. Had John *Sans-peur* hearkened to the just complaints of the people of Liege, he would have found in them most efficient and sincere allies, when overwhelmed by the court and the nobles, who rallied under the Count of Armagnac. But no Frenchman at that time seemed to look a year in advance, nor could the princely consider the commonalty of more than temporary support.

The victory of Hasbain was, however, of great immediate profit to the Duke. In vain had he on quitting Paris exhorted the citizens to close their gates against the Orleanists. The University representing

the French Church was anxious to heal the quarrels between the princes as necessary to terminate the schism, and when the Queen Isabella brought the king with 3000 soldiers to Paris, there was no one to resist the court taking up its abode at the Louvre. When it was installed there, the Duchess of Orleans with her orphan family returned from Blois, and a similar assemblage to that which had listened to Jean Petit, came together to hear the refutation of his doctrine.

The Abbé de St. Fiacre, who undertook this task, very easily triumphed over the logic of his adversary. He did not indeed deny that doctor's assertion, that it was lawful to slay a tyrant, but he must be a notorious tyrant, such as the Duke of Orleans was not. The prince had been slain by treachery without previous accusation or testimony being brought against him, and because he was greedy and ambitious, — crimes for which his accusers were themselves notorious. The orator concluded by demanding public penance and long exile as the sentence against the Duke of Burgundy. The Dauphin, who presided at the assembly, reversed the former judgment, and declared the memory of the Duke of Orleans freed from every charge. A messenger was then sent to summon John *Sans Peur*, and the citizens were besought to furnish funds to support an army to reduce him. Their answer to the demand was a mute and manifest refusal. Whereupon threats were heard from the courtiers, that the chains should be removed from the streets, and compulsion used with those who opposed the king's interest and order. In the midst of this mutual distrust and defiance arrived the news of the victory of Hasbain, which the court instantly recognised as the triumph of the Duke of Burgundy, and it immediately prepared to withdraw from Paris. In the first days of November, the king left the Hôtel St. Pol, embarked in a boat upon the

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river, and soon the whole court had made good its retreat to Tours. No obstacle remained to the Duke of Burgundy's entering Paris, which he did this time without pomp or defiance. Notwithstanding his victory, he was more anxious to make a moderate use of the influence which circumstances gave him, and to conciliate the queen at least and the Duke of Berry, than, by throwing them definitively into the party of Orleans, provoke a civil war.

The great obstacle to his succeeding in such attempts was removed about this time. Valentine of Milan, the widowed Duchess of Orleans, had retired to Blois, as if stricken by the success of her husband's slayer at Hasbain. It destroyed her hopes, and reduced her passion for vengeance to despair.

"Rien ne m'est plus
Plus ne m'est rien,"

was her repeated and disconsolate expression. Her devotion to her unfortunate husband's memory seemed to increase rather than diminish. She instilled her thoughts of vengeance not only into the breasts of her own sons, she equally cherished a youth of proud and manly bearing, an illegitimate son of the Duke of Orleans, "whom she loved, and complained she had been robbed of the satisfaction of giving birth to him; none of her own were so well formed and fitted as he to avenge their sire." This was the celebrated Dunois, the Bastard of Orleans.

The anxiety of the Duke of Burgundy for peace was fully responded to by the princes, who were displeased at the court being exiled to Tours, and who infinitely preferred the sojourn of the capital. An agreement, therefore, soon took place, by which the contending parties were to meet at Chartres, and there conclude a lasting peace. In March, 1409, the solemn accord took place. The king being seated in the cathedral, surrounded by the princes, the Duke of Burgundy

approached with his advocate, and by the mouth of the latter declared, that "having heard the king to be still indignant on account of the slaying of his brother, the Duke of Burgundy was ready to maintain that the deed was done for the good of the kingdom. But nevertheless he prayed the king to stay his anger, and receive him once more into his good graces." The Duke of Burgundy himself then added, "that he so besought the king." The monarch replied that he pardoned the duke. His advocate then besought the young princes of Orleans who stood behind the throne, to show themselves equally forgiving. This too the duke with his own voice besought. No answer was made, till the king expressly commanded it. The princes then with their hands on the missal promised to preserve peace. The oath was no sooner taken than the parties separated.*

This *paix fourrée*, as the court fool called the treaty of Chartres, was evidently a suspension of hostilities enforced by the temporary triumph of the Duke of Burgundy and the nonage of the princes of Orleans. To render it permanent or possible required the power of a sovereign and an arbiter, which unfortunately did not exist in the person of Charles the Sixth.

* Monstrelet, Religieux de St. Denis; Des Ursins; St. Remi; Berri, Roi d'armes. The amplitude of French materials of history commences with the fifteenth century. From that period we have not only the history of camps such as Froissart portrayed, continued in Monstrelet, Boucicaut, and Pierre de Fenin, but we have the chronicle of a functionary in Des Ursins, of an enlightened clerk in the Religieux de St. Denis, and of a townsman (the Bourgeois de Paris), who carefully gives every detail that interested him, from the price of provisions to the marvels of the day. Heralds, such as Berri, king at arms, and Lefevre St. Remy, give their valuable aid. The folios of the Ordonnances and of Rymer supply a due intelligence of law and negotiations. Bulæus is an ample record of the University; whilst the great provincial historians, especially those of Languedoc and Brittany, composed upon local records, place in full light the events and progress of these portions of the monarchy. Dupuy's History of the Great Schism, and L'Enfant's History of the Councils of Pisa and Constance, are valuable in addition to Raynaldus, the Lives of the Pontiffs, and other records of ecclesiastical history.

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CHARLES THE SIXTH, FROM THE TREATY OF CHARTRES 1409 TO 1422.

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THE struggle of the civic and lower classes against the princes and the aristocracy, who wielded the authority and shared the revenues of the Crown,—a struggle complicated, first by the resistance of the Flemings, and latterly by the rivalry between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy,—fills the first half of the history of Charles the Sixth's reign. The hostility between France and England, which so animated the middle of the century, and threw all other aims and events into the shade, was, if not extinguished, at least left to smoulder towards its close.

The cessation of the war, which at least called forth the national energies, apparently served but to aggravate the evils of domestic discord, as well as render them prominent. The country had fallen into complete anarchy for want of either men or institutions to guide or support it through a difficult period of transition,—that from the feudal state, in which land and its possessors paid and provided for all public wants and public duties, whether of administration or defence, to the more advanced condition, in which rank and riches unconnected with the soil had grown up. The landed families seemed to consider these new classes as materials most convenient for taxation, but most unworthy of honours, influence, and power. This doctrine the men of cities, so long dominant in antiquity, powerful

even in modern times, and supreme at the very epoch in Italy and Germany, very naturally resisted as impolitic and unjust. The result in England was compromise; in France anarchy and civil war.

What occupied the minds, especially of thinking men, even more than the struggle of classes, was the syncope which had befallen the Church, and which threatened the total extinction of ecclesiastical authority. Even the suspension of monarchic power appeared an evil of lesser magnitude than this. The generation of that time could not entertain the idea of a Church independent of the visible and traditional one, so anciently installed and so wonderfully preserved at Rome. The appropriation of the Popedom by the cupidity of Philip the Fair, with the ulterior view of acquiring the Empire for a French prince, followed by its natural consequences in the great schism, seemed to threaten no less than to annul the promises of God, and deprive man of his immortal inheritance. Nor was religion alone in danger, but morality itself. The power and the science of reason had been so perverted in the schools, that it had totally ceased to be either a guide or an authority. There was no man or body of men that could defend themselves against the absurd logic, the malignant imputations, and the suborned testimony of an official prosecution. There was no villany or no crime that a doctor might not be found to sanction and to prove just by irrefragable forms of logic, or at least render unanswerable by a cloud of pedantic learning. Princes were no longer restrained by either moral shame or religious compunction. And the first requisite of the age seemed to be the re-establishment of the controlling power of the Popedom to recall the people and the magnates of the earth to the paths of right and justice.*

* The modern idea of religion, even with those who regard it merely as a state-engine, is that it is a useful check and police for the people.

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Such were the opinions, such the anxiety of a great portion of the world, and especially of those in official situations, whether ecclesiastical or judicial. Such was the predominant thought of several princes who despaired of restoring order and tranquillity by lay institutions or military force, and who hoped to find in a resuscitated Popedom that puissant intellectual police which at several epochs of the middle ages had proved so efficient. By the side of the school of authority, which looked to the strenuous exercise of one powerful will for the removal of anarchy, of error, and of crime, there arose another, the school of human freedom, which looked to man at large, to the development and free use of his faculties and his judgment to rectify and restore the great moral and religious law, which had become powerless, merely because obscured by ignorance and represented by narrow monopoly and corporate self.

The first great asserter of the power of reason, and a popular exercise of it to raise up morals and religion from nullity and contempt was Wicliffe. No doubt there always existed in the Waldensian and Albigensian Churches a living protest against Rome; and that this protest was not confined to the rude races of the Alps or the Cevennes, but survived as a kind of freemasonry or hidden religion, entertained by the most eminent men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is exceedingly probable.* No Frenchman or Italian, however, no man of the Latin races, had the courage or even the

Of old, on the contrary, the idea was that, however the people might do without religion, princes and great men could not. "Quand il seroit inutile," says Montesquieu, in his striking language, "que les sujets eussent une religion, il ne le seroit pas que les princes en eussent, et qu'ils *blanchissent d'écume* le seul frein que ceux qui ne craignent point les lois humaines puissent avoir." — *Esprit des Lois*, liv. 24, chap. 2.

* See the works of Monsieur Aroux upon Dante, and the proofs which he has amassed of a universal dissent and conspiracy against the Popedom, in which the Templars, Dante, and Petrarch participated.

opportunity to promulgate the broad principle of religious and moral independence. The most likely spot for such to have burst forth was some one of the great Italian republics. Most of these, however, were Guelphic, and invoked the power of the Pope as a counterbalance to the pretensions of the emperor. Whilst the Ghibelline cities feared to incur the reproach of heresy, and thus give another arm against them to the See of Rome, Rienzi in that capital, Savonarola at Florence, and later the Venetian historian of the Council of Trent, sufficiently betray the half-smothered spirit which pervaded Italy. Whilst the presence of the Pope in France, and his power in closer alliance with that of the monarch, rendered any open avowal of dissent dangerous. It was only amongst the free thoughts and habits of English life that such ideas should be outspoken as soon as conceived.

The abuses, indeed, which awoke the spirit of reform in England and raised the voice of Wicliffe were felt in France. There the secular clergy were indignant with the mendicant monks whom the Pope patronised, and who strove to supersede them in the lucrative task of teaching and confessing. The University of Paris, the nursery of the French Church, vigorously opposed these intruders. The same body lamented the schism which left the pontiffs dependent solely on French revenues and allotments. But the clerical professors of Paris were also alive to the advantage to be derived from making pope and papacy French, since it held out to them the prospect of being cardinals, and of sharing in the spiritual dominion and spoil of Christendom. The care and the aim of the Parisian and French clergy were hence to reform the Popedom, and restore its power, rather than cavil with its rights.

The existence of the French University within the capital, supported by reputation and learning, by

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popularity amongst the lower orders and high influence with the magnates, proved the strongest bulwark for the principles of authority in France, and the immovable obstacle to the effort of reformers. One might have expected the contrary where such bold thinkers as Abelard had started up amidst its walls, and where, in process of time, the University succeeded in gaining and preserving so many privileges unknown to the rest of the nation. In 1203 the University of Paris became a corporation under the jurisdiction of its own officers, and, moreover, with the power of electing these officers. It was divided into four nations; the Gallic, the Picard, the Norman, and the English, the name of English being sunk for that of German during the international wars. Each of these nations elected their procurators, and the procurators chose the rector. By the side of the rector was a chancellor, nominated by the Archbishop of Paris, who exercised a certain authority. But still the system of autonomy and free election which existed and survived in the University after it had been suppressed in all other classes and corporations, gave to that learned body a degree of energy and life which enabled it to take the lead even of the *parlement*, and to become at the present period of history an independent and prominent power in the state.*

Whilst the University of Paris thus succeeded in maintaining its importance and independence of rival authorities at home, Rome took especial care to make the ecclesiastical interest stronger within it than any other. The vogue which Abelard and other able professors obtained by broaching new and liberal ideas in theology, was too dangerous not to be watched and prevented. For this purpose monks were obtruded upon the University as often as it could be done.

* Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris.

Pope Honorius forbade the teaching of the civil law in Paris at all, as not only likely to depreciate the importance of the canon law, but to create a school of doctors that might be dangerously influential in the capital. The study of Roman jurisprudence was banished to Orleans. In 1276 all private teaching of theology was strictly forbidden. By these means the orthodoxy of the Paris University was preserved, whilst the presence of the Pope and of his court in France precluded that hostility of the national Church to Rome and to transalpine influence, which in times previous as well as afterwards led to the assertion of Gallican independence of the Holy See in ecclesiastical discipline and appointments.

The effects and consequence of the great schism were not unfelt in the University of Paris. Neither of the popes who commenced the dispute were worthy of respect. Urban tortured, slew, and hung up by hooks the cardinals opposed to him. The most ferocious of wild beasts, gifted with human ingenuity in devising punishment, could not have surpassed him. Clement was as rapacious as Urban was cruel. Moreover, he was the wrongful pope, set up by the French interest against the Italian, from a selfish antagonism, which was the true origin of the division in the Church. Although the University as a body recognised Pope Clement at the bidding of Charles V., the Picard and English "nation" preferred his rival Urban, as did the most liberal of the four faculties — that of the arts; those of theology, medicine, and the decretals supporting Clement. The Pope of Avignon avenged and consoled himself by selling the reversion to French benefices, which he thus forestalled, and defeating the claims and pretensions of the University students. The Pope openly deprecated their learning, however orthodox; and, as the monk of St. Denis assures us, stigmatised the Parisian doctors as *rêveurs*.

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Of the princes of the blood, the Duke of Anjou favoured Clement, upon whose support he chiefly relied for the prosecution of his claims upon Naples. On his departure the Duke of Burgundy, who sought to make himself popular with all ranks and classes of the Parisians, abetted their efforts to put an end to the schism. And when the cardinals of Avignon, on the death of Clement, elected a successor in the person of Benedict, instead of by abstention preparing the way for the termination of the schism, the Duke of Burgundy adopted the proposal of the Parisian University to withdraw adherence from both popes, and use compulsion, if necessary, in order to procure their resignation. Marshal Boucicaut accordingly besieged Pope Benedict in Avignon, and forced the pontiff to submit. But as usual in French politics, what one prince desired the other opposed; and the Duke of Orleans, then rising into authority, made use of his powers to set free the captive Benedict, and to restore the adherence of the French court to the Pope of Avignon. (1403.)

Thus defeated by the obstinacy of the rival pontiffs and the weakness and fickleness of princes, those interested in terminating the schism, and especially the University of Paris, saw no means of obtaining the desired end except the summoning of a general council. National assemblies of prelates at Paris and at Frankfort had proved unequal to the task. The efforts of princes had also failed. The Church itself of Europe united in general council could alone assume the authority and pass the decree for deciding the question of the disputed pontificate. It could not, however, be concealed that this remedy was almost as destructive to papal supremacy as the schism itself. It revived the old democracy of the Church, gave formally to its synods the power of annulling papal decisions, and even of dethroning popes. Where was the guarantee

that an assembly of ecclesiastics would not misuse so great a power?

The moving spirit in this great attempt to regenerate the Papacy itself by subjecting it to the decree and authority of a general council, was a doctor of the Paris University, John Gerson. The abilities of this celebrated writer had been first appreciated by the Duke of Burgundy, who made him Dean of the Cathedral of Bruges. Considered thus a partisan of Burgundy, he had given deadly offence to the Duke of Orleans by certain observations in his *Discours Politique*. When, however, John, Duke of Burgundy, not only suborned the assassins who slew the Duke of Orleans, but employed John Petit to defend the act, as consistent with morality and justice, the spirit of Gerson revolted, and his utmost efforts were directed ever after to vindicate the cause of morality against Petit and his master, and to denounce the foul crime which it was attempted to cover with the cloak of justice.

John Gerson had even higher aims. He desired not merely to save morality from princely logic, but to reconstitute the Church as its guardian throughout Christendom. Like most noble and discerning intellects, he saw even thus early the defects of absolutism and authority wielded by one, as well as the danger of seeking to combat it by popular opinion or dissent. Gerson therefore was for establishing or restoring representative government in the Church by making the Pope amenable to its general councils or assemblies. In these he was far from desirous to see the popular element predominate. He was as sternly hostile to the monks of all orders, whose reign he considered the democracy of the clergy, as to those cardinals who upheld the divine right of the Pope to overrule kings or override faith. Gerson was for constituting the Church in an enlightened aristocracy of prelates and

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laymen, and was for substituting the supremacy of the learned, the liberal, and the pious, for the authority of such corrupt and ignorant courts as those of either Avignon or Paris.*

The first and great obstacle to this scheme was the popes and their pretensions, rendered intolerant by the schism. To humble these it was necessary to denounce their conduct and government, and expose the enormous abuses of the existing system. In this task, from which Gerson and his friends did not shrink, those orthodox doctors had stronger auxiliaries, who uttered the self-same accusations with a view to a far different remedy. These were the disciples of Wicliffe, who exclaimed against the false pretensions of Pope and monks, and against the corruption of the clergy, in language sharper than Gerson, but with arguments not dissimilar. These extreme doctrines, tending to revolution rather than to reform in the Church, progressed slowly in England; but being conveyed from that country to Bohemia, expanded there rapidly and fiercely into a flame.

The Emperor Charles the Fourth had about the middle of the century founded the University of Prague, seeing the great vogue and success of that of Paris, and copied the peculiar institutions of that university, which was divided into "nations." This division, comparatively harmless in Paris, led to contention and schism in Prague, where Slavons were jealous of Germans, and finally rejected them. Oppressed by German prelates, the Slavons of Bohemia embraced the doctrines of Wicliffe, which became those of the University of Prague; and John Huss soon arose there to anticipate by a century and a half the protests and the doctrines of Luther. One of the rival popes preaching a crusade against Naples, and

* Gersoni Opera.

offering indulgences to those who would serve in it, suggested to Huss the denunciation of indulgences, as well as of the doctrine on which they were based. When Pope John excommunicated Ladislas, it raised the question of the Papal power and its foundation, which Huss, following Wicliffe, denounced.

The art of printing, and the facilities which it soon after opened for the communication of arguments and ideas, was alone wanting to kindle, at the commencement of the fifteenth century, that flame which burst forth in the middle of the sixteenth. In the absence of that great discovery, the doctors were more moved than the people; and these in Italy, as in France, were for reforming the Church, not overthrowing it. Such were the views of Gerson, and of the university which he represented. French ecclesiastical councils were held in 1395 and 1398 for that purpose. Subsequent efforts to compel at least the Pope of Avignon to abdicate were defeated by the Duke of Orleans in 1403. In 1406 there was another provincial council, and the clerical envoys of the French court declared that it was not their desire to maintain a pope at Avignon, "for France had received more favours and advantages from the pontiffs whilst at Rome than ever it received from the removal of the Holy See to Provence." The transference of the Pope to Avignon, and the efforts of the pontiff from thence to dominate Germany, had provoked still greater disgust than when such schemes were prosecuted from Rome. And they had resulted in the total emancipation of Germany from pontifical influence, and in the more regular and independent organisation of an aristocratic empire.

Instead of Germany and France, therefore, being excited to hostilities by the intrigues of the Pope, the power of both became united to reform and reconstitute the popedom, and to convene an ecclesiastical council of all Europe for the purpose. The first

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attempt of the kind was the council of Pisa, which met in 1409, and which, urged and animated by the French doctors, deposed both the contending popes, and elected another in the person of Alexander the Fifth. Although this was in a great measure the work of the Paris University, it soon had reason to feel how ill any papacy could brook the authority and independence it had assumed. One of the first acts of Pope Alexander was a decree in favour of the mendicant friars, and another levying a tax upon churchmen, which Gerson was obliged to denounce. But as neither of the deposed popes consented to their degradation, and as both found abettors, Christendom came to have three spiritual heads instead of two; and the situation of the Church was even worse when, on the death of Alexander, a prelate was elected to succeed him under the name of John the Twenty-third.

The Gallican Church, however, profited by the continuance of the schism to consolidate its independence, and emancipate itself altogether. The University passed decrees against any tenths or dues being paid to the Pope, and ordained the free election of prelates and church dignitaries by the chapter and clergy of the diocese. This freedom and independence exposed the French Church, indeed, to an enemy more formidable and rapacious than the Pope, the crown itself. *Juvenal des Ursins* tells how in 1411 the queen and princes confiscated and took to themselves the right of patronage, which the efforts of the University had saved to the Church. The latter, indeed, recovered its immunities, and Machiavel notes its full possession of the right towards the close of the century, and which indeed the Gallican Church preserved till the reign o Francis the First.

About the same time, and perhaps stirred by th example of the theologians, the judicial body, called th Parlement, obtained that which constituted the basi

of independence, self-election. An ordonnance of 1409 declares, that the vacancies in the great judicial offices were to be filled up by the election of the magistrates themselves; and the same was ordained with respect to the clerks of the Court of Accounts. This regulation, wisely established at a time when the crown was at the mercy of the first intriguer, laid the foundation of that independence of the French judges, secured afterwards by the sale of their offices. Had the burgesses and the gentry, the commons and landed proprietors, claimed each a degree of independence and rights proportionate to those obtained by the learned professions, some order and permanence, some mutual respect and control, might have been established amongst the several elements of French society, forming them into a body politic, such as gradually arose in England. But unfortunately we have to narrate but the same discords, the bootless struggles, and alternate vindictiveness of these classes, without any result save the sanguinary pages which they have left in the history of the country.

The contending factions, momentarily and partially reconciled by the convention of Chartres, remained together in the capital during the summer of 1409. The death of the widowed Duchess of Orleans, who had never ceased to call for vengeance, even when every other voice was mute, had restored the princes to their natural indifference. The Duke of Berry, notwithstanding his having joined the Orleans party, still partook of the Duke of Burgundy's grudge to the Marmousets, as lowly born ministers who had superseded them in 1388. Of these Montagu alone remained, "who had," says the monk of St. Denis, "the general administration of the kingdom, with full authority in peace and war over all royal officers, great and small, with the government of the king's house, as well as of the queen's and dukes'. But Montagu turned this great power sedulously to his own profit,

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acting not only as minister of the public treasury, but in a private capacity as the usurer who supplied the king's and the state's wants, and who received the royal jewels and plate in pledge. In the numerous instances in which the party of Orleans and that of the Marmousets had opposed and thwarted the Duke of Burgundy, Montagu had been the foremost instrument; and on the occasion of his coming recently on an embassy to the duke, the latter avowed his hatred and resentment. The minister had since apparently pacified him. To avoid the fate that was too probable, Montagu had allied with the first families of the kingdom. His three daughters had married potent barons. The espousals of his son with the daughter of the constable d'Albret had been just celebrated, and the magnificence displayed on the occasion excited as much envy as admiration. One of his brothers was Cardinal Bishop of Laon, the same that had proposed the dismissal of the royal dukes; another was Bishop of Paris; but churchmen were powerless in these days. The Duke of Burgundy obtained the appointment of a council to introduce reform into the finances. The heads of Parliament and of the University, were summoned to it; and when the malversation of Montagu was proved, and he himself marked out as a victim, whose wealth would supply present exigencies, and obviate the necessity of fresh taxes, all consented to sacrifice him. The Duke of Burgundy gave orders to the Provost of Paris, Des Essarts, who was in his interest, to arrest Montagu; and he did so, as the latter was riding in his usual state through the street. "Ribald, how durst thou touch me?" was his proud reply to Des Essarts. But the provost made good his capture, brought his victim to the Chatelet, and there put him to the torture, on the plea of his complicity with the Duke of Orleans. Montagu appealed to the Parlement, and made his appeal known through his

confessor. The provost informed the duke, and the latter, to overcome the difficulty, ordered Montagu to be executed forthwith. The provost brought the unfortunate treasurer to the *Halles*, or great market-place, there decapitated him, and had his body, with his gilt *chausses* and spurs on, as if in derision, suspended to the gibbet of Montfaucon. His rich chateau of Marcoussis was given to the queen's brother, Louis of Bavaria, who had espoused the daughter of the King of Navarre; his town residence to the Count of Hainault.* (Oct. 1409.)

By such acts the Duke of Burgundy completely won the good-will of the queen. It was settled that she, or her son, was to preside at the council; but as she resided at Vincennes, the Duke of Guyenne, heir to the crown, was to remain under the guardianship of the Duke of Burgundy, who thus entirely preserved, or hoped to preserve, the lead. At the same time the duke gratified the citizens of Paris by allowing to them what he had merely promised in the previous year, the free election of sheriffs and chiefs of quarters, as well as a provost of the merchants. Arms were permitted them for the defence of the city and the surety of the king; and all natives of Paris were allowed to hold land in fief, as if they had been nobly born. A provost of the merchants was elected in the person of Charles Caldoe, and the "notable burgesses," says the monk of St. Denis, "came to return thanks to the council. But they declined making use of the liberty of electing *centeniers*, or chiefs of quarters, as they desired to live at peace under the king's authority, and not to be mixed up with the quarrels of the different princes." It appears, nevertheless, that the chiefs of quarters were subsequently elected, and that the Duke of Berry was chosen their captain. When the

* Monstrelet, Religieux de St. Denis.

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Duke of Burgundy afterwards urged them to name another, a more zealous and capable chief, the citizens refused. It was these rebuffs, and the repugnance which they implied, that subsequently drove the Burgundian party in the capital to have recourse to the butchers, and to the lower class of artisans.

The duke, however, persisted for the present in his projects of reform. He called an assembly of princes and nobles for the purpose of resuming royal grants; and the Duke of Berry, anticipating another general order, abandoned for himself and his brother nobles the right of raising tallages in their provinces. These reforms were highly unpalatable to the French noblesse, and alienated the Duke of Berry, as well as the greater part of the French noblesse. The family of Bourbon had withdrawn in disgust at the death of Montagu. These, with the Counts of Alençon and Armagnac, revived in 1410 the Orleans alliance against Burgundy; and in a public proclamation, dated from Gien in September, denounced the existing government in Paris as holding the king in durance, and not allowing either him or his heir the independence which could alone constitute legitimate rule. They had already mustered their forces for war, and marched northwards immediately after the issue of their manifesto. None of the princes themselves feeling equal to take the command in such a war, it fell to the most active and energetic of their body, the Count Armagnac, who had succeeded the Count de Foix in influence over the Gascons. The count was already allied to the Duke of Berry; the young Duke of Orleans now espoused his daughter, which gave to the Count Armagnac the importance and weight necessary for his new position. The energy and the talents he already possessed were combined with an iron will and a ruthless nature, which reminds one of Simon de Montfort. But his sternness had been that of religious enthusiasm, which,

as well as almost every ennobling motive was unknown to the fifteenth century, in which selfish ambition was the only incentive to action, in which crime was no disparagement, and success the only heroism.

With the ascendency of Count Armagnac may be said to have commenced the civil war, not merely between the two princely houses, but between the north and south of the entire region between Rhine and ocean. The dukes of Burgundy had been for years gradually extending their dominions, and forming in fact an empire, consisting far more of semi-German than of French provinces. Their possessions or connexions extended from Dijon northwards to the Zuyder Zee. The nobles who composed the court and following of the present duke generally belonged to the Low Countries; they were for the most part too of princely dignity, and though enhancing the power and pride of Burgundy, and placing at its disposal chiefs and armies, were not very manageable or zealous, or ready upon all occasions. The kingdom was divided into southern French, and the semi-German French of the north, both contending for Paris as the centre of authority, and both treating its district as if it was a foreign land, and exercising unheard-of cruelties on the helpless population. In the thirteenth century the barbarism of the feudal north had crushed and overwhelmed the more civilised and civic south. In the fifteenth century the south took its revenge. Its civilisation, its wealth, its superior mildness of manners, and inferior energy in the field, had disappeared; and the Gascons, wearing the white scarf of Armagnac, now invaded the north, and retaliated that infliction of general pillage, murder, and retrogradation, which two centuries before had been perpetrated by the north.

Winter was already commencing when the Orleanists advanced with their troops towards Paris, the Duke of Burgundy being evidently unable to muster a suf-

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ficient force in that season to resist them. His appeals to the French nobles, and to the Parisian citizens, were equally vain; and he was compelled against his principles and promises, to levy upon the latter a tax of six crowns a head. This enabled him to bring 6000 Brabanters to garrison St. Denis, the licentiousness and rapine of such soldiers creating general discontent. Contemplating this state of things, in which the contending parties and armies, unable to defeat or put down each other, weighed both of them upon town and country without hope as without result, the University of Paris came forward, and proposed that both the princely parties and their chiefs should abandon the capital, and that the "Three Estates being convoked, wise and enlightened men, fearing God, and devoted to the public good, should be elected to carry on the government." Strange to say, the Duke of Burgundy at once adhered, or pretended to adhere, to this proposal. Negotiations commenced between the belligerent parties, and both consented to quit Paris, and leave the guard of the king to his son, the Duke of Guyenne. Neither of the princes was to re-enter the capital without the other. The government of Guyenne, in the name of the prince, was given to the Duke of Berry. The provostship was taken from Des Essarts. Both sides agreed on confiding the government to a council of two bishops and a number of knights, whose obscurity would give no umbrage to the contending chiefs. No more mention for the present was made of the Estates. Such was the peace of Bicêtre, called so from the Duke of Berry's palace in which it had been concluded. (Nov. 1410.)*

This accord fully satisfied the Duke of Berry, but was by no means satisfactory to the princes of Orleans, or their more passionate followers. They showed their

* Monstrelet, Religieux de St. Denis. Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris.

vindictiveness by seizing and putting to the torture the Sire de Croy, who was proceeding on a mission from Burgundy to the Duke of Berry. The Duke of Orleans soon after sent a formal challenge to the murderer of his father, and wrote letters to all the towns of France, demanding vengeance upon him. The civil war was at once re-allumed, and the Duke of Burgundy obliged to arm, for which, notwithstanding his wide dominions and vast resources, he never had troops or funds ready. His nearest support was from the Flemings. They mustered round the duke in sufficient numbers; but refused to proceed south, even as far as Paris, or to serve longer than their stipulated time. The duke applied to Henry the Fourth of England for aid; whilst the Armagnacs, again mustering, marched not only to the gates of Paris, but, ravaging the environs like Saracens, says the *Bourgeois de Paris*, swept into Picardy, to dispute the north with Jean Sans Peur.

Their exploits were of less importance and result than the resolutions which their cruelties and the crisis altogether excited in Paris on the rupture of the peace of Bicêtre. The obscure councillors around the king in vain ordered the parties to disarm, and equally in vain summoned the notabilities of the city to grant funds for raising an army. The advice of the University and of the principal citizens, to call the Three Estates, and allow them to elect and form a government, had not been followed; and they declined furnishing either funds or support to a monarch so imbecile and a government so null. The citizens offered, indeed, to raise 500 men-at-arms. But the spokesman of the University declared that the ordinary revenues ought to produce 200,000 crowns every month, and suffice for all exigencies. Instead of making use of such resources, added the bold orator, the people were harassed to that degree as to give them the right to

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depose their prince. The expression of such treason against sovereign power and divine right paralysed the weak councillors of the monarch.

The Duke of Burgundy took advantage of the occasion. The old provost, Des Essarts, found his way back to Paris, and mustered his partisans. Public clamour demanded that the military authority should be given to the Count de St. Pol, a zealous Burgundian. And he and Des Essarts, finding that the disgust and indifference of the higher class of people were not to be overcome, had recourse to the less scrupulous zeal and more stalwart arms of the most low and coarse of the Parisians. The corporation of the butchers then, and even in our own days, a monopoly, united wealth to influence. They had a numerous following of men accustomed to blood, brutal in their habits, and thus not unfit to be made the rivals of the ruthless Armagnacs. Three brothers, named Legois, were the chiefs of this formidable band. Sanctyon and Thibert were worthy brethren. Caboche, a skinner and tanner, was a kindred spirit, as was John of Troyes, a surgeon, of fine language but rude instincts. This band fully anticipated the *Sans terres* and *Sans culottes* of later days. "Terrible murders, robberies, and pillage took place in Paris against the partisans of Orleans. In order to doom a notable citizen to death and his property to plunder, it was but necessary to say, "There goes an Armagnac." Three hundred of the most respectable citizens, with Caldoé, the provost of the merchants, took refuge from their enemies in exile. (1411.)

The butchers were of course not alone in their exploits. The mob followed them. Thousands assumed the green chaperon, like the Flemings, and wore the cross of St. Andrew with a *fleur de lis* in the midst, which was the emblem of Burgundy. This was to distinguish them from the Armagnacs, who wore white scarves. And such was the zeal for the St. Andrew's

cross, that it was placed on the statues of the saints. St. Pol and Des Essarts made use of the butchers for other purposes than domestic rapine. They were formed into a cohort, other citizens enrolled as archers, and with these they resisted the troops of Orleans, who had possession of Montmartre, and of the high ground immediately to the north of the city.

The Duke of Burgundy was during this time detained in the north by the Flemings, who refused to advance, and who at length deserted his standard, whilst the Armagnacs ravaged Picardy. In this dilemma he applied to Henry the Fourth of England, and demanded military aid, offering in return his daughter in marriage for the prince. The English monarch knew the Burgundian to have always been the friend of a peace with England, whilst the Duke of Orleans was opposed to it. Very recently, indeed, the Duke of Burgundy had renewed the truce at Lelinghen. He, therefore, did not hesitate to send the Duke of Arundel and Fastolf, Lord Cobham, with 1200 men to l'Ecluse, from whence they joined the duke at Arras. With the aid of these, and of a force levied in Artois, Jean Sans Peur drove the Armagnacs from Picardy. The Duke of Guyenne entreated him to come to Paris, to save him at once from the butchers and the Armagnacs; and at length, but more by making a circuit than forcing his way though the enemy, who still held St. Denis and St. Cloud, the duke entered Paris towards the end of October, 1411. He came seasonably, for St. Pol and his butcher band had fallen into an ambuscade near Montmartre, and had lost three or four hundred of his followers.

The coming of the duke and his auxiliaries raised the hopes of the Parisians. The English drove the Armagnacs from Chapelle St. Denis, at the foot of Montmartre; and finding provisions exorbitantly dear, proposed to march upon St. Cloud, which being in pos-

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session of the enemy prevented supplies coming up the river. The duke collected about 2000 of the boldest citizens, and sending them round to attack the walls of St. Cloud from the heights, assailed the town from below with the English. The Armagnacs were so distracted by the double attack, that they abandoned the town, and flung themselves into the convent and castle on the bridge; but, says De Fenin, they were compelled to surrender to the English.* The different customs of the two countries here appeared; for whilst the English sought ransom for the prisoners, the Burgundians insisted on slaying them. More than a thousand of the Orleanist knights perished. At this defeat the Armagnacs lost courage; they vacated St. Denis, and withdrew to the Seine. At the same time the Count of Foix induced the Languedocians to rise against the supremacy of the rival Armagnacs.

The Duke of Orleans and his friends evidently attributed these reverses, which utterly frustrated and threatened to extinguish their party, to the military aid which their rival had procured from England. They therefore made a great and unworthy appeal, in 1412, to outbid the Duke of Burgundy for the English alliance. The emissary who was bearing these propositions to England was by some chance arrested at Caen, and his despatches taken; they were forwarded to Paris, and were so important that a solemn assembly of nobles, officers, doctors, and citizens was held in presence of the king, and the letters publicly read. The Duke of Berry and the Orleanists there offered to restore Aquitaine to the King of England, and to hold their provinces and appanages of him, not of the French monarch. In return for these and other offers they demanded the aid of 300 lances and 3000 archers for four months.†

* Bourgeois de Paris. Des Ursins.

† Rymer, vol. viii. A paper was read on the same occasion, said

The assembly was greatly excited at the news of this treason, and the king no less than those around him. All breathed the ardour of war. Charles wished to take the *oriflamme* from St. Denis: the duke, having so good a pretext, ordered a large tallage to be levied throughout the country, and a tenth was raised from the clergy. The Count of St. Pol was appointed constable in lieu of the Orleanist d'Albret; and it was resolved to muster a large army, and with the king himself march to lay siege to Bourges, the capital of the province of Berry and of its duke.

The royal forces assembled at Melun in May, crossed the Seine, and in June invested Bourges. The Duke of Berry, summoned to surrender it, replied, that, seeing his Majesty in such bad company, he would keep his good town for him. Hereupon the royal artillery flung shot and stones into the streets of Bourges, and assailed the gates and walls. But the besieged made an effectual defence, until both armies became straitened for provisions and afflicted with dysentery. The spirit of the besiegers began in consequence to relax. The heir to the throne, who found more pleasure in dissipation than in arms, was the first to express his disgust; and he gave orders to the cannoniers to cease harassing the town. When the Duke of Burgundy remonstrated, the prince replied, that the prosecution of the war against his own relatives, and the devastation of the towns and provinces of the kingdom was prejudicial, and ought to be brought to a close. These opinions of the prince being supported by many, it was deemed advisable to treat; and the Burgundians

to have been taken from the Orleanist emissary. This contained a plan for a land-tax of so much per acre, to which was joined the confiscation of lands that were deserted or left uncultivated; and a law for compelling to labour all who were not noble. A monopoly, by the state, of corn as well as salt, to be sold from public granaries, was also mooted. The University was to be expelled from Paris. Such were the projects of the time for remedying poverty and famine.

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were the more induced to follow this course by the news that the English had landed in Normandy, and were advancing to the succour of Bourges. The illness of Henry the Fourth and other causes had delayed these succours, which, amounting to 2000 men at arms and 4000 archers, at length landed in the Cotentin, under the Duke of Clarence. A meeting therefore took place between the Dukes, for which strong barriers were erected and precautions taken. The Duke of Berry, "though seventy years of age, came full armed, with steel cap, dagger, and axe," to the interview, which, nevertheless, began in civility and ended with tears. It was soon agreed that the Duke of Berry should make a feint submission, give up Bourges, which was to be forthwith restored to him, and that the old terms of the treaty of Chartres should be revived and considered valid. The second son of the Orleans prince was to espouse a daughter of Burgundy, and the English succours were to be rejected. For the solemn ratification of this peace both parties adjourned to Auxerre, from Bourges, where famine and pestilence reigned. Thither were summoned the chiefs of the Paris University and Parliament, the provost of Paris, and certain citizens of that town, as well as of Rouen, Caen, Amiens, Tournay, Laon, Rheims, Troyes, Langres, and Tours. The strangest circumstance of this peacemaking, and the festivities which celebrated it, was the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans appearing in public, amicably riding together on the same horse. The great difficulty was how to get rid of the English, the treasure of both parties being exhausted, and the church plate universally melted and squandered. To pacify the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Orleans gave to the English his brother, the Count d'Angoulême, as a pledge for the sum of 209,000 francs. The English in consequence, instead of marching towards Bourges, turned southwards through Anjou to Guyenne, "conducting them-

selves," says the monk of St. Denis, "with far more moderation to the inhabitants than the French themselves." (July, 1412.)

It was the Duke of Burgundy who had been duped and defeated in the campaign before Bourges, and in the treaty which closed it. The Duke of Berry and the chiefs of his party had made apparent submission, while in reality they gained the liberty of being present at court as well as in the council, where they acquired ascendency over the dauphin. Their return to Paris was a triumph, and their first care on reaching it was to detach from the gibbet the body of Montagu, and of the others whom the Duke of Burgundy had sacrificed. A royal ordonnance also restored those castles and strongholds in the north, as well as all estates that had not been sold. But the Constable St. Pol either refused or evaded giving up to the Duke of Orleans his castles of Coucy and Pierrefonds. When the king gave positive orders to restore the latter, it was burned to the ground by its guardians. The Prince, moreover, had fierce disputes with some of the lower orders in Paris. One of his partisans, the Bastard of Bourbon, having ventured to threaten the butcher Denisot, the people rose to arms, and stretched the chains across the streets. The Duke of Burgundy appeased the popular excitement, but the Duke of Orleans thought it prudent to retire to Blois, as Armagnac and d'Albret did to the south.

If the dauphin had hoped to maintain his own and the king's authority in more independence by balancing the two parties of the princes, he failed through the great unpopularity of the Armagnacs. Although the Duke of Burgundy was his father-in-law, the prince still felt his ascendency to be irksome, and resolved to combat it by the duke's own weapons, which were to make appeals to the civic classes as well as to the University and Parliament, which had such influence with

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them. The dauphin was but sixteen, and was fond of pleasure, but even for this it was necessary to assert and to acquire a certain degree of liberty. With the view of procuring it, he summoned the Three Estates in the commencement of 1413. They assembled at the Hotel of St. Pol, under the presidency of the dauphin, whose chancellor addressed them on the difficulties and requirements of the times. This functionary adopted an unfortunate mode of captivating their attention and good will. He depicted the menacing attitude lately assumed by the English, and at the same time the weakness of the state through the division of the princes. For these he proposed no other remedy or condition than a large subsidy, a *bonne grosse taille.* When he had concluded, the delegates of the University and of the magistracy of Paris desired to be heard, and appointed Benoit Gentien to speak for them. This orator represented the people as already overtaxed, and quite unable to bear greater burdens, and repeated what was the universal opinion and assertion, that the regular revenue, if not embezzled, would suffice. The speech of Gentien suited the moderate party which he represented, and was not displeasing to the dauphin. But the more popular leaders pronounced it to be idle and tame. What was requisite was a bold man, who would lay his finger upon each particular abuse, and not shrink from denouncing functionaries, however powerful, who turned the public revenues to their own profit. The Duke of Burgundy supported these demands, and an orator was found in the person of a Carmelite friar, Eustache de Pavilly, who would not slur over abuses, nor shrink from denunciation. The Three Estates apparently objected to being made the tribunal, or the arbiters, which were to decide and act upon these accusations. The nobles, probably, refused altogether; the clergy were of similar sentiments; and the deputies of towns declined acting over again the part they had

played in former Estates, that is, sitting alone without nobles or clergy, and becoming absorbed in the assembly of demagogues, who once more formed the municipalty of the capital. The Parliament also objected to hear Pavilly's harangue, which was at last uttered in presence of the dauphin, in the shape of a remonstrance, and in the name of the University, the sheriffs, burgesses, and provost of the merchants of Paris.

The orator began by lauding the peace of Bourges, the only defect of which, he said, was its non-observance by Count Armagnac. In the matter of finance the king's predecessors had been able to raise from their domains, and from the duty on sales, not more then 94,000 francs annually, whereas they now produced five times that sum. The court was then brilliant, and its expenses regularly paid; whereas now, there was nothing but discord and debt. Where the money went, was evident enough from the great edifices built by the officers of the finances, and the great fortunes they enjoyed. The expenses of the king's and of the Duke of Guyenne's household used to be 94,000 francs, those of the queen's household 36,000. The former sum was now increased to 450,000 francs, and the latter to 104,000. Besides these, there were the *aydes* levied for the purposes of war, by officers called generals, none of whom made less than 10,000 francs in two years. Then there was the *épargne*, or reserve, which ought to contain 120,000 francs, in which there was not a *denier*. And if any service was required, or any embassy to be sent, it was necessary to recur to the usurer for the expenses. To each of these matter-of-fact revelations, so different from the usual diatribes against ambition and such abstractions, Pavilly added the names of the functionaries, treasurers, and others, who held each place, and necessarily embezzled the revenue they were appointed to collect. Those denounced were principally the enemies of the Duke of Burgundy. Amongst

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them were Des Essarts, the provost, who had gone over to the Orleanists, and who was accused of holding the captainship of Cherbourg and Nemours, along with his position at Paris. The chancellor himself, De Marle, was not spared, his illicit profits and malversations boldly pointed out. The Parliament, which had refused to join the University and Municipalty in the remonstrance, was in turn not gently treated. It was accused of having made use of its new power of filling offices by election, to thrust into them young men, whose only recommendation was, their being related to those who appointed them. In the same way the Grand Council, instead of being composed of independent men, was filled with the hired servants of princes, who had their master's, not the state's interest at heart.

No representative of the people, no member of a popular assembly, ever uttered a bolder harangue, ever made a more lucid statement, a more practical or eloquent denunciation of abuses than this. The Carmelite friar spoke the plain home language of the indignant citizen, instead of the pedantic logic of the professional statesman. The misfortune was that he had no public to address, and none that had the courage to support him. The better class of citizens, even those of the capital and the provincial towns united, applauded Pavilly indeed, but still stood cowed under the ascendency of princes and aristocracy, who, it is true, had all the military force of the time, and used it to put to death at fitting opportunities those who opposed them. What sustained the courage of Pavilly and of the University was the Duke of Burgundy; and even he had to rely, not upon the respectable citizens, whose cause he was then abetting, but upon the cooperation of the butchers, and of the population which rallied behind them.

The court, the dauphin, and the council having thought it best to admit that the remonstrance, uttered by Pavilly, in the name of the "king's daughter," the

University, contained much truth, a commission was named, to proceed to a financial and administrative reform, consisting of four churchmen, four knights, two judges, a professor of the University, and a sheriff of the city. The movers insisted moreover on the arrest of the functionaries most inculpated. The dauphin consented with regard to all, save his chancellor. Des Essarts, the obnoxious provost, fled; and Jacqueville, a fierce and able partisan, was appointed captain of the city militia, that is, of the butchers.

The dauphin and those around him were much dissatisfied. They had hoped that a reform of government, undertaken with the Parliament and the middle classes, would conciliate popularity to the prince without coercing him, would supply the treasury with funds, and would thus render him more independent of the Duke of Burgundy. But moderate men had held aloof, and financial reforms were made a pretext for arresting and punishing his partisans. The Duke de Bar, the Duke Louis of Bavaria, and the Count de Vertus, younger brother of the Duke of Orleans, urged the dauphin to resistance. They were anxious to save those who had been arrested; and according to public rumour, they formed a plan for carrying off the king from the capital. The first tidings which the Parisians and the Duke of Burgundy had of the plot, was the seizure of the Bastille by Des Essarts, who had returned from exile for the purpose. He was peculiarly obnoxious to the duke, and had accused him of being the principal embezzler of the public money. The people, however, did not wait for the duke's orders to muster their armed bands, and proceed to invest Des Essarts in the Bastille. Some of the municipal officers in vain interposed delay. Before the Bastille they appeared in such numbers, and with such shouts of fury, that Des Essarts and his brother, panic stricken, offered to surrender on condition that their lives should be respected.

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It required the presence and all the influence of the Duke of Burgundy to ensure the observance of the latter condition. The prince marked a St. Andrew's cross on the back of the captain, and under this sign of protection he was conveyed to the Louvre. The chief conspirators, however, the true enemies of the people, were declared to be in the palace, and surrounding the dauphin; against whom the triumphant mob now marched, and, setting up their city standard opposite the royal one, that floated over the gates of the Hôtel de St. Pol, insolently demanded entrance. (April 1413.)*

The dauphin showed himself at a window, and asked what brought the people there in such numbers. Jean de Troyes, the surgeon, answered by begging the prince "not to be alarmed, the people would die to defend him; but they saw with grief the flower of his royal youth destroyed by the counsel of traitors, who survived and perverted him. The queen, his mother, and the other princes, were afflicted with the fear that continued debauchery would render the prince, like his father, unable to reign. The people had frequently demanded the dismissal of these unworthy favourites; but the request not having been listened to, they now insisted on the traitors being given up to punishment."

The dauphin, for reply, bade the multitude depart to their trades; — "his friends were no traitors." They persisted, however, and handed up a list of the traitors, on which was the name of the chancellor himself. The dauphin shut himself up in the king's chamber, and burst into tears; whilst the multitude, led by Jacqueville, Caboche, and the others, forced their way in, even to the royal chamber, and there arrested the Duke de Bar, with the dauphin's chamberlain and chancellor, his esquires and varlets. One gentleman was torn

* Monstrelet, Religieux de St. Denis. Bourgeois de Paris.

from the arms of the dauphiness, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, who strove to save him. The respectable citizens and judges,—the moderate party, in fact,—assembled the next day to discuss these acts of violence, and the University was besought to exert itself in the same sense. But that learned body replied, that it would willingly act as mediator between the prince and people, but no more. This emboldened the more violent, and gave a colour of justice to their deeds. At the same time the triumphant party assumed the white chaperon or cape, in lieu of the green one, which had been the emblem of Burgundy. It was done probably to show, or to affect, independence of the duke or of any princely party. From this time, indeed, the popular leaders followed their own suggestions more than the orders of the duke, whose character suffered by their excesses, and bore most of the blame of their insolence, without his having the courage or the opportunity to disown them. In order to get his son's wife, the Countess of Charolais, out of Paris, the townsfolk of Flanders were obliged to request the Parisians to let her depart. This disjunction of the views and councils of the Duke of Burgundy and the *commons*, as the chronicles of the day call the populace, the masters of the municipalty, proved the ruin of both.

The dauphin was now subjected to all kinds of indignity. The butchers and their orator intruded whenever they pleased into the palace, and harangued him upon his laziness, irreligion, and dissoluteness, turning night into day, and spending it in orgies and debaucheries. Professors of theology were sent to convert him, and De Pavilly lectured him on the virtues which should adorn a prince. The dauphin made several attempts to escape from this durance, but none succeeding, he despatched missives to the chiefs of the Orleanist party, the Duke of Burgundy being unable for the time to help himself or protect his crown, praying

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them to come to his relief. The popular party could but perceive that preparations were being made to attack them, and two of the most zealous and stalwart butchers were appointed, one to guard the bridge of St. Cloud, the other that of Charenton. At the same time, and in consequence of these reports, the armed population paid another domiciliary visit to the Palace of St. Pol. Jacqueville was their military commander, but Pavilly accompanied him in order to give a preliminary lecture to the prince, and then point out the obnoxious courtiers that were to be seized. These were all connections of Queen Isabella, who had evidently become the foe or bugbear of the popular party. Jacqueville arrested not only her brother, the Duke Louis of Bavaria, but fifteen of the ladies of honour, who were led off weeping to prison, in fear of a worse fate awaiting them.*

Soon after the committal of these acts of vulgar barbarism, which served but to discredit the popular cause, and which disgusted and alienated even the University, the king recovered his sanity; and Jean de Troyes, perhaps to redeem the late excesses, proceeded at the head of the populace in arms to entreat the monarch to act upon the advice of the Commission of Reform, and promulgate, in the shape of a royal ordonnance, the abrogation of those abuses in the treasury and administration, which had been so eloquently denounced by the Carmelite. The king, by the advice of those around him, consented to this most rational of the popular demands, and the celebrated ordonnance of the 25th of May, 1413, was issued.†

No legislative effort has ever elicited more praise

* There is an account of this invasion of the palace in the MSS. Bethune, No. 8462. The Queen's cousin, Madame de Montauban, was arrested, as well as her treasurer. The Dauphin's confessor and Argentier were also seized, and one of his officers killed.

† Recueil des Ordonnances.

than this has obtained from French historians. And certainly it was a very sweeping reform, the basis of which was to assimilate finance to law, and to have the officers of the one appointed like those of the other, by election and fitness, not by favour. Thus the generals who hitherto collected the *aides* were ordered to be abolished, and their places filled with *prudhommes* elected by the Chamber of Accounts. There was to be one receiver-general, who was to be a *prudhomme*. Strange to say, this same ordonnance, which sought to establish the officers of finance on the principle of election, modified, or strove to modify, this principle for the Parlement: it indeed ordered that the provost, seneschals, and some judges should be elected. But to fill the higher posts, the chancellor, together with certain members of the Great Council, were to appoint two or three of the Parlement to inquire as to the fittest person to fill them. *

The greater portion of the ordonnance was purely administrative, consisting of abolition of offices or reduction of salaries, most of them of small amount. The reductions were generally applied to military commanders, and must have been very unpopular with that profession. Captains of fortresses and garrisons were to have no more than a hundred livres a year. Many offices † were abolished, but, as is usual with such reforms, they were much more severe and sweeping with the holders of small places than upon those of large emoluments and influence. The so much lauded reform, indeed, was altogether without a basis, being left totally dependent upon the caprice of an idiot monarch, or of the first prince or councillor that might grasp

* The people were much dissatisfied with the Chancellor, De Marle, who had been appointed by free election.—*Registres du Parlement*, quoted in Fontanieu, portf. 107—108.

† One was that of the keeper of the wooden clock at Versailles. Another was that of the king's painter, who had a salary of 136 livres Tournois, and who was to have nothing for the future.

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authority. And no sooner, indeed, did the Armagnacs recover acsendency, than the king abrogated the ordonnance, declaring that he had been forced to pass it; and some of those who had framed it applauded this act of royal strength or royal weakness, which drew down upon them the pithy remark of the chronicler, that they were weather-cocks (*coqs de clochers*), that turned with every wind.*

The *Cabochiens*, as the popular leaders were called, did not leave to the Armagnacs the task of setting at nought the ordonnance of financial reform. It being found necessary to raise troops to oppose the English, who not only were triumphant in Guyenne, but who were burning Dieppe and the Norman ports, it was resolved to levy sums of money on the rich citizens, in proportion to their fortune. The butchers were the most resolute of tax-gatherers: they imprisoned all recalcitrants, did not spare the clergy or the prelates, and insisted on the members of the University paying with the rest. None made a more determined resistance than John Gerson, who was obliged to take refuge in the steeple of Notre Dame whilst his house was pillaged and his furniture destroyed. About the same time the château of Bicêtre, built by the Dukes of Savoy, and adorned by them as well as by the present possessor, the Duke of Berry, with the best works of art of the day, was destroyed. The fine arts were as odious to the Cabochiens as court festivities.

Knowing that the cruelties, extortion, and insolence of the butchers had become intolerable, not only to the king and the dauphin, but to the Duke of Burgundy

* Other portions of this ordonnance are worthy of remark. One clause forbade any new preserves. Many lords had formed new *garennes*, driving out the people, for wild animals. All such preserves made during the last forty years were to be destroyed. The severity of game-laws and of fishing prohibition was corrected, and the *louvetiers* were forbidden to prevent people from killing wolves. In the same ordonnance clauses were inserted against vagabondage and idleness.

himself, as well as to the respectable citizens, to the Parlement and University, the Orleans chiefs besought the king to appoint a place where they might meet him, away from the power of the Cabochiens. The court only awaited the power, or the opportunity. The knowledge of this exasperated the leaders, and drove them into further excesses. In July they brought Des Essart to trial, or rather to execution: the ex-provost hoped the people would deliver him, but he had betrayed all parties, and his death was considered a just judgment by all. He was decapitated at the *Halles*, and his body hanged on the same gibbet to which he had himself fixed that of Montagu.

About a week afterwards, as Jacqueville, the captain of Paris, was going his rounds towards midnight, he perceived a light in the palace of St. Pol. Forcing his way in, he found the dauphin in the midst of a ball. The rude captain declared the dancing to be dissolute, and charged George de la Tremouille with abetting the dauphin in such pleasures. Tremouille gave Jacqueville the lie; the latter was about to retort with rudeness, when the dauphin, enraged, drew his dagger and struck Jacqueville three times with it on the breast. The prudent captain was mailed under his garment, but his followers were so furious that the Duke of Burgundy was obliged to beseech them with joined hands to refrain from filling the royal palace with blood, ere they departed.*

This scene only rendered the dauphin more impatient to be freed; and the king recovering his health, use was made of it to come to reconciliation and agreement with the Orleans princes. Envoys from the king met them at Verneuil, and they made all promises of submission, provided the court was freed from the

* The exasperation of the dauphin was increased by the circumstance of Jacqueville having previously murdered one of the most accomplished and attached of his friends, La Rivière, in prison, with a blow of his axe.

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tyranny of the butchers. When these envoys returned, the king went openly to the municipal council, sitting at the Hôtel de Ville, to inform the members that the Armagnacs offered to observe peace on the terms of the treaty of Bourges and Auxerre, and that they placed themselves at the king's disposal in everything, except that they durst not return to Paris. The municipal council received the message favourably; Caboche and his partisans exclaimed against it, and with much reason alleged, that all the Armagnacs required was to get the king into their power, and, under the shadow of his name subdue Paris, take away its franchise, and subject it again to the *taille*. The Cabochiens concluded by declaring they would consider and treat as traitors all who consented to this peace. The meeting instantly broke off, and the efforts of the pacific citizens were then directed to the holding of meetings in each quarter, to pronounce separately, and not under coercion, an opinion concerning peace or war. The butchers struggled against this proposal with their usual fury. One of the Legois was especially violent, and found an opponent in Cirace, who was a carpenter. Legois insisted that the people should meet in the open *place*. Cirace said, meetings had far better be held in each quarter, and that "there were as many drivers of wedges and splitters of wood, as there were slayers of animals." This silenced the butchers. John of Troyes, however, not unreasonably desired to make terms with the Armagnacs, and get some security for his party. They would not hear him; even his own quarter, that of the city, declared for peace; so did all save those of the markets attached to the butchers, and of the Hôtel d'Artois, the residence of the Duke of Burgundy.

Encouraged by the vote of the majority, the moderates assembled in arms, proceeded to the king's residence, and there suggested that the first thing to be

done was to send to the Duke of Burgundy for the keys of the Bastille St. Antoine. The duke gave them without resistance; and thus was consummated the revolution. The king and dauphin went and liberated the Duke de Bar and the other prisoners. The Cabochiens mustered on the Place de Grève to the number of 10, or 12,000. Instead of being attacked, they were invited to join a procession, which most of them did; but reflecting on the road upon the reaction likely to follow, they slunk away and escaped. Some one asked Juvenal des Ursins, should not the gates be closed to prevent them. He replied, "Throw them wide open, on the contrary, and let none remain but those who desire it." (Aug. 1413.)

The return of the Armagnacs was followed by the installation of their partisans in the municipal offices; most of the Cabochiens had fled, but those who could be seized were nevertheless executed. At last, even one of the Duke of Burgundy's followers was arrested, and the duke thought it prudent to withdraw. Taking advantage of a sporting expedition with the king, he put spurs to his horse, galloped off, and made the best of his way to Lille, leaving his enemies disappointed that they had not made good so important a capture. There then ensued between the Armagnacs who had possession of the king, and the Burgundians, a struggle, carried on chiefly by proclamations and despatches, as to who should enlist in their cause the towns and population of Picardy and Vermandois. The most important of these pleadings was an address to the Bailli of Amiens, as if that town and its chief magistrate were alone arbiters of peace or war. The townsfolk of the north evidently mistrusted, and were disgusted with both parties, and would gladly have thrown them off. An event, however, occurred which told in favour of the Duke of Burgundy. The Queen Isabella, together with the dauphiness, proceeded, accompanied by the

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chief Armagnacs, to the residence of the dauphin in the Louvre, and there perpetrated the same act that the mob had committed,—took from around the dauphin the companions of his pleasures. Such an act by such persons certainly excused the previous rigour of the Cabochiens, by proving how much it was called for. The dauphin, enraged, sought to summon the Parisians to protect and avenge him. But, baulked in this, he wrote, representing the durance he suffered from the Armagnacs, and begging succour, to the Duke of Burgundy, who seized the pretext for renewing the war, forthwith marched towards the capital and occupied St. Denis. (Feb. 1414.)

The Armagnacs had, in the meantime, pacified the dauphin, walled up the gates of the city, filled the towers and the walls with staunch partisans, and forbad any citizen to appear or move under pain of death. Although the artillery of denunciation and doctrinal logic seemed the only one that was sedulously employed for the reduction of the Duke of Burgundy, the latter could still make no impression upon Paris, and soon retreated north. He allowed his knights as well as his town levies to depart to their homes, telling the latter, says Monstrelet, "to govern themselves by the authority of such good persons as they should choose," until the king and the dauphin were in a state of liberty. He left garrisons, however, in Compiègne and Soissons, towns of royal jurisdiction.

Against these acts the Armagnacs loudly protested, and they mustered forces to proceed with the king north, in order to expel the Burgundian garrisons. After Easter the royal army came before Compiègne, the citizens of which compelled the Burgundians to withdraw. The citizens of Soissons were unfortunately not able so easily to shake off their Burgundian garrison, and the Armagnacs invested it; the defence was obstinate. Monstrelet says, that the English in

the Burgundian service at last opened the gates to their countrymen and the royal standard: and the town thus taken suffered from the victorious Armagnacs all the horrors that can be conceived, and cannot be described. Neither sex, nor age, nor church, nor even the relics of the saints, were spared. The generals were beheaded, and the English prisoners hanged; which does not agree with the story of their having betrayed the town. Count Armagnac most indelibly stamped his bloody hand upon the ruins of Soissons. After such an example, smaller towns made no resistance, and the royal army proceeded to lay siege to Arras, the capital of Artois, for the defence of which the Duke of Burgundy had made every preparation. The town was supplied with provisions for four months; the women and all useless mouths had been sent from it. The besieging army therefore spent the entire month of August before the town, and made no progress, whilst dysentery became universal, and the dauphin and the other princes weary. Peace, therefore, was the result of the siege of Arras, for the same causes and on the same terms as that which had been concluded at Bourges. The Duke of Burgundy made apparent submission, but retained all his authority in the north. The king remained in the hands of the Armagnacs, and the Duke of Burgundy was not to come to Paris until summoned. (Sept. 1414.)

The opening of the Council of Constance dates from the period of the treaty of Arras. John the Twenty-third had consented to call it, when driven from Rome by Ladislas of Naples. And Sigismund, Emperor or King of the Romans, gave his whole weight and efforts to enable the council to terminate the schism, which not only divided the church but paralysed and distracted Europe, at a time when its united armies and resources were required to resist the Turks. The council com-

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menced in a spirit and with regulations that seemed to threaten the popedom itself with eclipse. It was ruled that the assembly should be divided into four nations, like the universities of the time. These were the Italian, the French, the English, and the German; each of them was to discuss the several questions, and appoint delegates to come to mutual agreement, ere the council itself was called upon to discuss or to decide. Laymen, moreover, either as representatives of states and cities, or of universities and of theological and legal faculties, should sit and vote with the churchmen. The Italian prelates, the most interested and strenuous supporters of the papacy, were thus in a minority; and had a hostile sentiment towards the popedom or towards Italian predominance really existed, the Council of Constance must have destroyed both. But it was animated by no such feeling. Laymen and churchmen, even English and Germans, saw no hope save in the resuscitation of the pontificate; and it was with regret they found themselves compelled to adopt the anti-papal doctrines of the French professors, in order to unseat the rival popes, and establish the unity of the church.

The existing pontiffs, and especially John the Twenty-third, made such a determined resistance, and the Italian cardinals raised such obstructions in the way of overcoming their obstinacy, that the French doctors were able to draw the council along with them in denying the papal supremacy, and in declaring that the supreme power and infallibility of the church resided not in the pontiff but in a general council. "The universal church," wrote Gerson, "is composed of a multitude of members, who all belong to it if they believe in Christ. The Pope is not the chief, he is but the vicar of Christ; and only in case that he is neither in schism nor in error. Men can be saved by

belonging to this church, even if there was no Pope on earth. It is this universal church alone that is infallible, and that has the power to bind and unbind. The church of Pope and cardinals is but a private and particular church, comprised within the universal one."*

Gerson was in truth as much a reformer as Wicliff or Huss. He denounced monkery as fiercely as the former, described vows of obedience, chastity, and penance as "factitious religion," and anticipated Luther in saying that the power of the keys could remit merely what itself imposed. Gerson's ideas of an universal church and of the papacy must, if acted upon, have shorn the latter of all that false power and pretension which Luther afterwards impugned. But revolutions such as these can only be effected with a nation or a public behind the bold innovator. Gerson had neither. The only people then widely alive to religious freedom and religious truth were the Bohemians. And they were Slavons, whose pretensions to be foremost in religious reforms shocked and excited the jealousy of the Germans as well as of the French and Italians.

Wicliff and Huss, moreover, attacked not merely the Pope, but the church. They taught that the latter derogated from its high character and mission by accepting and accumulating wealth. Tithes they considered as mere alms, that might be refused to the clergy. If Gerson preached an universal church, superior to the Pope, it was at least composed of the existing clergy, of the doctors and princes of the time. Instead of such a church, so flattering to ecclesiastical dignity, Huss proposed a church of the Elect, to be a member of which pope or prelate had from their offices no claim. How Huss could have realised a church on

* See Gerson, De Auferibilitate Papæ; and L'Enfant, Histoire du Concile de Constance, tom. i. p. 289.

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such principles is not very conceivable. He was in fact a revolutionist, who proposed pulling down the popedom, and substituting nothing in its place.*

When schemes of reform were so impracticable as this, it would have been wisest to disclaim, and allow time to refute them. But the members of the Council of Constance were driven to proceed against Huss by other motives than their abhorrence of heresy. They were accused themselves, and with much justice, of overthrowing the papacy. John the Twenty-third denounced them as most lenient to outrageous heresy in the person of Huss, whilst they were merciless to him as Pope. There was no disproving such an accusation, save by rigorously punishing that reformer, should he prove obstinate. This necessity animated the council. The rancour of Gerson himself against Huss was that of one heresiarch burning another in order to avert the opprobrium of such an accusation from himself. Many of the council, and the Emperor Sigismund himself, were most anxious that Huss by pliability might allow them to save him. Had he consented to deny Wicliff, it would have sufficed. But this first of Protestant martyrs would not yield an iota of his simple faith; and the council consigned him to the flames, as the most efficient witness and the most acceptable sacrifice to their own character for orthodoxy.

Gerson obstinately strove to obtain of the assembly of Constance the condemnation of the doctrines of Jean Petit, the Burgundian advocate of murder. Perhaps he did so partly in order to ensure the support of the Armagnac government for his efforts to put an end to

* Huss did not leave behind him one clear principle to which the Bohemian reformers could rally. After his death they took up arms for a totally new dogma, one on which Huss himself had scarcely dwelt,—that of the right of the people to receive the communion in both elements.

the schism, and to confirm the liberties of the Gallican church. The king or court, however, at the instigation of the Duke of Burgundy, gave orders to the French envoys not to press the affair of Petit; and Gerson failed in obtaining any sentence. This was certainly no detriment to the cause of morals, whose principles and laws are too self-evident and self-valid not to lose rather than gain by being degraded to the rank of ecclesiastical dogmas, and decided by the logic of the sophist or the caprice of the churchman.

The Council of Constance, as far as church reform was its object, proved, we need not say, a complete failure. It elected indeed a new Pope; and, contrary to the spirit which seemed to dictate the first regulations of the assembly, its "nations," even the English and German, agreed in bestowing the tiara upon a Roman. The Emperor Sigismund, in this supported by English and German, strongly insisted that articles of a reform of the church should be drawn up previous to the papal election, and that the new Pope should be bound to accept them. But the French, as was unfortunately always the case, when the object was to establish a constitutional check, went over to the Italians, and voted for the election of the Pope first. Yet the French, and especially Gerson, were loud against papal abuses, and demanded at least the renunciation of Annates, which they estimated at no less than 7,000,000 of francs. Pope Martin, however, was elected without conditions, and no sooner installed, than he scouted the demands of reform. The French complained to Sigismund, and asked him to interfere; but he justly replied, "I pressed you to reform the church before you elected the Pope; you would not; you have got the Pope as you desired—go and apply to him." Pope Martin then pursued the obvious policy of dividing the council, and of treating with each nation

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separately for the conclusion of a Concordat.* Thus Gerson, though maintaining the main liberties of the Gallican church, and putting an end to the schism, still failed in reforming the chief abuses of papal authority, or endowing the universal church with that power and that control which might have kept the papacy in harmony with the age, and satisfied great objections and complaints, without driving men to schism and revolution.

Meantime a cloud had formed, and was about to break upon France, or rather upon its princes and its government. For France itself, its citizens, and its peasants, were crouching under tyranny, extortion, and misrule. The self-complacency of the princes is well depicted in the anecdote recorded by Monstrelet of the Duke of Berry's answer to the Parisian citizens, who complained that they had not been summoned or consulted in the negotiations of Arras.

"Such offices of the state did not concern them: they ought not to interfere in the king's business or in the affairs of the princes of his blood and lineage; for," added the duke, "we quarrel with one another when we please, and when it suits us we make it up, and all is peace once more."

In the same spirit of infatuation did the French princes treat with Henry the Fifth. That monarch had succeeded, in the consciousness of youth and strength, to a crown that had not sate firmly on the heads of either of his predecessors. They had been weak and embarrassed, as had also been Edward the

* The Concordats are published at the end of L'Enfant's Histoire du Concile de Constance. John Gerson took the failure of church reform so much to heart, that he never returned to Paris or its University, but withdrew to monastic life. The similarity of his name with that of Gersen, found afterwards affixed to one of the manuscripts of the *Imitatio*, has led to his being considered the author. But there is small identity between that monastic paraphrase of Holy Writ, and the sentiments or style of John Gerson.

Third in his declining years. The crafty Charles the Fifth had taken advantage of these weaknesses of English kings, to break the treaty of Bretigny, and expel them from their hereditary dominions on the Continent. It was not more than a score of years since this had taken place. The disgrace was fresh in the memories of Englishmen, and rankled in the mind of Henry, who seeing France in that same state of anarchy and helplessness, which had then afflicted England, deemed it natural and just to follow the example of Charles, and profit by his neighbour's weakness to claim what he considered his own. He hoped at first to accomplish this by negotiation. The Orleans or Armagnac party had entered into an alliance with his father; and in return for the English monarch's deserting the cause of Burgundy and sending military succours to them, they had stipulated to restore to him the duchy of Aquitaine. This was precisely the object of Henry's aim; the terms of the treaty of Bretigny, and the dominion of Edward the Third. The Armagnacs, indeed, ceased to require English aid. They not only made peace, but had humbled their rival, and obtained possession of king and government. Henry hoped they might still keep the promise of restoring Aquitaine, as the dowry of Charles's daughter, Catherine, whom he proposed to marry. Frequent embassies were sent on both sides. The French were willing to give the princess with almost any amount of dowry, but since the triumph of the court over the Duke of Burgundy, it was less anxious to acquiesce in a cession of territory. A final embassy, which the French promised to send with full powers to terminate the negotiation, was inexplicably delayed; and Henry pressed the completion of his armaments.

The delay might have been easily explained. Government in France could not be said to exist. At one moment the king was sane, and could take part in the negotiations; when it was necessary to continue them,

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he had a relapse, and the duty fell to whichever of the princes held sway. About the very time when Henry was wavering between peace and war, the French court was at Melun. Of a sudden the dauphin quitted it, hastened to Paris, made seizures there of three different deposits of the queen's treasure, and explained his act to the citizens and councillors whom he assembled. He at the same time signified to the royal dukes at Melun that they were not to come to Paris, for he was determined to rule alone. The dauphiness he sent away to St. Germain, that she might not interfere with his pleasures.

The young prince seemed not aware when he indulged in this freak, that a serious invasion threatened from England. When fully informed of it, he grew alarmed, and sent for his uncle the Duke of Berry, whose advice was to avert the storm, or at least adjourn it, by despatching the promised embassy to England with large offers. The Count of Vendome and the Archbishop of Bourges were sent. The truce expired June the 8th, but Henry permitted the commander of Calais to renew it. They reached Dover on the 17th of June, were received with due honour and conducted to Winchester.* After the usual preliminaries the ambassadors made offer of fifteen of the principal towns of Guyenne with seven counties, with Limoges, Tulle, and their *sénéchaussées*, together with 850,000 crowns as the dowry of the princess Catherine.

According to the well-informed monk of St. Denis, Henry the Fifth was satisfied with these offers, and after consulting his council, asked the ambassador to fix a period for the delivery of the territories and the payment of the dowry. As the envoys seemed not prepared to answer this demand, the king offered to send a secretary to Paris to bring back an answer, the French envoys waiting at Winchester his return, when

* Where Henry resided, to be near his fleet at Southampton.

everything might be instantly concluded. But the French declined to wait, and observed they were not even certain upon what terms the territories in Guyenne were to be given to the King of England. From these evasive replies Henry at once concluded that the only object of the French court and of its embassy was to gain time, and that they were no more sincere in these offers than the Armagnacs had been in the promises made to Henry the Fourth. He dismissed the ambassadors therefore with the warning that "he would soon follow," and prepared for war.

The English army, consisting according to the most credible accounts of 6000 men at arms and 24,000 archers, together with a number of men skilled in the management of cannon and engines, embarked at Southampton, and reached the French coast towards the middle of August, 1415. The landing was effected without opposition where Havre is now situated, and the king instantly formed the siege of Harfleur, the principal town and fortress towards the mouth of the Seine. It was garrisoned by 400 knights, who made a valiant resistance. But the English having intercepted a convoy of powder and missiles, and run three mines under the walls, so closely pressed the besieged, that they offered to surrender, if not succoured within a certain time. Word of this engagement was brought to the dauphin at Vernon, who answered that "the king's force had not yet assembled." And Harfleur, with a great mass of treasure *, surrendered.

Henry left a garrison of 2000 men under the Duke of Exeter in the captive town, and marched northward along the coast with the intention of proceeding to Calais. On reaching Eu, a Gascon gentleman was brought in as prisoner, who on being questioned affirmed that the ford of the Somme near its mouth at Blanche Taque, so often passed by the English, was now guarded by

* Ellis' *Letters*, 2nd series, vol. i.

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6000 of the enemy. This assertion, though untrue, made Henry turn inland. He encamped at Boves, near Amiens, where the grapes of the new vintage were found in the vats. All the passes of the Somme were guarded, and Henry, in order to cross that river, was obliged to reascend it to the neighbourhood of Ham, where he crossed. From thence he turned northward by Peronne. Although he thus marched through the Duke of Burgundy's county of Artois, and although the duke had prohibited his subjects from aiding the French, and his son from joining them, still Henry was not received into any of the towns, and the gentry flocked to the standard of his enemies. Leaving Arras on their right, the English reached Frevent on the Canche; and crossing the river Blangy, perceived the masses of the French army at some distance before them, intercepting the road. Henry approached them in order of battle, his men at arms dismounted. He remained in this position till sunset, and then returned to sleep at Maisoncelles.

The French to the number of 50,000, under the constable D'Albret,—the king and the Duke of Guyenne remained at Rouen,—were encamped between Agincourt and Framecourt. They were almost all knights and men at arms, the younger princes having refused the aid of any civic corps, even of that which the city of Paris had expressly offered. For the same reason the succour or presence of the Duke of Burgundy was rejected, since he himself could command but the townsfolk of Flanders and Picardy. The French passed the night, which was rainy and cold, in festivity and boisterousness; they were amply provisioned. The English, numbering about 1000 men at arms and 10,000 archers, ill provided and anxious, spent the night in silence and in prayer. Henry rose with the dawn, heard three masses in succession, and armed himself conspicuously, wearing a bright helmet sur-

mounted by a crown. This offered facilities for eighteen French gentlemen, with the Duke of Alençon at their head, to direct all their efforts against the king's person. The duke is said to have struck off one of the flowers of the crown; all perished. Mounted on a small grey horse, Henry rode through and addressed his little army, and bade his soldiers remember England. He drew them up in one body or battle, his men at arms on foot, and his archers covering the front, being provided each with a stake to fix in the ground before him as a defence against the enemy's horse.

The French were divided by the constable into three lines or battles. The foremost of 8000 knights filled all the space in front between the two woods of Agincourt and Framecourt. They also dismounted, in imitation of the English; and from the weight of their steel coats, which reached below their knees, and from the rain and the encampment of the night previous, which had worked the earth into tenacious mud, they were unable to advance, had they desired it. On either side of this main body, and in advance of the woods, were bodies of horse, which were ordered to drive in and disperse the English archers. These, it is remarked by St. Remy, were unburdened with any armour, wore merely leather or osier caps, and being barefoot, were agile to play the axes or leaded maces which hung by their sides.

After some delay, and a futile attempt at negotiation, the English moved forward with loud shouts, stopped to take breath, and advanced again, the archers sending a shower of arrows which told fearfully on the serried ranks of their motionless foes. The mounted knights on either wing tried in vain to charge the archers and arrest their fire. They were driven back on the main body. Henry at the same time ordered a general advance, when a hand to hand fight of some duration ensued. But the French were too crowded to strike

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with effect, and too fixed in the mud to defend themselves. The archers rushed in amongst them with axes and maces, and there were soon large apertures cut in the first "battle," through which the victorious English rushed to rout the second; thousands were slain, thousands surrendered themselves captives. The third or rear division fled without fighting. In the midst of this triumph, a body of peasants attacked the English baggage in the rear, whilst a certain number of the last routed division showed signs of rallying, as if they were about to renew the struggle. Henry instantly gave the order that the prisoners should be slain, which the captors refused to execute. Each knight, when he surrendered, was stripped of his helmet, and stood exposed. To slay captives thus unguarded was easy, but the victor refused to kill the foe to whom he had just pledged his word, and for whom, moreover, he expected a certain ransom. The king, therefore, despatched an officer with a body of men to accomplish the bloody work. The resistance of the French and the attack on the baggage proved to be an idle menace and maraud. The slaughter was stayed, but not till many noble and gallant knights had fallen victims to what proved unnecessary cruelty.

Eight thousand French knights and nobles fell on the field of Agincourt. The constable himself, the Dukes of Brabant, of Bar, of Alençon, the Count of Nevers, the Archbishop of Sens, were amongst the slain. The Dukes of Bourbon and Orleans were amongst the captives, the latter dragged from under a heap of dead. Marshal Boucicaut, the Counts Eu and Vendome, and Arthur, count of Richmond, brother of the Duke of Brittany, were taken, with 1400 gentry. The only men of note lost by the English were the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk (Oxford). The Duke of Gloucester was severely wounded. Henry the Fifth

was careful to represent his victory as less the result of his own generalship or of his country's valour, than as a judgment of Providence on the dissolute morals of the French. Content with this reflection Henry marched with his army to Calais, and left the French to their civil discord.*

The battle of Agincourt, like so many in those ages, was one of foot against horse, of the English yeoman against the French knight. That the former should have conquered was the more remarkable, as recent victories, especially that of Roosebecque over the Flemings, had established the superiority of the mounted gentleman. The Flemish townsfolk fought in serried phalanx, covered by a forest of pikes; whereas the French knights, in heavy armour and on heavy horses, charged, and if the charge succeeded, the battle was won. The English kept no such close array, and used no long pikes; they trusted first to the arrows, and then to the use of short weapons in close combat. Each man was almost as formidable alone as in rank. Even a successful charge did not rout them, whilst it often proved fatal, as at Poitiers, to those who made it, since the French could not turn their heavy horses in the combat, as Monstrelet informs us, nor retreat and rally to renew the fight. Hence, during the wars of Duguesclin and the Black Prince, the French knights placed themselves on a level with the English yeomen, and demanded to fight on foot. There was in France, however, no exercise or habit for fighting thus. Tournaments continued; military science and training were confined to the mounted gentleman, who had even increased the weight and size of his armour; he was thus the more unfitted by a thirty years' peace, at least with England, to fight a pedestrian battle, that is, to dismount and break his lance in two to meet his English foe. On

* Lefevre de St. Remi, Hardyng, both present at the battle, Walsingham, Gesta. Henry V., Monstrelet, Berry, P. de Fenin, De Ursins.

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foot, and clothed in steel, his two-handed sword or his axe were his best weapons. But, instead of standing in open rank to wield this, as would have been the case had he had the least practice or experience in so fighting, the French were ranged together elbow to elbow, as if they were armed with pikes. The knight was neither allowed to charge on horseback, as suited his rank and his natural impetuosity, and which, if at times unsuccessful, as at Nicopolis, and in engagements with the English, had still admirably succeeded against the Flemings; nor was he permitted or instructed to fight, as Dugueselin had done, with his sword and axe. Want of organisation, of training and of military skill, want, in fact, of a government and a head, was then the cause of the defeat of the French, as it has been, and as it ever will be, the cause of military inferiority. In war struggles, as in all others, the amount of mind employed and infused into the strife is the true and universal source of triumph and success.

Machiavel represents the chief secrets and arts of war to be, for infantry to discover and to use effective means of protecting themselves against cavalry; but infantry means the middle and lower classes, cavalry implies aristocracy. The one is naturally formed of town multitudes or peasant levies; the mailed and mounted soldier is the knight and his retainer; the superiority of the pedestrian soldier is thus really the triumph of democracy. As long as the Italian citizens went to war themselves, and defended their rights and privileges by their own arms, no emperor could subdue, no aristocracy resist them. When they degenerated, and came to employ the mercenary and professional soldier, who soon became mounted and clad in heavy armour, and grew as rapacious, unscrupulous, and as fastidious as the gentleman, the civic class then lost their superiority, and with it their freedom, their political worth, and military virtue. The depression of

the civic and peasant class in France at the present period, whilst both were respected and employed in England, would be alone sufficient to account for the military superiority of the latter, which, indeed, remained uncontested, until the invasion and attempted conquest of France by the English brought war to the doors of the French townsman and peasant, who, thus threatened, took up arms in consequence, and soon restored equality of prowess and of force between the armies of both countries.

To the honour of the Burgundian party, more of its princes, than of the Armagnacs, fell on the field of Agincourt. The king, the dauphin, the Dukes of Berry and Brittany were at Rouen when they heard of the disaster. Their first care was to return to Paris, which the king was seen to enter with them, clothed in the same garments and cap which he had worn for two years, his hair flowing over his shoulders. The Duke of Burgundy also approached the capital at the head of a military force. "In his company," says Monstrelet, "were the exiles of the metropolis, the butchers and Jacqueville." The dauphin, who had had experience of these rude censors, and who feared that the Duke of Burgundy would make him take back his wife, wrote to forbid that prince entering the capital, and at the same time sent for Count Armagnac to the south. The duke took up his quarters at Lagny, sending vain embassies to Paris, but refraining from active hostilities. The dauphin was at the same time seized with dysentery and fever, for which he refused to do aught that his physician prescribed, and he sunk under the disease. The prince "of more will than reason," says the *Bourgeois de Paris*, "died not much regretted." Though "robust and of good exterior," says the monk of St. Denis, "he disliked the use of arms, was not affable like his father, and was wont to retire to his apartment to play on harp or spinette." "He dined at four,"

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according to the *Register of Parlement*, "supped at midnight, went to bed at daybreak; no wonder he did not live long."

There were still two sons left to Charles the Sixth; John, now the dauphin, married to a daughter of the Count of Hainault, and residing at his court; also Charles, known then as Duke of Touraine, married to a daughter of the King of Sicily of the house of Anjou, and completely in the guardianship, and under the influence of, Orleanists. The king, however, happened to become sufficiently sane at the time to gird Count Armagnac, when he arrived in Paris, with the sword of constable, and confer upon him all military power. This, as well as the civil authority, he wielded with his usual vigour, walling up the gates of Paris, manning the strong forts around it; terrorising and slaying the citizens who favoured the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke of Brittany came to Paris in the winter and sought to bring about a reconciliation. He induced the doctors of the university to come forward to support him; but Armagnac arrested and exiled them. At last *Jean Sans-Peur*, finding his stay at Lagny useless, withdrew northwards, earning from the Parisians the contemptuous appellation of John the Loiterer of Lagny—*Jean de Lagny qui tarde.* His hope was to induce the Count of Hainault to lead, in concert with him, the new dauphin to Paris, at the head of an army. But the count hesitated, and preferred negotiating to campaigning. Further attempts at arbitrage and reconciliation, not only between Armagnac and Burgundian, but between French and English, were made by the emperor Sigismund, who quitted Constance, and visited both Paris and London in the spring of 1416. Finding the Armagnacs intractable, Sigismund procured an interview between the English king and the Duke of Burgundy at Calais, which ended merely in a truce for a year.

The new constable had taken advantage of the retreat of the Duke of Burgundy, to signalise his authority by attacking the English garrison of Harfleur. The commander, the Duke of Dorset, afforded him the opportunity by leading a small foraging party to the country between Fécamp and Dieppe. Armagnac came upon them at Cany, with five times their number. His directions to the knights were to await the moment that the English descended from their horses to fight on foot, and then attack them, before the men at arms and archers should assume proper order. The accounts of the action differ, but it would appear that the stratagem of the French succeeded, and that their horse drove through the English. They rallied, however, threw themselves into a wood, and successfully defended it. Decamping at night, the English retreated towards the Seine, but near Harfleur the French again came upon and attacked them. Whilst the French in overwhelming numbers poured down from the height, the English, no less determined, marched up to meet them, and completely defeated them.*

A conspiracy discovered among the partisans of Burgundy obliged Armagnac to return to Paris. The chief of it was D'Orgemont, son of a former chancellor, who enlisted numbers of his fellow citizens oppressed by the rigorous taxation and tallages of the reigning faction. A rising was planned to take place at Easter, but all was discovered, those implicated in the plot executed, and the capital was subjected to severer police regulations than before. Meetings were forbidden, even to celebrate marriage, without a police commissary. Arms and armour were prohibited, the butcher corporation broken up, the coin of Burgundy and Brittany was cried down, an order which much aggravated the difficulty of purchase, and the stress of

* *Henrici Quinti Gesta.* The monk of St. Denis says the English had 1600 horse and 1500 archers.

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famine at a time when all provisions were at an exorbitant price.

Armagnac's task was not merely to keep down the price of provisions, but to carry on a successful war with the English, as that might redound to his honour and contribute to his fame. Henry the Fifth was not disinclined to peace, and offered to accept a three years' truce; so far was he from presuming on his success at Agincourt. But not all the efforts of the emperor Sigismund, nor the opinions of the other princes of the blood, could bend Armagnac to treat. He procured the alliance of Castile and its fleet, brought nine large carracks from Genoa, manned by the expert seamen of that republic. With these he blocked up the mouth of the Seine, and cut off Harfleur from English succour. Henry sent a fleet under the command of his brother John, duke of Bedford, who attacked the blockading fleet at the mouth of the Seine. The Spanish vessels withdrew from the attack, but the Genoese made an obstinate defence, preventing by their missiles the English from boarding. After a fight of six or seven hours, the latter succeeded in capturing three of the carracks, when the rest retreated, allowing the English prince to revictual Harfleur.

The Duke of Burgundy, in the meantime, cherished the hope that, through the means of the dauphin John and the Count of Hainault, he should make such an accord with the king and court as would give him quiet possession of affairs, and annul the influence of his enemy, Count Armagnac. The death of the Duke of Berry, which took place about that time, diminished his chances, and they were completely destroyed by the sudden demise of the dauphin John at Compiègne, about Easter, 1417. The Count of Hainault had gone to Paris to negotiate the prince's return, and had withdrawn, in some fear of the evil designs of Armagnac. On reaching Compiègne he found the dauphin ill of an

imposthume behind the ear, which burst internally and suffocated him. The Duke of Burgundy did not shrink from attributing the prince's death to poison administered by the Armagnacs. (April, 1417.)

This transferred the dignity and authority of heir to the crown to the king's third son, the future Charles the Seventh, who, having married a daughter of the house of Anjou, had always remained in the hands of the Orleanists, and especially of Armagnac. The constable was on bad terms with the queen, who no doubt had favoured peace, and had previously brought the dauphin and his brother together. She collected adherents to protect her against the constable: he accused her of dissoluteness, and adduced as a proof the extravagant size of the ladies' nether garments, which, according to Des Ursins, would not allow them to pass through a door. The king regaining sanity about this time, suspicion was infused into his mind against the queen's intimates. As the monarch was returning one evening from the queen's abode at Vincennes he met one of her courtiers proceeding thither. This gentleman, named Boisredon, saluted the king in passing with less reverence than the latter thought his due; he instantly ordered the provost, Tanneguy Duchatel, to arrest him. The ready provost not only seized, but applied torture to the gentleman, to make him confess, probably, the nature of his intimacy with the queen. He could not resist this mode of interrogation, confessed what was asked of him, was sewn in a sack, and thrown into the river, with the well known inscription of *Laissez passer la justice du roi.* The queen was then forcibly removed from Vincennes and conveyed to Tours, where she was kept under strict guard and with little state. Her son Charles, at the same time, seized all the money that he could discover belonging to her in Paris. Exorbitant taxes were levied on the citizens of the capital, and even the shrine of

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St. Louis was stripped of its covering of gold, which was coined to pay the Armagnac forces.

King Henry and the Duke of Burgundy proposed simultáneously to take advantage of these disorders. The English monarch was, indeed, compelled, for the Armagnacs in possession of authority would not listen to truce or peace, and sent their vessels to ravage the English coast at every opportunity. Henry the Fifth accordingly sailed with an army from Southampton in July, landed at Touques, procured the submission of the towns of the Cotentin, and laid siege to Caen. (August, 1417.) The Duke of Burgundy, in the meantime, had appealed to the towns north of Paris which had refused to join or aid him after Agincourt, and which had gained for their fidelity nothing save exposure to the ravages of brigands who scoured the country with impunity. The people of Rouen rose in insurrection, and, headed by Alain Blanchard, slew their bailiff; Armagnac despatched the young dauphin with a considerable force and reduced Rouen for the moment to obedience. The towns of Picardy, however, with Beauvais and Amiens, rallied to him, on condition of his respecting their privileges and municipal government whilst receiving military aid from them. The duke took Pontoise, and, crossing the Oise at L'Isle Adam, occupied Montmorency and menaced St. Denis. He afterwards crossed the Seine at Meulan, invested St. Cloud, and posted his army in the country and villages south of Paris. It was soon after harvest and was the time of vintage, so that the Parisians were deprived of their usual supply of provisions; the Burgundian besieged, at the same time, Corbeil and St. Cloud, so as to stop completely the navigation of the Seine, but his attempts to enter Paris were foiled by the vigilance of Armagnac.

The Burgundian armies had no sooner established their forces south of the capital, and between it and the

Loire, than Queen Isabella took the opportunity of sending messengers to the duke, craving his assistance to liberate her. To meet her wishes he abandoned Paris, marched to Chartres, and the queen obtaining of her keeper permission to perform her devotions in a monastery at some distance from Tours, a troop of Burgundians surrounded the convent and liberated the queen. Immediately she sent forth proclamations addressed to the towns, stating her liberation and previous ill-treatment, complaining of the durance in which Count Armagnac held the king, and asserting her own right to form a government. She nominated a council and a high court of justice. Her overtures were well received by the towns, especially as the Duke of Burgundy abolished all taxes, save that of salt.

In the year 1418 the Armagnac party was reduced to the greatest straits, and could be said only to exist through the obstinate courage of its chief. The Duke of Burgundy and the queen were obeyed by the towns all round Paris. The Emperor Sigismund had induced the council of Constance and the new Pope to regard the Duke of Burgundy as the only lawful authority,—one of the circumstances that discomfited John Gerson,—and envoys were sent from the new Pope to assist in restoring peace to France. Henry the Fifth, after having taken Caen, Cherbourg, Falaise, and Lisieux, was advancing to invest Rouen, and reduce, with its capital, the entire duchy of Normandy. The Duke of Burgundy made every concession personally to the dauphin, and at length the terms of a treaty were drawn up at Montereau, under the presidency of the papal envoys. Count Armagnac and his immediate friends were the only personages who resisted the conclusion of an accord so indispensable to the peace, and almost to the existence of the kingdom. (May, 1418.) And, when it was known in the capital that the existing state of famine and of terror and

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war was to be continued, merely because it suited the interest and obstinacy of Armagnac, the idea was at once conceived of shaking off his tyranny.

A man, named Leclerc, a rich dealer in iron and iron goods, was *quarternier*, or chief of his quarter, and as such had the guard of the gates of St. Germain des Près. His son, Perrinet Leclerc, with some of his followers, went secretly to the Sieur De L'Isle Adam, who commanded in Pontoise for the Burgundians, and offered to admit him on a certain evening. L'Isle Adam came with 800 men on the night of the 29th of May; and Perrinet, taking the keys of the gate from under his father's pillow, admitted them. They proceeded, without noise, as far as the Chatelet, where 400 citizens were in readiness to receive them. They then cried "To arms!" attacked the residence of the authorities, fired the palace of St. Pol, and made the king mount on horseback with them. The constable Armagnac escaped; and the provost Tanneguy Dûchatel, wrapping up the dauphin in a sheet, carried him off first to the Bastille, and thence sent him to Melun. The chiefs of the Armagnac party were seized and put in prison. The constable himself, betrayed by the master of the house in which he had taken refuge, afterwards shared their captivity. The men of lesser note belonging to his party were slain at once. Three days after the capture of Paris by the Burgundians, Tanneguy Duchatel sought to serve them in the same fashion by marching into the capital at the head of 1600 determined knights. They forced their way to the Hotel de St. Pol, but the king had been removed to the Louvre. Ere they arrived, however, at the Chatelet, the populace gathered in masses, as well as the troops of L'Isle Adam, and at length the Armagnacs were obliged to retreat with the loss of 400 men.*

* Monstrelet.

More Burgundian troops soon arrived; but unfortunately the duke himself delayed, whilst the exasperated exiles of the capital, the butchers amongst them, returned, and resolved to take vengeance after their own manner upon their enemies. On the 12th of June the people rose under the conduct of Lambert, a tanner, and attacked the prisons. The first entered was the Conciergerie, where the constable Armagnac and the chancellor De Marle were confined; these were dragged into the court, stripped, and inhumanly massacred. The same scenes were enacted at the other prisons, except at the Chatelet, where the captives defended themselves, and slew many of their assailants, until fire was put to the building; the mob then entered, and flung the prisoners that remained from the battlements upon the pikes of their comrades below. Fifteen hundred persons, including five bishops, perished in these massacres; many women were slain, and several of those imprisoned for debt, strangers to political strife. It is impossible not to remark the similarity of these cruel massacres with those which occurred nearly 400 years later. Nor were the Swiss who suffered in the modern French revolution without their prototype in 1418. "Great pity there was," says Juvenal des Ursins, "for the Genoese, poor mercenary soldiers, who were driven out of the houses, killed in the street, and brought in cartloads to the cemetery to be buried, or perhaps drawn thither by a cord tied to their feet." The body of Armagnac and that of the chancellor were dragged for many days about the streets, a scarf of flesh being cut off from shoulder to hip, to imitate the white emblem worn by the Armagnacs. According to Monstrelet, several of the Burgundian officers were present at these excesses, and unable to prevent them, were heard to exclaim, "Ye do what is right, my children."

It was not till a full month after the perpetration of these wholesale murders that the Duke of Burgundy

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and the queen entered Paris, where his presence was far from appeasing the popular fury. On the 20th of August, a week after his arrival, the Chatelet was once more forced and the prisoners in it murdered. Excited by blood the populace marched to the Bastille, and demanded that the prisoners there also should be made over to them. The Duke of Burgundy, whose residence was close by, came forth to allay the fury of the people, and in his attempts to conciliate them, took the hand, it appears, of Capeluche the executioner, who was amongst the leaders of the riot. His entreaties were idle; the duke caused seven or eight of the prisoners, some of rank and respectability, to be handed over to the mob, on their promising to conduct them harmless to the Chatelet. This promise they were unable to keep; and the prisoners were decapitated. The duke was mortified and alarmed: he took counsel with the better class of citizens how to put an end to these disorders, when he at last hit upon the expedient of sending 6000 of the most ferocious to besiege Montl'hery. They had no sooner departed than the duke caused Capeluche to be executed. The ferocious besiegers of Montl'hery on hearing it sought to return, but they found the gates of Paris closed against them, when they dispersed in the environs, and found prisoners to massacre at St. Denis and at other places. Although a great portion of the population fled from this reign of terror, enough remained to suffer from famine, confiscation, the plunder of themselves, and the murder of their friends. To crown all, a pestilence came and swept away thousands both in Paris and its environs. The assassins of the prisoners formed the main part in the fatal list. Eight hundred of them expired in the Hotel Dieu, or great hospital, "refusing confession or repentance." "It was hopeless," they said, "to crave mercy of God, who could never pardon such crimes as they had committed."

Meanwhile Henry the Fifth, who was pressing the siege of Rouen, commenced early in August, drew as an inference from these dreadful scenes of anarchy and bloodshed, that God had abandoned the reigning dynasty of France, and was resolved, as in the case of Saul and David, to substitute another on the throne. He is reported to have made this answer to certain envoys despatched to him by the dauphin. Henry had formed a separate camp or fortified position before each of the gates of Rouen, commanded by himself, his brother, the Duke of Clarence, and his principal nobles. A body of Welsh kept the waterside, whilst to a body of Irish fell the task of foraging and ravaging the country of the enemy. These camps or *loges*, as they were called, were connected together by trenches, and so well guarded, that no supplies of any kind could reach the city, whilst all sorties of the garrison, consisting of 4000 troops and 1500 town militia, were effectually repulsed. In order to blockade the river on the side of Paris, as well as towards the sea above Rouen, chains were extended across the stream to intercept any boats. When the siege had lasted a month the fort of St. Catherine surrendered for want of provisions.*

The people of Rouen, who began themselves to suffer from famine, despatched an aged ecclesiastic to Paris to demand succour. "He threatened," says Monstrelet, "that the King of France should have no worse enemy for the future than the people of Rouen, if through his fault they became subject to the King of England." Paris, however, was at the time, according to the description of the *Bourgeois de Paris*, as much straitened for provisions as Rouen, and still more afflicted by pestilence. The duke, therefore, induced the papal legate with some of his own envoys to proceed to Rouen, in order to bring

* Cheruel, *Hist. de Rouen sous les Anglois.*

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about an accommodation with Henry. The latter observed that there was no one with whom he could treat; the king insane, his son still a minor, the Duke of Burgundy without legitimate power. Des Ursins adds, that to the envoys sent to treat by the dauphin, Henry replied by demanding Flanders in addition to his other conquests.

The melancholy message of the people of Rouen was sent in October; it was not till December that the Duke of Burgundy moved with the court to Pontoise, the king being made to take the *oriflamme* from St. Denis. The standard was entrusted to a man of no account, "the duke and court remaining for three weeks at Pontoise, doing nothing save devour the country round." There was a just expectation that the dauphin might co-operate, but he probably was more bent on annoying and threatening the Burgundians than attacking the English. At last the people of Rouen were reduced to the extremity of famine: they had attempted a sortie in one mass, but the bridge over which they passed broke down, and defeated the attempt, the citizens accusing their governor, Boutellier, of sawing the piles which supported the bridge. They then made offers of surrender, but Henry would grant no conditions. Some proposed to set fire to the town, and throwing down a portion of the wall, rush forth upon the English, "let what God will become of them." Henry is said to have relented on learning this desperate resolution, and ordering their messenger to be recalled, offered to the citizens their lives and the liberty of departing with what was on their bodies, on the payment of 365,000 crowns of gold. Three persons were alone to be excepted from the amnesty; Livet, the vicar-general, John Jourdan, chief of the artillery, and Alain Blanchard, leader of the town militia. These terms being accepted, Henry made a public entrance into Rouen on the 19th of

January, 1419, 215 years after it had been taken by Philip Augustus. Of the three persons excepted from the amnesty, Alain Blanchard alone was executed, in consequence of the cruelties he had inflicted on the English captives, whom, according to Otterburn, he was wont to hang or drown in sacks, with dogs tied to their necks by way of ignominy.

The surrender of Rouen produced that of all the towns of Normandy, and the example was followed by almost every fortress along the course of the Seine. La Roche Guyon was valiantly defended by the widow of its lord. When it was taken, the English sovereign offered the dame the preservation of her property, on condition of her marrying Le Boutellier, former governor of Rouen, who had come over to his cause. She preferred abandoning castle and domain, to redeeming them at such a price.

The ruling parties in France were, however, anxious to treat with the victor. He granted to the dauphin a truce for this purpose; and one was also concluded with the Burgundians, to admit of an interview between the French and English courts. There was at the same time a cessation of hostilities between the two French factions. The meeting with the English took place near Meulant, in May, in a hut surrounded by palisades. The Duke of Burgundy and the queen were accompanied by the young princess Catherine, who there saw Henry for the first time. After some preliminaries, the latter stated his demands to be the terms of the treaty of Bretigny, with the addition of Normandy; that as well as Aquitaine to be held by him in full sovereignty. After the example of Edward the Third, he excluded the idea of vassality. It is the opinion of M. De Barante, an impartial judge, that the two courts were very near an agreement, and that Henry desired it on those terms, but that the Duke was not sincere. He wished to obtain better conditions,

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either from the dauphin, by threatening to conclude with Henry, or from Henry by menacing to come to an accord with the dauphin. Under this impression the English king came to a frank explanation with the Duke of Burgundy, on the 3rd of June. Henry, says the *Religieux of St. Denis*, was a man "who avoided many words and oaths altogether; replying curtly, the thing was impossible, or that it must be done, feeling himself as much bound by these words, as if he had called all the inhabitants of heaven to witness." Such being the character of Henry, his explanation with Duke John was short. Perceiving his irresoluteness, the king said, "My good cousin, I would have you to know, that we shall have the daughter of your king, and all our demands, or we will drive him and you out of the kingdom." "You declare your pleasure, sire," rejoined the duke; "but before you have driven the king and me out of the country, you will be much a-wearied."

On this the English and Burgundian separated, and the latter turned his views eagerly towards a reconciliation with the dauphin. A lady, Madame De Giac, to whom the duke was attached, and who was in the service of the queen, brought about an interview, and the duke and dauphin met in July, on a bridge over the Seine near Melun. The duke knelt to the dauphin, who seized his hand and kissed it, saying, "If there was anything in the treaty between us that displeased you, change it, for my will shall be yours, do not entertain a doubt." A cessation of arms was accordingly agreed upon, and a treaty signed, the object of which was that both should turn their arms against the English. The truce had just expired, and Henry troubled the rejoicings, which were universal, for the reconciliation between the duke and the dauphin, by surprising Pontoise, almost the only defence of Paris on the side of Normandy. The English troops were

able to make incursions to the very gates of the capital, whilst the duke and the queen withdrew to Troyes.

Whatever might have been the past demerits or crimes of *Jean Sans-Peur*, there can be no doubt that at this critical period he was sincerely patriotic, and that his desire was to put an end to the miserable strife which divided the court, the noblesse, and the kingdom, in order to unite all in resistance to the English. Had he purely selfish aims, he had the fairest opportunity of indulging them. For what could the King of England refuse him? But John seemed to entertain no ambitious views, at least none which would have forwarded his own aggrandisement at the expense of the rightful heir to the crown. He had intrigued and struggled certainly, for long years, to have his share of power, and he had stooped to commit a great crime, in order to ensure it; he had, moreover, in the prosecution of his aims, and of pushing party warfare, become the ally and the instrument of a ruffian class which he abhorred. It is probable that he wished to redeem all, and by a cordial reconciliation with the dauphin, first make head against the enemies of the country, and then deal loyally, as became the first vassal of the crown. But late intentions, however good, are seldom accomplished. Crime produces results which cannot be effaced, and enmities for which too just cause has been given are not to be appeased by regrets impossible to be duly manifested.

When therefore *Jean Sans-Peur*, turned towards the party of the dauphin, and sought their right hands, in forgiveness to himself, and in active war with the English, he found his enemies still absorbed by those ideas of vengeance and hate which he had discarded. Instead of animosity against Henry the Fifth, and eagerness to combat him, Tanneguy Duchatel and the other friends of the dauphin thought of the murder of the Duke of Orleans, and of Count Armagnac, both of

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which they attributed to one personage. Selfish interests combined with this hatred. *Jean Sans-Peur* once more in power, and wielding legitimate influence over the prince, they would be reduced to subordinate parts, and could no longer be the prime movers of the dauphin's policy, or the companions of his leisure.

To inveigle the Duke of Burgundy into an interview, in which they could have an opportunity of slaying him, was, therefore, their sole thought. How far the dauphin himself participated in the design, remains uncertain. But he certainly lent himself in every way to entice the duke to meet him on the spot prepared by the conspirators, the fatal bridge of Montereau. It was the mistrustful habit of that day for princes to meet in spaces barricaded and enclosed. In such a park had the duke just met Henry, near Meulant. A lodge or wooden enclosure was erected in the middle of the bridge of Montereau ; in it the two princes were to meet, accompanied each by ten friends, and with arms. The chronicles of the day are most circumstantial in narrating the mistrust of the duke, and of his friends; he himself hesitating, and many of them dissuading him from proceeding to the interview. When such mistrust existed, it is a wonder that the duke did not take the true and only precaution, that of being a party to the erection of the barricades, and then being accompanied by ten as determined men as those who followed the dauphin, and of assuring himself that one party was no better armed than the other. There was in reality no necessity for the interview. The princes had met, an accord had taken place, a treaty drawn up, they had parted in friendship. All now required was that their armies should unite and take the field together. The dauphin does not seem to have assigned a motive for the interview, which *Jean Sans-Peur* would however not refuse, lest he should throw obstacles in the way of peace, and which he had not the acuteness or

presence of mind to render safe by common precaution. As the duke approached the bridge of Montereau, he was told that the dauphin was already in the *loge*, and awaited him; he hastened on, and entering the barrier, where some of the companions of that prince met him, he placed his hand on the shoulder of Tanneguy Duchatel, and said, "Here is the man in whom I trust." Tanneguy was the envoy of the dauphin, who had urged the duke to the interview, and pledged his word ten times over that no treason was meant. All the companions on either side renewed their oaths as a necessary preliminary to the meeting. *Jean Sans-Peur* advanced with his friends, and on entering the *loge* found the dauphin in armour leaning on the opposite barrier. According to the account furnished by this prince*, he addressed the duke with reproaches for not coming sooner, and for keeping him so many days in such an unwholesome place. "I came as soon as I could, my very good lord," was the duke's reply; "but it would be better for both of us to be with the king expediting the war against the English." "I am better here, and you, you should have more mistrusted the English," and the dauphin continued to reproach the duke with many of his deeds. "I could do no other than what it was my duty to do." The princes then contradicted each other, and the duke rising, touched his sword, to put it out of the way, his friends assert. But it was evident from the dauphin's words and mode of commencing the interview, as reported by himself, that he meant to quarrel, and to bring about a pretext for what immediately followed. No sooner had the duke risen, than Tanneguy Duchatel, who had his axe hidden,—he had no right to have such an arm,—struck him with it on the face; the blow cut through the chin,

* Report of the English agents at the court of Rome of the account of the duke's death, sent by the dauphin to Pope Martin. — Cottonian MS., Cleopatra E. 2, fol. 355.

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and prostrated *Jean Sans-Peur*. One of his companions, the Sieur de Navailles, alone raised his arm to defend his master, and was slain; the assassins then lifted up the duke's armour and thrust their swords into his body. The other nine companions of the duke were made prisoners, and some of them even entered the service of the dauphin, so ill had he selected his friends. The Burgundians stationed at the end of the bridge, strove at first to break up the barrier of the bridge, but were driven off by missiles; some took refuge in the castle, the remainder fled, and spread through the country the sad report of the murder, and the consequent rupture of all reconciliation or peace between the contending factions.

It was, indeed, impossible to imagine an act so impolitic, or so insane. The English were at Pontoise, within a few leagues of Paris. To resist them required the joint efforts and forces of duke and dauphin; yet the latter, or his friends, perpetrated an act which necessarily flung the new Duke of Burgundy into the arms of the English, and covered the dauphin, the only remaining son of Charles the Sixth, with the opprobium of so great a crime. Considering the mode of reasoning in those days, it is not surprising that Henry the Fifth should have imagined France and its reigning dynasty abandoned by Providence, the country and its crown handed over to himself.

The cry of execration against the dauphin and his band of assassins was universal. All classes of Parisians joined in it, parlement, burgesses, and university. The towns of Picardy and the north followed the example, and did more: they raised troops and sent their civic militia into the field against the Armagnacs. Queen Isabella denounced her son; and Philip, the young Duke of Burgundy, then twenty-three years of age, came forward to take up, with ten times his father's force, his father's quarrel. *Jean Sans-Peur* was murdered on the 10th of September, 1419, and a month

had scarcely elapsed when the plenipotentiaries of England met those of the Duke of Burgundy, together with envoys from the city of Paris, at Arras. The Parisians were the true victims, for whilst the Armagnacs and the Burgundians fought and slew each other, the English from Pontoise menaced the capital, and ravaged all around it. The Parisians, therefore, implored the conclusion of a truce, and this Duke Philip obtained from the English monarch, by swearing to him alliance and affection, to be cemented by the marriage of one of Philip's sisters with one of the brothers of Henry, and by a grant of land from Henry of the value of 20,000 livres, for which the duke was to do homage *lige*.*

The dauphin and his party thus saw the north irreparably lost; and their bands treated it worse than the English, who began to consider it their own. Charles withdrew to Poitiers, where he set up another kingdom, with a council independent of that of his father, and separate parlements there and at Toulouse. Provincial estates were at the same time summoned, all of whom declared their adherence to the dauphin. The Count of Foix, the most puissant noble of the extreme south, also declared for Charles. His followers made the mistake of endeavouring to draw Brittany and its duke into their party by compulsion. Tanneguy Duchatel, himself a Breton, concocted a plot with the Penthievre for seizing Duke John. He effected the capture; but the estates of the duchy met, and under the spirited lead of the duchess, the Bretons soon compelled the liberation of their lord, and enforced the respect due to their privileges and independence. The Loire thus remained the boundary between the factions which distracted France.

Henry the Fifth spent Christmas at Rouen, whilst negotiations were proceeding; the Duke of Burgundy

* Chatelain, *Chronique*; De Barante.

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departing in February for Troyes, where the king and queen were residing. The duke did homage for his possessions, which were augmented by Peronne and Montdidier, as well as by the full cession of Lille and Douay. The terms of the treaty with England having been agreed upon, and accepted by the Parisians, Henry, accompanied by his brother, his principal nobles, and 1600 soldiers, journeyed from Rouen through Pontoise and St. Denis to Troyes. There, in the church of St. John, the treaty was solemnly signed by the contracting parties on the 20th May, 1420.

This treaty first announced that Henry became a son of Charles by marriage with his daughter Catherine, and at the same time regent and heir of the kingdom of France. Charles was to preserve during life the rank and title of king. During the latter's *empèchement*, or inability to govern, the task devolved upon Henry. After Charles' demise, the crown of France was to descend in full to Henry, and his heirs, so that the one monarch should rule over England and France, and that they be not divided: that all French rights and privileges should be respected, and that none of the contracting parties should treat or make peace with Charles, called the dauphin, because of his horrible and enormous crimes, without the consent of each other, as well as of the estates of England and France. The nobles and other persons of the kingdom were to swear adherence to this treaty, and to the future rights of Henry. The Duke of Burgundy himself at once took this oath, promising that he would obey him for the present as regent of France, and after the demise of Charles would become his liege.*

* According to Chatelain, it was at the same time agreed between Henry and the Duke of Burgundy that the former should appoint English captains over the fortresses of Vincennes and the Bastille, as well as over the counties of Champagne, Brie, and Picardy; also in the towns of Senlis and Corbeil. In all other places and counties French or Burgundian commanders were to be appointed.

Such was the tenor of the treaty of Troyes, so glorious to Henry, yet so impracticable of accomplishment, that it must be doubted whether there was any sincerity in the French signers of it. To be avenged of the dauphin, and to crush him by the assistance of England, was evidently the foremost thought, the first desire. But it is scarcely credible that the Duke of Burgundy looked forward to continuing, after the accomplishment of his vengeance, the faithful vassal of the house of Lancaster. The arrangement of one king governing the two countries was plainly impracticable. And that Henry himself could have entertained it, only shows how the most vigorous intellects may allow their perspicacity and sense to be clouded by success and superstition. He was well aware that his new position could only be preserved by force of arms. On the occasion of his marriage with the princess Catherine, which took place on June 2nd, the knights of both countries were for celebrating the event by a tournament. But he forbade the rival combat, and told those who proposed it, to join him in the siege of Sens, where they might exercise their prowess against the Armagnacs. Sens made a trifling resistance; sufficient, however, to induce Henry to hang a number of its defenders.

Melun, the possession of which by the dauphin, deprived Paris of its provisions from the Upper Seine, was the next besieged, and fell also before the conqueror, who doomed several of the officers of its garrison to the scaffold. After the capture of Melun, Henry and his queen made their solemn entry into Paris on the 1st December, the citizens appearing clad in red to do him honour, and crying "Noel," the royal salutation. A few days after, the sitting of the estates* was held at the royal palace of St. Pol, in

* The three estates were apparently only those of Paris and its vicinity; for the Count of St. Pol was sent to convene and take the oaths of the *states* of Picardy. — *Recueil des Ordonnances.*

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which Henry required the oaths of allegiance according to the treaty of Troyes. But the Prince of Orange, and several of the nobles who were willing to war with England against the dauphin, still declined to subscribe to the treaty of Troyes. A recoinage was ordered, for the introduction of the effigy of Henry. Of eight marks of the old coin then called in, the government took one. The clergy not being exempted from the tax, the university came forward to protest, but Henry reprimanded them, and the doctors thought better not to reply for fear of being sent to prison. The military and civil offices of the capital being arranged, its strongholds garrisoned, and placed under the command of the Duke of Clarence, new magistrates were elected; but unfortunately the famine soon obliged Henry and his queen to depart for England. His absence was speedily felt both in the kingdom and the field. Four thousand Scotch, under the Duke of Buchan, had been brought by the fleet of Castile, to the succour of the dauphin. With these, and what forces he could collect, he marched into Anjou, and the Duke of Clarence hastened with about an equal force to repel them. It was approaching Easter, 1421, when the duke learned that the French and Scotch were posted at no great distance, near Baugé. The Duke of Clarence at such a moment thought fit to forget, or to reverse the military tactics of his country, of his brother, and of the Black Prince. Leaving his archers on one side, he advanced with his knights and men at arms alone, numbering not more than a thousand or twelve hundred, and with these he attacked the six or seven thousand Scotch and French, who kept in a body and awaited the charge of the duke. The onset was unsuccessful, and the French gained a complete victory, similar to those so often won by the English. The Duke of Clarence was defeated and slain; the Earls of Kent and Tancarville, and Lord de Ros perished with

him. Several earls were taken prisoners. The English archers advanced afterwards into the field and rescued the body of the prince, which they bore to Rouen.

Henry hastened to redeem this disaster: he landed at Calais with 4000 lances and 24,000 archers, despatched the Earl of Dorset with reinforcements to Paris, and himself marched towards Chartres, which town the army of the dauphin had attempted to besiege. But on learning Henry's approach, the Armagnacs retired behind the Loire, beyond which the English monarch did not think fit to pursue them. He continued his march along the river, and from the Orleannais turned back towards Paris, chiefly for the sake of reducing the strong fortress of Meaux, which was held by the soldiers of the dauphin, and made a centre for their incursions against Paris and the Burgundians. The captain of the garrison, known by the name of the Bastard of Vaurus, had made himself dreaded through the country. Whoever he could seize on the high roads, he only liberated upon receiving ransom, and when it was not forthcoming, he hanged his captives upon a fatal tree which bore his name. Henry kept Meaux invested for ten months; it did not surrender until March, 1421, when Vaurus was hanged on his own tree. This terminated the reduction of the north. Henry, to complete his task, had to follow the dauphin beyond the Loire, an enterprise which required time, preparation, and resources. In the meantime the dauphin was not idle. Though he had retired with the Scotch from Anjou, he now threatened Burgundy, took La Charité, which gave him passage over the Loire. The Duke of Burgundy alarmed, summoned Henry to his assistance; the English king, then suffering with the first symptoms of his fatal malady, sent the Duke of Bedford, at whose approach the dauphin withdrew. Henry himself advanced as far as Melun, from whence, feeling the gravity of his indisposition, he caused himself to be brought

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back to Vincennes, where death cut short the schemes and conquests of the English monarch. Charles the Sixth survived his puissant protector a very few weeks. Henry expired on the last day of August, Charles on the 21st of October.

The reign of Charles is a period of French history painful to contemplate, whether the distress of the population be regarded, the degradation of every one of its classes, or the disgrace and anarchy which befel the whole as a nation. All had come to put their trust in the absolute power and will of a monarch, as the sole principle of security, the only spring of government, as a dogma in fact of political religion. When it failed, from one of the natural infirmities of man, not only society and order, but hope and virtue perished with it. The reign of Charles the Sixth thus became that of rampant ruffianry;—without scruple, without prudence, without moral sense or human feeling, and even without ambition of any manly kind;—to get the good things of the world, and enjoy them sensually, seeming all that effort could aim at or success attain.

Whilst the upper class was sunk in ignorance, selfishness, and debauchery, all beneath it was terrorised by the summary and iniquitous bloodshedding of the princes. Good men feared to step forth; wise men shrunk from entertaining a political idea, or venting a political truth. Those of the forensic, the judicial, and even the administrative professions, pretended to be dead, lest a sign of life should bring down upon them the axe of the executioner. The churchmen and the professors, having the whole public stage to themselves, strutted on it, uttering for the most part vile and empty pedantry, defending unfounded and useless rights with all the ferocity of the age, the tools of Burgundy or of Orleans in Paris, and of worse bigotry at Constance. The victory of Roosebecque might have been expected to kindle the spirit of military emulation; but that

event, joined with the weakness of Richard the Second, having left France without a foe, every spark of military virtue and talent died out. Even the traditions of discipline and tactics were lost.

The age ceased to produce men; and in this respect its history resembles that kind of Spanish drama, in which intrigue, adventure, vicissitudes of fortune, and heinousness of crime abound, but in which there is neither character, nor hero, nor elevation, even in crime. Gerson, as a writer and a thinker, shone; but in his philosophy and his ideas of church government he was beyond his time. Though courageous to denounce the false theory of the Duke of Burgundy, that murder was licit on political grounds, when no law sanctioned or facilitated condemnation, he fell himself into the same error and the same crime, by sanctioning the burning of Huss, for holding doctrines not very unlike his own, and in despite of the word and signature of an emperor pledged for his safety. The carmelite Pavilly was also a remarkable man. But neither he nor John of Troyes could do more than act spokesmen of the butchers. The little intellect that could be found, was made the mere instrument of brute violence.

It is surprising that amidst the great number of princes and of nobles who figure in the annals of the time, and swell the long list of death and of captivity at Agincourt, there were not some who could conceive a politic or a patriotic aim, and follow it with consistency and intelligence. But servility was the only sentiment; the scheme of conduct and of life for the high born, was to place themselves in the service of a prince, espouse his interests, and follow his fortunes, reckless of what they were or to what they led. The one or two who were above serving, were, like the unfortunate Duke of Orleans, or the dauphin, mere men of gallantry and pleasure—one might more truly say, debauchery.

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It would be a relief, indeed, if the eye, surveying France in this age, could rest upon one of those personages which Italy then produced, and whom Machiavel has portrayed,—men nefarious indeed, arrested by no scruples, and deterred by no crimes; but still with a purpose in what they did, and with intellect and will to achieve it. Of this Italian character, Count Armagnac had a few of the darker shades; but he differed in little, save birth, from Caboche. John, Duke of Burgundy, came nearest to the Machiavelian hero, for he was unscrupulous, sanguinary, restless, and brave, but he had no purpose, no clear foresight of what he desired, or how he should accomplish it; he was unable even to discern the materials of strength and power that lay beneath his hand; and, placed in the most favourable position for playing a great political game, he was too ignorant of policy to take advantage of it. No prince was endowed with greater power for good or for ill: he might have formed a kingdom of his own in antagonism to France, or to southern France; or he might have devoted his energies to the aggrandisement of that monarchy, whilst appropriating it to himself. By a more honest course than either, he might have continued the consistent advocate of civic rights, of middle class development and organisation. He might have played the part of Leicester, in England, with what De Montfort had not,—the means and almost the certainty of success. Instead of this, he demeaned himself, to say no worse, disgusted the civic classes, and alienated every upright and honest follower, by imbruing his hands in foul and bootless murder. This drove him, in the course of his rivalry with his brother princes, to make use of the arms of the most brutal of the rabble, which discredited him still more with the commercial, as well as with the gentle class. The universal mistrust that he excited, was communicated to his own mind. The disaster of Agincourt placed the state in his hands, had

he known how to grasp it; the obstinate inveteracy of the dauphin's friends, and their preference of their country's ruin to a reconciliation with him, restored to Jean Sans Peur the adherence of the towns, the magistracy, and the church. And he seems at the last to rise to a level with his position, and with what was demanded of it. In his later negotiations with Henry, he showed himself patriotic, spirited, and honest; in those with the dauphin, conciliatory and sensible. But it was a great judgment of Providence that the base assassin, the sanguinary chief, should not be allowed to come forth in the character of the honest patriot; and Jean Sans Peur fell by what was but a just retribution to him, although it was the height of iniquity and folly in those who perpetrated his murder.

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CHARLES THE SEVENTH, TO HIS ENTRANCE INTO PARIS.

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GREAT and glorious as had been the progress of Henry the Fifth in the conquest of France, this was manifestly due as much to the distraction, or indeed to the absence of all government in that country, as to the genius of the conqueror or to the valour of his soldiers. Any event, which raised up a government and established a principle of authority, must evidently go far to restore the balance. When that event not only gave a king to France of its royal race, and of hereditary rights, but left the throne of England, and that portion of France conquered by it, to be occupied by a boy king, it became obvious that the ascendency of England would be fiercely disputed, and in time inevitably overthrown.

Even Henry the Fifth, in all the flush of victory, had not consolidated his rule. His personal superiority, as well as that of English armies in the field, were indeed undoubted, whenever the French had the hardihood to dispute it. Even after the death of Henry, they met with signal disaster and defeat. But the military strength of the nation was not exclusively in its armies; numbers, wealth, and spirit, were in the towns, although the princes and nobles had either disdained or known not how to profit by them. However victorious

in the field, the English seldom penetrated into walled places save by famine, and although Henry in a brilliant campaign had reduced all the towns of Normandy, those of the rest of even Northern France were by no means entirely in his possession. The truth was, he had no troops wherewith to garrison them, some 12,000 knights, and 20,000 archers forming the utmost force that England could raise or keep up for the subjugation of France. These if scattered in towns could not take the field; and the English commanders were obliged to rely upon such French soldiers and captains as embraced their cause, or fought for them in the interests of Burgundy. Garrisons thus composed, even when faithful and zealous, were only strong when cordially supported by the town militia. But this class, with the exception of the lowest of the Parisian population, never rallied to the English, however they might distrust the Armagnacs. The consequence was, that in the eight or ten years which followed the treaty of Troyes, the English never completed their mastery even of France north of the Seine. When they reduced one fortress they generally lost another, and instead of being able to collect their strength to crush their antagonist in the south, they were not even successful in driving his partisans from Picardy, from Champagne, or even from the environs of Paris.

Had Henry the Fifth lived, he might indeed have led an army beyond the Loire, achieved more victories, and compressed the hopes of Charles the Seventh into even a smaller compass; but repeated victories would not have accomplished final conquest, or secured peaceable possession of the country. Too few to awe, too proud to conciliate, without the possibility of employing the system of intolerable extermination and confiscation, perpetrated at earlier and ruder periods, the English could never overcome that pride in their race, their country, and their common tongue, which had already

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come to constitute French nationality, and which inspired all classes with a horror of the stranger, who pretended to dominate over them. The sentiment, under the influence of which a portion of the country, led by the potent Duke of Burgundy, had acknowledged an English prince, in order to be avenged of the assassins of Montereau, was one which the lapse of years tempered and effaced; whilst the feeling of repulsion for a sovereign, whose birthplace and whose seat of power was in a foreign and hostile land, whose ministers and whose officers were of that land, grew stronger with the sufferings, affronts, and accidents of every day.

Henry the Fifth was a prince whose character and demeanour increased this feeling of repulsion. He was stern, cold, and haughty, and did not treat the French with the affability of Edward the Third. The captives of Agincourt were not like those of Crecy and Poitiers, feasted or domiciled at court*, but were sent to remote and gloomy castles. Monstrelet describes Henry's treatment of L'Isle Adam, the chieftain who had won Paris for the Anglo-Burgundians. The king reprimanded him for appearing in his presence clad in a rough grey cloak, and chid him also for staring in his face when addressing him. L'Isle Adam observed, it was the custom of his country. Henry distributed the fiefs of France amongst his followers, as William the Conqueror had done in England.† That he thus alienated the French noblesse is nothing marvellous, but that he had not the art or the fortune to win over the burgess class, to which he brought order, regular government, and effective police, with a prospect of the same freedom, the same municipal rights and parliamentary privileges, which the English enjoyed, may naturally excite some wonder.

* See Rymer, *passim.* † Gesta Henrici V.

Philip the Good was, like most of the princes of his time, a man of pleasure. At this very period, the attentions which he paid to Lady Salisbury offended her husband, and is mentioned as one of the causes which led to the estrangement between him and the English chiefs. To enjoy his high station and power, rather than make them the stepping-stone to ambition, was his utmost aim. Though a crown was within his grasp, was almost the necessary complement of the grandeur of the house of Burgundy, and although he must have cordially hated the dauphin, he never aspired to exchange his ducal for a kingly coronet. Having no such ambition for himself, he could not be expected to entertain it for others; and when, in resentment against his cousin, he acknowledged Henry the Fifth as sovereign of France, his intention was rather to allow him to conquer that country than aid him in doing so. Philip indeed was neither a warrior nor an organiser of armies, and he seems to have inspired the forces which he raised, and the generals whom he employed, with his own lukewarmness and indifference. But if he lent the English no very active aid, he was at the same time not in a position, at least as yet, to desert them; he could not at once make peace with the murderer of his father. Nevertheless he must have felt that to allow the war to linger, without a decisive advantage or inferiority to either party, was but prolonging the misery of the French.

There were moments, indeed, when young Charles and his court of adventurers showed themselves particularly menacing and offensive; on these occasions Philip would rally to the English. The Duke of Bedford profited by one of these opportunities to draw him, as well as the Duke of Brittany to Auxerre, and make them both conclude with him an intimate alliance, sealed by a double marriage; Bedford himself espousing Anne, sister of Philip, whilst Arthur, Comte

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de Richmont, brother of the Duke of Brittany, married another sister, the widow of the dauphin, duke of Guyenne. The three princes swore fraternity, and promised mutual aid, whenever their honour or interests were impugned. The Duke of Bedford thought himself and his infant sovereign protected by this defensive league; and yet at the very time of its conclusion the French dukes superadded another agreement, that they were to remain allies, though one of them should make peace with Charles the Seventh.*

This prince would very probably have abided by such an arrangement, had he been left to his own self-indulgent and retiring disposition. But his partisans were not men to allow to lie dormant those claims to the whole kingdom which raised them into magnates. The dauphin was near Puy when tidings came of his father's death. He immediately set forth for the more populous countries on the Loire, assumed the purple, at least violet, the attribute of royal mourning, and the title of king. He went to meet his lieges of the west at La Rochelle†, the port through which he communicated with his allies of Spain, and received succour from those of Scotland. He then caused himself to be crowned at Poitiers. Subsequently he held assemblies of the states of Berry at Bourges, and of those of Languedoc at Carcassonne, which voted him subsidies, large for the time.‡ The provinces south of the Loire, indeed, seemed more ready to furnish money than soldiers to his cause, and Charles himself chiefly relied upon foreign troops. Some of these came to him from Italy; but his mainstay at this period of his reign were the Scotch, several thousands joining him under the Earl of Buchan, who was appointed constable.

* Monstrelet, Mémoires de Richmont, St. Remy, Godefroi's Collection of the Historians of Charles the Seventh.

† Recueil des Ordonnances.

‡ Hist. de Languedoc.

Charles had as yet no other army, his most talented military chiefs preferring to raise bands, and carry on the desultory warfare which fed itself in Picardy, in Champagne, or the Isle of France, to skirmishing behind the Loire. The activity of these partisans induced several of the Parisians, as early as the Christmas of 1422, to conspire in favour of Charles the Seventh. Lallier, a principal citizen, had lately gone to London to ask on behalf of the Parisians the presence and the succour of the young king. His reception had disgusted him, and Lallier conspired to make over the capital to the Armagnacs. His intention was discovered, and several of his associates were decapitated.

An attempt of the Earl of Buchan to force a passage through Burgundy led to the only serious engagement of 1423. The Scotch and French, under the Earl of Buchan, marched to attack the English and Burgundians under Lords Salisbury and Suffolk, in Crevant. There were 6000 or 7000 on either side. Instead of awaiting the enemy, the English and Burgundians marched forth to meet them, whilst the garrison of Crevant fell upon the French rear; most of these turned and fled, leaving the Scotch exposed, who were great numbers of them slain. The Earl of Buchan lost an eye, as did the Count of Ventadour.

The loss sustained by Charles the Seventh at Crevant was compensated by 6000 Scotch, who landed under the Earl of Douglas. The king conferred upon him the duchy of Touraine for his timely aid.* The Burgundian frontier having been secured at Crevant, Bedford turned his attention in 1424 to the borders of Normandy and Anjou. He took Gaillon, and reduced

* With the exception of the royal castles of Loche and Chinon. It was the Archbishop of Rheims who had gone to Scotland, and induced the Earl of Douglas to lend those important succours to Charles. — *Mémoires Anonymes concernant la Pucelle.* See also *Berry, Roi d'Armes.*

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Ivry on the Eure to capitulate, and promise to surrender if not relieved on a certain day. The duke was still before this fortress in the first days of August, at the head of 1800 knights and 8000 archers, when the Earls of Buchan and Douglas, with 6000 Scotch and with 12,000 French under the Dukes of Alençon, Aumale, Ventadour, the Viscount of Narbonne, and M. de la Fayette advanced to succour it. Upon surveying the English host it was thought advisable not to attack it. "Aumale and Narbonne were for not fighting, for no one in France," says the anonymous chronicler of the Pucelle, "would advise a regular battle with the English." These generals, therefore, withdrew to Verneuil, whither the Duke of Bedford lost no time in pursuing them.

The two armies approached each other on the 17th of August; the French drawn up in one large "battle," the Lombard and other horse being detached, with some of the most daring of the French, to fall upon the enemy's flank or rear during the engagement. The remainder of both armies fought on foot. Bedford, as usual, placed his archers in front and on the wings, except 2000 whom he left in the rear to guard the horses and the baggage. The English began the action with a loud shout, and for three quarters of an hour, says Monstrelet, there was a close, a cruel, and a sanguinary fight. The French knights then tried to break into the rear, but were embarrassed by the English dismounted horses, all tied together, and defended by the 2000 archers. These succeeded in repelling the charge, and then turned to take part in the main battle, where their coming soon made breaches in the French and Scotch lines, and caused a total discomfiture. The Earl of Douglas, and his son the constable Buchan, the Duke of Aumale, Counts Harcourt, Tonnerre, Ventadour, and others, to the number of 5000, were slain upon the field. More than half the Scotch perished;

the body of the Count of Narbonne was gibbeted, as that of one of the assassins of the Duke of Burgundy. The Duke of Alençon, and M. de la Fayette were amongst the prisoners. Many of his Norman supporters had deserted the Duke of Bedford upon the field; he hanged those whom he captured, and confiscated the goods of all.

However complete and glorious to the victors were the battles of Crevant and Verneuil, they were more than compensated to the vanquished by the madness of the Duke of Gloucester, younger brother of Henry the Fifth. He had been entrusted with the government of England, and a spark of patriotism would have prompted him to make his rule there subordinate to the efforts of his brother, the Duke of Bedford, in France. Jacqueline, heiress of Hainault, Holland, and Frisia, had been married to the dauphin, John, who expired at Compiègne. She had since been married to John, Duke of Brabant, cousin of the Duke of Burgundy, as well as of herself. He was a prince of weak health and weaker brain, who gave himself up to favourites. His wife caused them to be slain; he retorted, and Jacqueline fled to England, where she obtained the nullification of her marriage, and soon after became the wife of the Duke of Gloucester. He instantly claimed her possessions of the Low Countries, which Duke Philip almost considered his own; and thus were the interests of the royal houses of England and those of Burgundy placed at variance.

The Duke of Bedford exerted himself to the utmost to bring his brother to reason, and to induce him to come to a compromise with the former husband of Jacqueline. But Gloucester would listen to nothing; he invaded Hainault, at the head of English troops, and challenged the Duke of Burgundy to single combat. The Duke of Bedford prevented the encounter; Pope Martin the Fifth cancelled the divorce

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which Jacqueline had obtained, whilst the Duke of Burgundy secured his rights by capturing that duchess at Mons. The Duke of Gloucester, inconstant and rash, then deserted her, and married another woman. Although this episode of the Anglo-French war had not the too natural consequences of alienating the Duke of Burgundy altogether, it still absorbed all the cares and paralysed the efforts of the regent in pursuing the great aims of Henry the Fifth.

The irresolute character of the Duke of Burgundy, and the ambiguous nature of his connexion or alliance with England, have been described. In nothing was this more apparent than in his advice to the Comte de Richmont. That young noble, made prisoner at Agincourt, was allowed to see his mother, the queen dowager, widow of Henry the Fourth, who had previously been married to the Duke of Brittany. He was not allowed to repeat the visit, "or to see and speak to his mother as he would."* The count conceived, for this and other causes, a profound dislike to the English court, and its Lancastrian princes. Yet when his brother the duke was captured by the Armagnacs, and when the states of Brittany demanded his presence, Richmont, too poor to pay the ransom, took an engagement, as we see in Rymer, if he were liberated to do nothing to the prejudice of England, and to form no alliance with Charles the Seventh, until he should have reconstituted himself a prisoner. Henry not only set him free, but created him Count of Touraine. But as this brought neither revenue nor military command, he broke the pledge which he had given Henry the Fifth, and rallied, by the advice of the Duke of Burgundy, to Charles the Seventh. That prince, of course, received the brother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy, and the

* Histoire d'Arthur, Duc de Bretagne et Comte de Richmont, par Guillaume Gruel. He was afterwards confined at Fotheringay castle. See Rymer.

brother of the Duke of Brittany, with open arms, gave him fortresses as places of security, and offered him the post of constable. Richmont accepted on the condition that Charles should dismiss from his court those who had been accomplices in the murder of Jean Sans Peur or had caused the arrest of John of Brittany. Richmont accordingly became constable. He lost no time in displaying his activity, and meditated no less than the recovery of Normandy. But, laying siege to St. James de Beauvoir, he was attacked by the English, and he and his followers put to complete rout.

Richmont cast the blame of his discomfiture on the want of supplies, and accused of withholding them Giac, whom he had himself placed about the king, the husband of the dame who had lured Jean Sans Peur to the bridge of Montereau. Giac had rendered himself odious to Yolande and the great lords by denying them access to Charles. Richmont caused Giac to be seized and carried off to Dun le Roi, one of his own castles, where being tried, that is, tortured by the constable's bailiff, the victim confessed, and was forthwith flung into the river.* Camus de Beaulieu was then installed as king's companion, for Richmont pretended to treat young Charles the Seventh just as his father Charles the Sixth had been treated,— entrust him to a keeper. The rude warriors of the day looked upon the king as no better than an idiot, because he was timid and retiring, and preferred the company of women, and humble dependants, to a life of camps and combats. The chroniclers who have described the events and the men of the times, were for the most part servants of those warriors, and they depict Charles in the light in which their masters viewed him. Had a civilian, a legist, or a statesman, given his impression of Charles the Seventh in his early days, we should no doubt have

* A portion of Giac's confession was, that he had sold his right hand to the devil.

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had a different picture, and one far more in accordance with the acute intellect, the high political and administrative talent, which he afterwards displayed.*

There were very soon the same complaints against the new companion and confidant of the king, as against Giac. "He would not permit any one to approach the king," says Gruel, "at which the great lords were much annoyed." Camus de Beaulieu was therefore enticed, by the orders of Richmont, outside the walls of the town in which the court resided, and slain by some soldiers placed for the purpose. The mule of the victim was then led back to the palace. Charles was indignant; but the chroniclers, who treat him as a child, declare that he was easily pacified. They then placed about his person La Tremouille, to whom the king naturally objected, as he was one of those who had perpetrated the murder of Giac; this was no doubt his recommendation to the constable. Charles, who knew La Tremouille, observed to Richmont that he would regret elevating him to a place of trust; and so it proved, for the new favourite soon embraced Charles's private views, his dislike of the Duke of Burgundy, his dread of rude warriors; and, being a man of family and resources, he enabled Charles for several years to keep the constable at bay, and at the same time procured for the king the first period of independence and liberty that he enjoyed.

Richmont continued to be as usual unfortunate in his political and military exploits. The Duke of Bedford having brought forces from England, pressed so severely on the Duke of Brittany that the latter was obliged to sue for peace, and, instead of the constable conquering Normandy, as he had threatened, his brother of Brittany was compelled to sign the treaty of Troyes. Richmont sought to avenge the disaster on La Tremouille; but the latter shut the gates of

* Mém. de Richmont, Berri, Chronique de la Pucelle.

Chatelherault against him, issued a decree in the king's name forbidding him the court, and maintained it. During 1426 and 1427 the war was confined to partisans. The Duke of Bedford spent most of that period in England, essaying either to reconcile the Duke of Gloucester with his uncle, the Cardinal of Winchester, or to prevent the duke, at the head of his countrymen, from rushing into open combat with the Duke of Burgundy. This prince was occupied with the quarrel, and being engaged in resisting Madame Jacqueline of Holland, left the partisans of Henry the Sixth in France to take care of themselves. The French historians are indignant with Charles the Seventh for not profiting by such an opportunity. But he and La Tremouille had to defend themselves against the constable and the other princes, who took Bourges, and would not tolerate the crown, unless on the head of a puppet.

At length the English made an effort, and Lord Salisbury brought a reinforcement of 6000 men to the Duke of Bedford in the commencement of 1428. The regent increased this force to 10,000, and determined to strike an important blow. The reduction of Orleans seemed the greatest enterprise. It shared with Paris the command of the country north of the Seine, and, as long as it was held by the partisans of Charles, the Isle of France must remain a battle field, instead of being a secure possession to Henry the Sixth. The regent levied a heavy tallage in Paris, and on the country round, for the expense and provision of the siege.* Lord Salisbury commenced by reducing the smaller

* Monstrelet says, the Duke of Bedford demanded of the clergy all the *rentes* and heritages which the church had acquired for the last forty years. An ordonnance of Henry the Sixth, in France, explains this: the object was to levy a tax on houses, but many citizens had quitted Paris, and the houses, though empty, were found to be mortgaged, so that there was no selling them. An ordonnance was issued, facilitating the letting and the sale of these houses, permitting churches to be sued which held the mortgages or *rentes*.

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towns on the Loire, and, this being accomplished, he approached Orleans on the 12th of August.

He found the citizens prepared; they had rased their suburbs, thrown up fortifications, collected provisions. The Bastard of Orleans, with La Hire, two of the most spirited partisans of Charles, had flung themselves into the place, with what forces they could collect. The towns of the south sent each their contributions, and the Three Estates of the central provinces voted an *aide* of 400,000 livres. Both the contending parties seemed resolved to redeem the slackness of late years by exerting all their energies, and staking the entire cause on the issue of the siege.

As the party of King Charles prevailed south of the Loire, the first effort of the English commander was to isolate the town from succours on that side. A bridge crossed the river and was defended by a tower at the extremity, around and in advance of which the Orleannois had formed an entrenchment or *boulevard*. The English erected a *bastide*, or fortified post, immediately opposite, and proceeded to mine. Too impatient to await its effects, they assaulted the intrenchment, and it was at once seen how obstinate would be the defence. Women contributed to it as well as men, and aided in pouring down every missile, even boiling water and grease, upon the enemy. Their obstinacy defeated the attempt; but in a few days the besieged, finding the ground undermined, abandoned their intrenchments and withdrew into the town. The English pressed on, and after no prolonged resistance took the tower itself by escalade; the arches of the bridge behind it, communicating with the town, were, of course, broken; but Sir William Gladsdale posted himself in the tower, and erected two *bastides* adjoining it to complete the investment on the side of the river. Lord Salisbury soon afterwards ascended to the upper story of the tower, in order to take a view of Orleans,

when a stone, flung from a cannon of the town, struck the window and detached from it a fragment of stone, wounding him so severely in the face that he expired some days after. The exultation of the besieged was great. The command then devolved upon Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who undertook to invest the town north of the river by means of seven *bastides*, intercepting as many roads, and, of course, facing as many gates. The new year had commenced ere these fortified posts were completed, and by that time the besiegers were as much straitened for provisions and ammunition as the besieged.*

The regent, informed of this, prepared a large convoy of 300 waggons, which, with their conductors, he pressed from amongst the Parisians. Companies of archers and cross-bowmen also existed in the capital.† These, with about an equal number of English archers, and a body of men-at-arms, marched as a guard to the convoy, under the command of Sir John Fastolf.‡ The Count of Clermont, eldest son of the Duke of Bourbon, was at the very time mustering a force at Blois for the relief of Orleans. The young count had been one of those who had accompanied Jean Sans Peur on the fatal bridge of Montereau; made prisoner after the duke was slain, he had taken the oath of allegiance to the dauphin, and had even remained true to him, which did not prevent Duke Philip from giving him his youngest sister in marriage. As Charles, at the time of the siege of Orleans, was at enmity with the constable, he appointed Clermont to command the force intended to relieve that city. It consisted chiefly of the nobles of the provinces south of the Loire, who for the first time came forward personally to serve their sovereign. With these was a body of Scotch, under John

* Chronique de la Pucelle; Journal du Siége; Monstrelet; and the authorities collected by Quicherat in his Procès de la Pucelle.

† Felibien.

‡ Bourgeois de Paris.

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Stuart. The Count of Clermont, finding himself at the head of so large a force, sent word to the commanders in Orleans, the Bastard, La Hire, and Lafayette, to come forth and co-operate with him in intercepting the convoy. And when Fastolf with his long string of waggons and 1500 men to guard them, arrived near Rouvray, he found the French in his path. He immediately drew up his carts and waggons in line, and placed his men behind them. Clermont began by knocking the carts to pieces with the fire of his artillery. The English and the Parisians nevertheless held their array, with sharp stakes in the ground before them, after their fashion, from which they plied their cross-bows. There then arose a difference of opinion in the attacking army. The Scotch were for advancing on foot, as the only way of discomfiting English archers intrenched behind stakes. The French gentry of the provinces beyond the Loire, unaccustomed to such a mode of fighting, preferred to charge on horseback; persisting in doing so, they fell consequently upon the stakes, were cut up, and defeated by the English and Parisian archers. The French were routed, the Bastard of Orleans severely wounded, and, as usual, the Scotch left their best men dead on the field.

The battle of Rouvray, or of Herrings, as it was called from the chief article of the convoy, filled the defenders of Orleans with despair. They had no faith in Charles, his soldiers, or his chiefs. They, therefore, despatched envoys to the Duke of Burgundy, begging of him to take them under his protection; to him they were ready to submit, receive his garrison, and obey him as a prince, whilst their own remained a prisoner in England. The duke, who was at the time in Flanders, after having settled the affairs of Holland, and taken possession of Namur, lent a ready ear to the offer of the Orleannois; and he at once proceeded to Paris, in the hopes of inducing the regent to accede to

the offer, and suffer Orleans to be garrisoned by the Burgundians. Unfortunately for his cause, the Duke of Bedford rejected the proposal, the acceptance of which, however, could not but have appeared pusillanimous to his triumphant soldiers. Philip resented the refusal of his brother-in-law, who at the same time did not conceal his reasons for mistrusting the duke, and who reproached him with the small aid he lent the English cause, whilst he was continually engaged in parleying with the Armagnac chiefs, or in negotiations with the king. Bedford said he could not beat the bushes, for others to catch the hare. At length Duke Philip quitted the capital and the regent in dudgeon, despatching orders to the few Burgundian soldiers who served in the besieging army before Orleans to quit the English camp without delay.

Notwithstanding the withdrawal of the Burgundians, both the people of Orleans and the little court of Charles were in the greatest consternation. Every effort of the latter had failed; there was no longer confidence in army or in chief. In the fall of Orleans was seen the final triumph of the English, and if not the subjugation of France, at least the perpetuation of ravages, famine, and civil war. As is usual in such moments of crisis, when ruling authorities and privileged classes confess their impotence, and abdicate their lead, the people step in, either by themselves, or by some puissant delegate, to employ the energies, at times of their plain good sense, but more often of their ignorance and superstition, to perform the duty, in which upper ranks and intellects have failed. French history offers several examples of the kind. When princes and church, monk and knight, proved themselves unequal to the great aim of the age, that of freeing the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels, the shepherds, or the *pastoreaux*, came forward to undertake it, pleading that what the learned and the mighty could not com-

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pass, might be achieved by the simple. Bands of children were allowed to collect on the same principle, and with the same view. The rising of the Jaques did not occur without motives of a similar kind.

The hopes of men at the commencement of the fifteenth century were not placed in the movement of popular masses. These, when directed even against the grossest weakness and abuses, had but aggravated the ills which they sought to remedy. Bowed under a complication of tyranny and anarchy, which impoverished and depopulated the country, without any human means even in prospect for their alleviation, the French turned their thoughts to heaven, and looked for Divine intervention. The civic diarist of Paris recounts the marvellous vogue of popular preachers, who denounced the amusements of men and the head-dress of women as the cause of Divine wrath and human misery. There was, in consequence, a great holocaust of cards and hoops and tiaras, but the pious panacea was found of small efficacy.

It is a law of humanity, that superstition acquires force as manly courage and confidence die away. Such an unavoidable sentiment produces what it desires. When people come to place their hopes in supernatural intervention, this is found to occur as a matter of course; the imagination is always ready to cater to the passions. At other times the church would have lent itself to supply the popular demand; but the church was much shorn of its influence, and priests were no longer able to take the initiative even of a crusade. Saints and their legends had gone out of fashion, and the people rummaged their old Gaulish traditions for fable and for prophecy. Merlin was a renowned seer of this school. He had uttered the great astrological truth, that the sign of the Virgin was one day to overshadow that of the Sagittary. As the latter plainly

meant an English archer, a type so triumphant and formidable, a virgin, it was equally evident, could alone conquer him. Such a prophecy, fashioned into different shapes, and illustrated by various embellishments, spread from village to village, until it found a young girl, endowed with the imaginative piety, ignorance, simplicity, disinterestedness, and courage requisite for considering herself the personage destined to assume the mission that Merlin foretold. Jeanne d'Arc was this young girl.

She was the daughter of a peasant, and native of Domremy, a village on the Upper Meuse. It was a narrow strip of territory belonging to Champagne—running between the hostile duchies of Bar and of Lorraine. After the battle of Verneuil, the Burgundian troops had invaded it, and subjected the inhabitants to the oppression of strangers and the ravages of war. The Domremites, peculiarly belonging, as their name imports, to the diocese of Rheims, were attached to the dominion of France, and to that of its legitimate heir, Charles, known then but as the dauphin. Jeanne, bred up in these sentiments, united with them a close observance of the usages of her religion. Her earliest occupation, that of tending sheep, left leisure for her imagination to work. The prophecy of Merlin reached her ears, not only that France was to be saved by a virgin, but that she should come from the Bois Chenu, a name applied to many woods, and which was borne by that which overhung her village. The prophecy took possession of her, and she soon imagined that she heard voices coming from or sounding with the bells of the village church*, bidding her set out for the court of the dauphin, and place him on the throne. Patriotism, or attachment to France as a country, did not so much inspire her, could not be so intelligible to her,

* Interrogatory of La Pucelle ; Quicherat.

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as the more natural sentiment of a woman's breast, a personal interest in a young prince barred from his ancestral rights, his throne usurped by strangers, and himself precluded from what to the inhabitant of Domremy seemed the grandest of all privileges and the holiest of all sanctions, that of being anointed with the sacred oil in the cathedral of St. Remy.

Of the form and nature of the beings from whom her "voices" proceeded, Jeanne was unable to give a very satisfactory account. She figured them as St. Catherine and St. Margaret, patrons of her village church; she represented them just as these images were arranged in their altar niches, with garlands of flowers upon their heads. The archangel Michael, too, she mentioned as one of her interlocutors. When questioned on her trial respecting these apparitions, Jeanne avoided entering into circumstantial details, by pleading that it was forbidden to her to make disclosures on the subject.

Impelled by her hallucinations, Jeanne induced an uncle (her parents being quite averse to her projects, and not credulous of her mission) to bring her to the nearest royal officer, Robert De Baudricourt, who commanded in Vaucouleurs. Jeanne expounded to him her mission of saving France, at which Baudricourt smiled, and recommended a whipping from her parents. Jeanne was not to be so put off. She returned, and the officer brought the curate to exorcise her. The girl's simplicity refuted the injurious supposition; and the officer sent word to the court of her purpose and pretension. When Jeanne returned once more, about Easter 1429, demanding to be sent to Charles, Baudricourt acceded to her request. She changed her female for male attire, and, well armed and on horseback, set forth, attended by six companions, for Touraine. They reached the Loire in safety, and stopped at the little village of Sainte Catherine de Fierbois, not wishing to arrive at the royal residence of

Chinon without permission. Charles, cautious and not easily impressioned, hesitated to receive her. But in his present distress—it was soon after the battle of Herrings—no means of succour were to be rejected. Jeanne was invited to Chinon; the king, to receive her, is said to have stood undistinguished amongst his courtiers; but she instantly recognised him, and told him at once, she had been sent by God to bring aid to him and his kingdom.* Charles then took Jeanne apart, and in the conversation that ensued betwixt them, it was understood that she gave him a sign, by which he was compelled to recognise her divine mission.†

* The only witness to this interview, whose testimony was taken, is De Gaucourt. These are the words he attributes to her. He does not speak of Jeanne's recognising the king, which is remarkable. Jeanne herself asserted it; but as the false Jeanne d'Arc afterwards singled out and recognised Charles in the same way, it is probable that his aspect sufficiently bespoke the monarch.

† There is much ambiguity about this sign or signs. Jeanne herself mentions two signs. According to one, she acquainted Charles with a secret prayer, that he had lately offered up, to the effect that if he were the son of Charles the Sixth, and real heir to the throne, he might receive support, and at least escape to a foreign country from the perils which threatened him. Jeanne, having repeated to him his prayer, assured him that he was the son of Charles the Sixth, a fact currently doubted.

The other story was, that a whole host of angels accompanied Jeanne into Charles' presence, and presented him with a crown, which was preserved in the cathedral of Rheims. Jeanne must have repeated some such story, for it was made the principal ground, at her trial, of proving her assertions and her mission false. Pressed closely on the subject, Jeanne at first declined making any admission, but at last she did declare that an angel brought a golden crown, and placed it on the head of the king, in the presence of the Archbishop of Rheims, the Duke of Alençon, M. de la Tremouille, and Charles of Bourbon; and that the crown was afterwards given to the Archbishop of Rheims. This story, so easily disproved, so manifestly the effect of hallucination, and which is admitted even by M. Quicherat as an *offense manifeste à la vérité*, had great weight with the judges. When interrogated immediately before her execution, Jeanne admitted that her boast of the angel was false, and the story of the crown was equally so. When, after the lapse of twenty years, a court of inquiry and judgment was convened to reverse Jeanne's sentence and rehabilitate her memory, the story of the crown and angel was prudently avoided, and omitted altogether.

This sign of Jeanne's divine mission being so completely discredited, the other one, of the disclosure of

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The knights and nobles about Charles were all for employing the Pucelle as she desired. But the four non-military members of his council dreaded the ridicule or the crime of trusting the cause to what might be sorcery. Jeanne, therefore, was sent to Poitiers, where there was a parliament and an university, in order that the heroine might have the sanction of the doctors of the church. They harassed her with questions, to which she observed that she knew neither A nor B, but could raise the siege of Orleans. To those who asked for a sign she made the same answer. One remarked, that if she was sent by the Almighty, she had no need of soldiers. She answered, by saying, that "the men-at-arms would fight, and God will give the victory." She managed to triumph over all objections, and orders were given to provide armour and equipment for her. She framed a peculiar standard, and sent for an old sword, which she indicated would be found behind the altar of St. Catherine de Fierbois. Thus accoutred, Jeanne came to Blois, from whence she undertook to escort a convoy of provisions into Orleans. She in the meantime sent a letter, summoning the English commander to evacuate it. The convoy set forth by the south bank of the river, on which it was embarked at a certain distance from the town, reaching its destination in safety.* Jeanne was indignant that it had not taken the road right through the enemies' forces, on the right bank. Dunois came from Orleans, whither he induced Jeanne to return with him: her welcome was such as might be paid to a heaven-sent liberator. (29th April, 1419.)

his prayer to Charles, was adopted. It rests on the authority of Sala, who lived in the reign of Louis the Twelfth and Francis the First. He says he heard it from M. de Boisy, who had been chamberlain to Charles the Seventh.

* Jeanne, it appears, did not know that the convoy was pursuing the left bank, that opposite to Orleans. If so, she cannot have been aware that the town lay north of the Seine.

There can be little doubt that in order to enhance the miracle of Jeanne's achievements, the besieged have been represented in a much more desperate state than they really were. Orleans was so imperfectly invested, that its garrison, or any portion of it, went in and out as they pleased. And it appears, from the journal of the siege, that provisions on horseback came in almost every day. The English, not above 10,000, were divided amongst thirteen intrenched forts or *bastides*, five of them separated from the others by the river. The French in Orleans were fully equal in number to the English; and as they had the facility of concentrating the greater portion of their force upon any one of the English strongholds, they had the superior advantage of numbers and position. In this state of things, all the French required was to be relieved of the fear which paralysed them. This the coming of the Pucelle at once effected. It not only restored to the French all their natural courage, but took theirs from the English, who believed even more than the French in the supernatural character of Jeanne d'Arc. Whilst "before her arrival 200 English in a skirmish always drove 500 French before them, now 200 French dispersed 400 English."*

Another convoy was then brought from Blois, not by the river, but through the northern fortifications of the besiegers. Jeanne rode forth full armed to meet and protect it. At the mere sight of her lance and ensign, the English remained mute within their *bastides*, and suffered the convoy to enter unmolested. A short time after, on the same evening, the Orleannois on guard opposite the English fort of St. Loup, east of the town, thought they would try their fortune alone, and assaulted it: they were rudely received and repulsed. Jeanne, hearing the sound of strife, mounted on horse-

* Mémoires concernant La Pucelle.

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back, came amongst her partisans as they were retreating, and led them back against the terror-stricken English; these continued to defend themselves in a church, whilst the neighbouring *bastides* prepared to send aid. But the watch on the *beffroi* of Orleans made known all the motions of the English, and the garrison rushed forth to meet them at the threatened point. St. Loup was thus taken.

Jeanne's next enterprise was to lead citizens and soldiers across the river, to drive the English from the tower and boulevard at the end of the bridge where Sir William Gladsdale commanded. This chief, whom Jeanne and the French called Glacidas, defended himself with the utmost valour. Knowing his force too small, he evacuated one of the forts. Jeanne, in the attack of the bridge *boulevard*, was wounded with an arrow in the neck, and flung into the fosse. This suspended the engagement until the arrow was withdrawn from the wound. Jeanne, instead of abandoning the fight, retired for a short space to a vineyard to pray; from whence returning with renewed vigour and inspiration, she led the soldiers to a fresh assault. Gladsdale, who had exhausted his ammunition, had but pike and sword to resist; and Jeanne, all wounded as she was, forced her way into the intrenchment. The English commander with his men, sought to retreat to the tower, but the besieged had sent a fire vessel beneath the bridge and burned its props, whilst the townspeople repaired the arch of the bridge on their side with beams. Gladsdale fell through the burned bridge. Those of his soldiers who did not perish were taken prisoners.

It was but a week since Jeanne had entered the town, which in that time had not only been amply provisioned and reinforced, but the English had been driven from their principal posts. The Earl of Suffolk determined to raise the siege. On the 8th of May he abandoned the remaining *bastides*, and drawing up his

army before the walls offered battle to the victorious French. Several of these were for accepting it, but Jeanne hurried to the front, and strongly dissuaded them from fighting. "Let them depart," said she, "and let us return thanks to God." The English, therefore, withdrew, whilst Jeanne caused an altar to be prepared upon the field, and mass said in thanks and commemoration of the town's deliverance.

However discomfited and paralysed by the panic of their soldiers, as well as by the great diminution of their numbers in the siege*, the English generals would not retreat from the Loire, but withdrew, Suffolk to Jargeau, up the stream of the river, Talbot to Meung, lower down its current. They were unmolested for a month. The French were lost in jubilation. Jeanne had hurried back to court, to press the king for an army to proceed to Rheims. It was not to be thought of till the English were driven from the Loire. Early in June, however, Jeanne was able to muster 8000 combatants†, of whom 1200 were knights, most of them townsmen of Orleans. With these she marched upon Jargeau, which the Earl of Suffolk and his brother held with 600 or 700 English. Suffolk had hoped to receive reinforcements from the regent; but Bedford, though he did his utmost to muster forces at Vincennes, received no support from England, and less from France, the "Picards and French from other provinces beginning to despise the English."‡ Suffolk, abandoned to himself in Jargeau, made a gallant resistance, but feeling unable to prolong it against such numbers, he offered to capitulate. His offer merely encouraged the besiegers. Jeanne led the assault, and although struck down by a stone, rose again, and shouted to her men to press on. They penetrated into the town, one

* Monstrelet estimates their loss at from six to eight thousand combatants.

† Journal du Siége.

‡ Mémoires concernant la Pucelle.

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of Suffolk's brothers was killed by his side, he himself surrendered to a French soldier, whom the earl knighted at the moment. A large proportion of the victors were citizens and people of the communes, whom for long years the gentry had excluded from the national armies, but who had conquered their old right of combating at Orleans. These soldiers, new to war, would not in general grant quarter to the English, and most of the latter perished.

Jeanne, with the Duke of Alençon, then marched to clear the Loire, west of Orleans. The English evacuated Meung, and surrendered Beaugency also, the garrison joining Sir John Fastolf, who had at length come to reinforce them. But it was too late to save any of the places on the Loire; and finding the French far superior in numbers, he retired towards Patay. Jeanne, Dunois, and the Duke of Alençon, had been joined by the constable Richmont. There was some hesitation in welcoming as an ally the general proscribed by the court, but Jeanne was induced to receive him well. The French wisely determined to come upon the English in their march, and allow them no time to form a defensive line of battle in an advantageous position. All the mounted knights, therefore, 1500 or 1600, preceded the main body, and fell upon the English ere they could form. Fastolf, indeed, was for retreating, and not awaiting the charge, but Talbot would not fly before the Pucelle. Surprised in this hesitation and disorder, the English army fled at the first onset of the French knights, and the battle of Patay was lost at once. Two thousand two hundred English were counted on the field of battle.* Talbot as well as Suffolk was a prisoner.

Jeanne lost no time in hastening again to the king, to urge him to raise a sufficient force, and fulfil what

* The Mémoires concernant La Pucelle give the English 5000, the Journal de la Siége 4000 men.

she represented as the chief object of her mission,—his coronation at Rheims. The monarch shrunk from an enterprise so full of risk and cost. He and his principal councillor, La Tremouille, disliked, moreover, trusting themselves, so far from their own castles and security, in the hands of chiefs and princes who made no scruple of murdering a rival, and who showed little respect for the royal authority. Chiefs and soldiers, however, thronged to the enterprise, whether Charles and his councillors would or not. The former pleaded that he could offer them but a small sum, which on being divided was no more than three francs a man. But even this did not deter those desirous of a cavalcade into Champagne; Charles, therefore, consented to accompany the expedition, after having made it a condition that the constable should absent himself. The numbers of the army were formidable*, far greater than the English could muster forces to attack; there was little miracle, therefore, in the march. The army first arrived before Auxerre, a town then garrisoned by the Duke of Burgundy, and the king's council wisely looked to an accommodation with this prince; it was satisfied with receiving provisions and contributions, without entering the gates. When before Troyes, Jeanne d'Arc and her military followers protested against any such compromise with the enemy; she was for instant assault. This the king's council, especially the Archbishop of Rheims, deprecated. It might not succeed; and if it did, it would alarm the Duke of Burgundy, and arouse him to defence. The duke, indeed, although he had made no preparation for defending his own territories and had so far favoured the king as to withdraw his soldiers from the siege of Orleans, now proceeded from Artois to Paris, and met the Duke of Bedford there, about the time when Charles was before Troyes.

* Jean de Chartres speaks of 7000 of those who had not eaten bread for several days, when the army was before Troyes.

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There he renewed his pact with the English, and denounced the murderer of his father. Jeanne's march upon Rheims had thus the evil effects which the king's councillors dreaded,—that of flinging Duke Philip once more into the arms of England.

It was Jeanne, however, who commanded the army, not the king; her voice prevailed in council, and she went forth to hasten the preparations for the assault. The people of Troyes, alarmed at her menaces, dismissed their Burgundian garrison, and admitted Jeanne and the king within their walls. The army then proceeded to Rheims, and entered it without opposition in mid July. Two days after, Charles the Seventh was crowned with all solemnity in the cathedral, Jeanne d'Arc with her standard being near the high altar. As soon as the ceremony was over, she embraced the king's knees with tears, and told him that the will of God had been accomplished, which was to show by this coronation that he was the true prince, to whom the kingdom belonged.

Meantime, the Duke of Bedford had exerted himself to collect what forces might be spared from Normandy. As to England, it was not prepared to make either efforts or sacrifices for the preservation of its French dominions. The Cardinal of Winchester employed all the leisure and resources left him, during his quarrel with the Duke of Gloucester, in fitting out an armament, not to combat the French, but the Hussites. The Duke of Bedford prevailed on him to let him have the 250 lances and 3000 archers pressed for this crusade. Such was the insignificant force which England sent to retrieve the disaster of Orleans.

But the English were allowed breathing time by the conflicting parties and opinions of the French court. On one side was Jeanne d'Arc and the military chiefs, eager for adventure and for risks, and insisting on a march to Paris; on the other was the

Archbishop of Rheims and La Tremouille, anxious for negotiating with the Duke of Burgundy. The army, accordingly, marched one day in one direction, and the next in another. After receiving the submissions of Soissons and Laon, it struck south to Provins. The Duke of Bedford with 10,000 men took post at Montereau (August 1429). He thence sent a challenge to Charles, to appoint time and place for a battle on the plains of Brie. The French monarch answered, "That he would not give his adversaries the trouble of seeking him, but would come to find them out." Notwithstanding this valiant reply, Charles bent his course towards the Seine, with the intention of passing it at Bray, and then proceeding to the Loire. Being intercepted by the English he returned, to the great joy of his more warlike followers, and encamped at Dammartin, north of Paris. The Duke of Bedford hastened thither immediately, and the hostile armies were drawn up at no great distance from each other, both reluctant to commence the attack. Word being brought to Charles that Compiègne offered to surrender, he hastened thither. A few days later the armies were again in presence near Senlis, when the same hesitation precluded a conflict. Jeanne herself, according to Monstrelet, shared in the doubt which prevailed, at one time wishing to fight, at another dissuading it; the two armies in consequence withdrew, as by common accord. The Duke of Bedford left for Normandy, to hold the Estates; and Charles remained at Compiègne, to await the answer to propositions sent to the Duke of Burgundy at Arras.

Whilst the council of the king was thus engaged in negotiations, Jeanne declared "that she must see Paris nearer than she had yet beheld it, and besought her handsome duke," as she called Alençon, "to prepare for the expedition." The duke, who had full trust in the Pucelle, obeyed her suggestion. Both set off with what soldiers they could command or collect, nor

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halted till they had entered and captured the town of St. Denis. When the king learned their departure and their success, he advanced, "with great regret," * to Senlis, and at the Duke of Alençon's entreaty came to fix his head-quarters in the new conquest (Oct. 1429).

There was a garrison of but 2000 soldiers in Paris. John of Luxemberg had come to Compiègne, but negotiations had proceeded, from which Charles hoped to be soon in possession of the capital without an assault, and the risk and devastation that would accompany it. The king, however, was not master of his army, nor could he prevent the Pucelle, supported by the Dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, and the Count of Vendome, from an attempt to carry Paris by storm. They first took possession of the Butte aux Moulins, a rising ground opposite the Porte St. Honoré, which they immediately attacked. It was burned, and the royal troops penetrated within the outer enclosures. But the inner wall was protected by a deep fosse, full of water, which Jeanne, with all her efforts, could neither fill up nor traverse. In her attempts to do both, she was wounded by an arrow from an arbalete, but she still refused to retreat. The Parisians and English plied the assailants with their artillery, both from the Porte St. Denis and the Porte St. Honoré; and at nightfall the Duke of Alençon was obliged to withdraw the Pucelle, who clamoured to the last, that if they would but persevere Paris was theirs. The king at once seized the pretext to retreat behind the Seine; Jeanne and her partisans accused him of want of spirit, but in truth his funds were exhausted. The country was wasted, and he had only procured necessaries for his army at St. Denis by promising payment as soon as the capital should be taken.

The unsuccessful attempt on Paris was a great blow

* Perceval de Cagny.

to Jeanne's hopes, and to the continuation of her prestige. She felt it. When traversing the plains of Brie, some weeks previous, she observed that she should like to be buried amongst such a devout and loyal people. Dunois, to whom she made the observation, asked, did she know when and where she should die? "That rests with the will of God," rejoined the Pucelle. "I have accomplished what was commanded me. The siege of Orleans is raised, and the king crowned. I should like to return to my father and mother, keep their sheep and oxen, and resume my old habits." It was not to be so. Jeanne laid down her arms in the town of St. Denis, and declared her mission ended. But those interested, if not in keeping up her influence, at least in maintaining her presence at the royal court, and her countenance to the cause, persuaded her to accompany the army in its retreat.

No sooner had Charles withdrawn, than the Dukes of Bedford and of Burgundy met once more in the capital, where the greatest necessity and desire prevailed to enjoy some respite from the ravages of war. The royalists, it appears, were more willing to conclude a truce with the Burgundians than with the English; and, chiefly in order to procure it, the Duke of Burgundy was declared regent in lieu of Bedford, who withdrew to Normandy. This truce, concluded till Christmas, instead of affording relief to the Parisians, rather aggravated their sufferings; for the Duke of Burgundy withdrew to Flanders to celebrate a third marriage, whilst the Isle of France, no longer defended by the English, was overrun and sacked with complete impunity; women and children were seized and sold, and every outrage committed, as if in mockery of the truce.

Charles passed the winter behind the Loire, in comparative inaction, of which no one was more impatient than Jeanne d'Arc. She had been at first entrusted

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with the reduction of the fortresses on the Loire, and succeeded brilliantly in capturing St. Pierre le Moutier; she failed, however, in reducing La Charité, and military operations were suspended. The chiefs, however, continued to make war each on his own account. The Duke of Alençon, in the west, was at the head of a respectable force, and Jeanne, who was much attached to this prince, desired to join him. The king and Tremouille feared, however, lest she might be induced to join the constable in some plot against him, and would not permit her proceeding to the west. But then rumours came, that the Burgundians were in the field and besieging Compiègne; Jeanne could not contain her ardour; she set off without taking leave of Charles, and joined the royalist bands, who upheld there the standard of their king. They were neither numerous nor well disciplined, nor had they amongst them any of those chiefs of weight, skill, or consideration, who had hitherto given the Pucelle their countenance and support. Jeanne had but one idea, to strike at the English (*ferir sur les Anglais*); and under this impulse, on the 24th of May, 1330, she headed a sortie: it was attended with her usual success,—the Burgundians were driven back more than once. But as she pressed on in the pursuit, a body of English advanced on the road between her and the town, and thus cut off her retreat. Jeanne was warned of the danger, but despised it, and could not be induced to return towards the town, till it was too late. The governor found himself obliged to raise the drawbridge, as the enemy were near. In the conflict which ensued, Jeanne was driven into an angle formed by the fortifications and the river, when her followers were struck down and herself captured. She was brought to the quarters of John of Luxemburg, who commanded for the Duke of Burgundy.

Important as was this event, and tantamount to victory, it could not communicate spirit to the war.

Charles remained behind the Loire, apparently indifferent to the capture of Jeanne d'Arc, whilst his chancellor, Regnard de Chartres, wrote to inform his flock of Rheims, that Jeanne was lost, because "she rejected all counsel, and had offended God by her pride and her rich habits." The Duke of Burgundy himself showed no zeal; he married a wife, and instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, with splendour and festivities, but showed neither care nor pity for France nor for its capital. Those parts of Champagne and Picardy which had embraced the cause of Charles the Seventh, suffered more than when under English occupation.* And in order to restore some authority and order in the country, without offending the Duke of Burgundy, the English were obliged to have recourse to the measure of bringing over young Henry to be crowned.

A graver matter with both the discomfited parties of English and Burgundians was, how to deal with the inspired girl, who had turned against them the tide of victory. On the first intelligence of her capture, the University of Paris, and the vicar of the Holy Inquisition, wrote to demand of the Duke of Burgundy her surrender to them. But the Bishop of Beauvais, Cauchon, in whose diocese she had been taken, and who was the first prelate of the English party, the see of Rouen being vacant, claimed to have the Pucelle delivered up to him for trial. John of Luxemburg, after some delay, gave up the prisoner for the sum of 10,000 livres, the Duke of Burgundy displaying his usual indifference in the matter; and Jeanne, after having been a short time confined at Crotoy, was conveyed to Rouen.

* Jean Chartier describes these countries as rich, peopled, and cultivated, but as soon as they went over to Charles, towns and populations were so destroyed, that large tracts remained without culture or inhabitants.

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It was determined to try her for sorcery, a crime implicitly believed in that age, and considered so heinous, that even the king's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, could not preserve his wife from condemnation and perpetual seclusion for having meddled with the practices of magic. A kind of commission of inquiry was first formed, for the purpose of collecting testimony; and although in this, as in other respects, it followed the rules laid down by the Inquisition*, its first step was most repugnant to our ideas of justice. It induced one Loiseleur to go to Jeanne, as a compatriot who sympathised with her misfortunes, and by these means obtained her confidence; as witnesses were concealed to hear and note down what she confided to him, the prosecutors were enabled to derive from her own mouth the materials of their accusation.

The court of trial was formed in March, and consisted of a large and varying number of assessors, chiefly doctors of the civil and canon law, presided by the Bishop of Beauvais, and the vicar of the Inquisition. Jeanne was examined by them fifteen or sixteen times, unaided by counsel; her answers were full of courage, simplicity, and at times, of acuteness. But the poor girl was in complete ignorance of what chiefly constituted her crime in the eyes of ecclesiastical judges. She persisted in all her hallucinations, and affirmed her divine mission; asserted that the saints visited and gave her counsel in prison, and maintained that their authority was far superior to the jurisdiction of court or church. It was difficult indeed to convict her of heresy in the matter of dogma, ignorant as she was of such distinctions. Yet when the doctors tried to entrap her by asking, was she in a state of grace, or capable of mortal sin, she avoided giving a direct answer to this captious question, by saying, "If not in a

* See J. Quicherat, "Aperçus nouveaux."

state of grace, she hoped God would make her so. How could she be in much sin whilst the saints visited her?" In order to prove her visions, her promises and prophecies, to be connected with magic, her early belief in the fairies, and her reverence for the haunted tree of Domremy, were adduced, and inferences drawn from them, which would suffice to send three-fourths of the peasantry of Christendom to the stake.

Articles of accusation were drawn up for her admission. There was but one of these that attempted to convict her of what, to men of our day, would be the principal point in such an inquiry. This was whether she rigidly spake the truth concerning what she saw, or thought she saw. For this purpose they repeatedly and closely pressed her, as to the crown that was brought by the angel to King Charles; and it must be confessed that her answers were unsatisfactory and evasive.

But although it was almost unavoidable to condemn Jeanne,—to acquit her would have been to accept her celestial mission, and place her, with some modern French historians, by the side, nay, in the place, of the Messiah,—most of the judges were anxious to save her life, and for this purpose desirous that she should recant. Jeanne had fallen ill, so seriously, that she had prospects of death from natural causes; this made her more unyielding. In the middle of May, the judges visited her in prison, and exhorted her to listen to information as to the gravity of her acts and her assertions, which she was too illiterate to comprehend. They appointed certain doctors to instruct her. They could elicit from her no other reply than that she held by what she had said during her trial. Her obstinacy led to the proposal that she should be subjected to the torture; but the majority were against such severity, and amongst those who opposed it was Hatton, the

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only Englishman who was assessor.* The University of Paris, in the meantime, became impatient, pressed for the termination of the trial, and demanded of King Henry the delivery of Jeanne to the secular arm. Yet it was not an English regent who wielded then supreme authority in Paris. The French, in fact, showed themselves far more eager for Jeanne's execution than the English, notwithstanding the uncompromising hatred she professed for these.

It would seem, however, that the Bishop of Beauvais shrunk from the extremity of putting Jeanne to death. He sent to warn her that she would be brought forth, and publicly preached to, on which occasion, if she would submit to the church and the ecclesiastical judges, she should be saved.† Jeanne, in weakness or contrition, consented to follow this counsel. On the 24th of May she was placed on a scaffold erected in the cemetery of St. Ouen. Opposite to it was another scaffold, on which the dignitaries and the judges were assembled to hear the expected recantation. The Cardinal of Winchester and the Bishop of Norwich were there amidst the French prelates. A doctor, named Erard, then addressed Jeanne upon the enormity of her misdeeds. His reproaches to herself she bore with patience; but, when the preacher reprobated King Charles as schismatical and heretical for encouraging her, she lost temper, and proclaimed that there was no better Catholic. Summoned to submit, she declared to do so to God and the Pope. She was told this would no longer suffice—she must submit to the ecclesiastical judges present, or be handed over to the secular arm. She saw, at the same time, that everything was prepared for her execution. Her fortitude gave way, and she declared that she yielded to the church and its judges. A form of recantation

* Haiton, see Rymer, tom. x. p. 502. † Testimony of Canon Beaupère.

was handed to her, in which she expressed regret for her feigned revelations, her blasphemy against God and the saints, for her adoption of male attire, and disobedience to the church. Jeanne signed. A chaplain of the Cardinal of Winchester expressed his disapprobation; but he was silenced by his principal, who recommended that she should be admitted to penitence. Jeanne was accordingly condemned to do penance in perpetual imprisonment. Brought back to prison, she promised to obey what was enjoined her. She exchanged her male for female garments, and permitted her hair, which was cut round after men's fashion, to be arranged as became her sex.

The scene of Jeanne's abjuration took place upon a Thursday. She had requested to be transferred to an ecclesiastical prison, and she was no doubt annoyed that this had not been accorded to her. To the depression and despondency which her abjuration had produced, succeeded her old and usual access of excitement. Her saints once more visited her; their voices resounded in her ears, and it was to reproach her with the treason and pusillanimity of her abjuration. She felt ashamed, humiliated, and, to mark her regret at her having been so weak, she resumed the male garments which she had thrown off, and which remained still within her reach. Her guards instantly reported the new attitude of their prisoner, and on Monday six of the judges repaired to her cell. They questioned her as to her change of dress. Jeanne replied that she had done this of her own free will, and because she liked it better. They reminded her of her oath. She denied having taken it; but added that the promises made had not been kept to her, that she had not been allowed to attend mass, to be unironed, and to have female attendants. She then admitted that the voices had returned, and disapproved of what she had done. She reasserted that she had been sent by God, and, if she had said the

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contrary, it had been for fear of being burned. But now she had rather suffer death at once than endure the life-long prison and penance to which she had been condemned.

The judges, when reassembled, were all of one mind. There was nothing left but to abandon Jeanne, as relapse, to the secular arm. On the 30th of May, 1431, a week after her abjuration, Jeanne was informed by her confessor that in a few hours she must suffer death at the stake. Her fortitude once more forsook her at the fatal warning. She burst into tears, declared that she had rather be decapitated seven times than burned. When the Bishop of Beauvais came, she apostrophised him as the cause of her death. "If ye had sent me to an ecclesiastical prison," she said, "this would not have taken place." Notwithstanding this burst of passion, Jeanne showed herself contrite. Perhaps her desire to receive the sacrament and absolution rendered her more pliable to the ecclesiastics who surrounded her. She confessed again, in the presence of Lavenne, and four other witnesses, that her voices had deceived her, that she believed them to be malignant spirits, that her story about the crown was false, and that she herself was the angel who brought it.

She was led to a scaffold erected in the old market-place of Rouen, in the presence of the same church dignitaries and judges who had witnessed her abjuration. At the close of the sermon the clergy delivered her to the secular arm, in other words to the executioner, who led and attended his victim to the stake, erected on a heap of plaster. There was neither bravado nor abjection in her demeanour, which was that of an intensely feeling Christian. She wept, forgave, and prayed for her enemies, and showed none of the anger or excitement of her enthusiastic moments. She called for a cross, and an Englishman made and handed her a rude one, hastily put together. But she

besought her confessor to hold aloft, beyond and above the crowd, the crucifix, that she might die gazing on it. There were none present, save a few rude soldiers, who were not moved to tears. Many, both English and French, felt horror stricken at having contributed to the fearful death of one so simple, so pure, and so devoutly religious, who had been animated by a patriotism so disinterested, and whose mission, or whose aim, was but to rid France of its factions and its invaders.*

* When Rouen was finally rescued from the English, some twenty years later, an inquiry was instituted for the purpose of revising the sentence; and papal sanction was obtained for it. The aim is faithfully described by a modern French historian, M. Martin, as "destined to expose the English and political side of the affair;" in other words, to throw all the blame upon the English. No doubt they were greatly, though not solely to blame. No doubt the trial was instituted by vindictiveness, conducted with unfairness, and carried on as well as terminated by the greatest inhumanity towards the victim. The guilt of trying, condemning, and executing Jeanne d'Arc at the stake, falls upon French as well as English. But the latter were more animated against her, and having constituted themselves her gaolers, on them falls the odium of having loaded her with chains, and subjected her to ill treatment.

The case, however, as made out against them in the inquiry or trial for revisal of sentence, and as exaggerated by modern writers, deserves a few remarks. In the first place, Jeanne at her trial refused to give any promise that she would not try to escape. She persisted in maintaining full liberty in this respect. The English, who feared her supernatural powers, were therefore somewhat excusable for the strictness of their custody. And considering that her escape and reappearance in the field, would be most fatal to the English, it is not surprising that they should insist on guarding her themselves.

This circumstance allowed scope for the witnesses examined on the inquiry for revisal, to throw more blame, and impute more atrocities to the English guards, than is either probable or true. The chief accusations relate to Jeanne's relapse, and to her resumption of male attire, as the sign and proof of that relapse. With respect to this, her assumption of male attire, the witnesses tell two stories, and Jeanne herself a third.

Jean Massieu a curate of Rouen, and clerk of the prosecution, on the trial declared to have learned from Jeanne herself, that being chained to the foot of the bed, and desiring to rise on the Sunday morning, she first asked to be unchained in order to rise. One of her English guards, in doing so, took away her woman's garments that lay on her bed, and emptied the bag which contained her male attire. She objected to put them on, as she had been prohibited. But as they would not

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Those writers who consider Jeanne d'Arc not merely as a female Mohammed, but as a heaven-sent Saviour, do not enhance the virtue or the beauty of her own natural character, whilst they exaggerate the depression, and derogate from the martial spirit of the French, by representing them as only to be saved at the time by an Avatar. It does not appear that France was in such imminent danger, or was likely to be conquered or kept, even had Orleans fallen by a handful of English, very unequal to the permanent subjugation of the country. There is nothing, moreover, in all the circumstances credibly recorded of Jeanne, that cannot be explained or construed in the natural way of human

give her the female garments, and she wanted to rise, she was compelled to clothe herself once more as a man.

This is one account. Another, reported by Isambert de la Pierre, and by Martin Lavenne, is, that Jeanne put on the male habit in order to protect herself from violence offered her, according to the former witness, by the English, according to the latter by an English Milord.

Let us first remark, that the two stories, that of Massieu and that of Isambert and Lavenne, are incompatible. Jeanne must have been impelled by either one motive or the other; and if she had been driven to the act by either, she had nothing to do but to declare it to the six of her judges who visited her on Sunday and Monday. But when they questioned Jeanne, instead of assigning any such causes, she declared that her assumption of male attire had been voluntary, and that she was determined to unsay her recantation.

French writers, however, eagerly seize on the story of the English "Milord," vaguely accused of so gross an act of infamy. In a note appended to this portion of his History of France, M. H. Martin points out the earl of Stafford as the personage, that "one might suspect." Not content with the culpability of an earl, the same writer directs the same accusation, with a *peut-être* to be sure, to the Regent Duke of Bedford.

There is no ground for either one accusation or the other. The name of Bedford is associated with Jeanne's trial, merely by the pains which his duchess, sister of the Duke of Burgundy, took to disprove the calumnies directed against her, and to prevent her guards from being rude to her. The duchess is mentioned elsewhere, as interfering and saving the lives of prisoners.

Nevertheless, on a report which an aged notary had said he had heard somewhere, Michelet and Martin, and even M. Quicherat, generally so fair, charges the Duke of Bedford with a very base and indecent act, to which they make his duchess an accomplice, that is to say, an impossible absurdity.

events. If the starting up of a great prince and warrior, like Henry the Fifth, on the throne of England had brought disasters upon France, his premature death, with the consequent abstraction of English aid and English vigour, from the Duke of Bedford, was a greater blow to English ascendency, than any supposed mission of Jeanne d'Arc. If the French were defeated at Agincourt and Verneuil, this was mainly owing to the yeomen middle classes, which formed the strength of the English army, whilst a similar class in France was kept out of the ranks of the national defence. But the sieges of Rouen and of Orleans had restored to the French peasant and the French townsman the right and the habit of wielding a sword by the side of the gentleman. Frequent defeats had no doubt caused this. What Jeanne d'Arc did was to restore their confidence; this was her good fortune or her mission. It was with the same town militia of Orleans with which she had stormed the English bastides, that Jeanne took Jargeau and drove the English from the Loire. As the war developed itself, bands of military adventurers were formed; for the peasants and townsfolk, thrown out of their industrial earnings by the ravages and troubles of war, came to be officered, no longer by the feudal aristocracy, but by adventurers like themselves. These were the men and the classes that now redeemed for the French that equality with the English in the field, which the princely aristocracy of Charles the Sixth's court had lost. It was, in fact, a repetition of what had taken place after the battle of Poitiers; it was the disinherited and degraded middle and lower classes that rose to defend and save the monarchy, which counts and barons had allowed to fall with themselves into the mire. This was the revolution, this the new spirit that saved France from the English, and not the trumped-up miracle of the Pucelle. It was the red right arm of French manhood which did that act, and

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not the prophecies of Merlin, the visions of saints, or the embroidered banner of the virgin of Domremy.

Nobly did the English perform the desperate duty of defending an impracticable conquest. And in the Duke of Bedford's efforts for this purpose, may be descried the foundations of that military system, which soon prevailed through Europe, and which superseded entirely the old system of feudal levies. By his first treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, the great towns and fortresses of the Isle of France and Picardy were to be garrisoned by Burgundians. The English force concentrated itself in Normandy. At a later period, Paris itself was made over to the Burgundian, who took no pains to maintain or to defend it; and the centre of France became a kind of battle-field, where English, Burgundian, and South-French, followed no other aim than that of destruction. But Normandy, the Duke of Bedford had to organise after English fashion. He regularly assembled the Estates, obtained from them subsidies and taxes, and England almost altogether failing him, it was with Norman revenues that he carried on the war. Had it been attended with success, he might have reconciled the Normans to such a régime. But the best result that he could obtain from the war, was to stand successfully on the defensive, and thus prolong it. The Normans consequently were overwhelmed with taxes, and levies of all kinds, latterly even of men, to serve as archers and soldiers. The war converted them into a frontier province, ravaged by all around it, with the poor consolation of now and then ravaging in turn. The Normans therefore soon felt the same desire as the other French provinces to get rid of the English and the war together, as the only means of pacification and repose. In 1343, the entire peasantry of Lower Normandy rose in rebellion, and were with difficulty put down. All were prepared to renew the attempt, and the fact was sufficient to demonstrate that the hold

even of these last provinces in France by the English hung by a thread.

Paris had still more reason to reject the English yoke. It had ceased to be the centre or capital of the kingdom. Charles the Seventh, his court, his government, his parliament, were behind the Loire. The Duke of Bedford kept his court at Rouen; the Duke of Burgundy seldom visited the metropolis, which had been depopulated by epidemy, famine, and war. An attempt was made to restore some artificial life to the half-extinguished capital by bringing, in December 1431, the young Henry the Sixth to it to be crowned. But the ceremony only marked the isolation of the English. The Duke of Burgundy did not attend it, nor did any of the French nobles. Even the festivities betrayed the poverty and weakness of the administration. The banqueting-room was broken into by the mob, and yet this same mob complained that there was neither largesse nor grandeur. A burgess, the Parisians said, would have done better.* The English had declined in the art of kingship as well as in the field. The continued cry of the citizens, especially to the Duke of Burgundy, was "Peace! Peace!"

That prince was anxious to put an end to the war, which began to be most onerous and perilous to him. In the first years of the conflict he had rather profited by it; the district and towns of Burgundy remained prosperous and undisturbed, whilst the Duke himself extended his power and his possessions to the Zuyder Zee. But latterly the Burgundian provinces had been attacked. Lorraine and Bar had been bequeathed to René d'Anjou, a strong partisan of Charles the Seventh, who thus threatened the duke's Flemish and Burgundian possessions. This danger the good fortune of the duke surmounted, by a rival claimant for Lor-

* Bourgeois de Paris.

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raine coming forward in the person of the Count of Vaudremont, who defeated René d'Anjou in the decisive battle of Brenneville. But, though liberated from this enmity, the Duke of Burgundy was threatened by that of the Duke of Bourbon, supported by the court of Charles, which began to direct against him the military bands.

Charles himself, from the time of his retreat from before Paris, had resigned himself to repose and his cause to fortune. The march of royal armies was an expense he was unable to meet, and the sojourn of large camps placed him too much in the power of chiefs, who, like the constable, did not shrink from the murder of such of the king's friends or counsellors as displeased them. The English no longer menaced him on the Loire, but found it difficult to maintain what they held against the bands of partisans and the active chiefs who assailed them. They had done little in 1441 save recapture Louviers. The Duke of Bedford himself had been nearly surprised at Mantes by the hostile garrison of Beauvais under Xantrailles. He took vengeance upon it and captured that chief, but he made small progress. The regent very nearly lost Rouen in 1432. The castle was surprised by a French partisan named Ricarville, the Earl of Arundel, who was the governor, making his escape. But Ricarville being unsuccoured, the English were able to return, attack his small band, and send to the scaffold all those who had not been stricken down in the fight. The regent also failed in freeing Lagny from the enemy, who were thus posted close to the capital, a failure which even the capture of Montargis could not efface.

In 1433 events occurred which weakened the English, whilst the French acquired additional vigour. The Duchess of Bedford died, and the duke, after no considerable lapse of time, espoused the daughter of the Count St. Pol. He was a vassal of the Duke of

Burgundy, to whom, on political as on personal grounds, this sudden remarriage of his brother-in-law was unwelcome. There ensued such coldness between them that, although both dukes came to St. Ouen, apparently to have an interview, neither would pay the first visit, and they took their departure without meeting.

Whilst the English thus alienated their only ally, the French court was roused from its apathy by a conspiracy of the military chiefs. Charles had such an instinctive dread of these rude and unscrupulous men that he was wont to give his confidence in a great degree to women. His mother-in-law, Yolande of Aragon, had the greatest influence over him, and in some respects acted as his minister. To retain this influence by less legitimate means she introduced the famous Agnes Sorel, a lady in the suite of the Duchess of Lorraine, to the easy monarch, who at once became enamoured of her beauty, and as she belonged to the party anxious for the war, and proved grateful to it for advancing her, she has been celebrated, more by fable than by history, as having contributed to the salvation of France.

The country was well able to save itself, independently of either Agnes or Jeanne, for its whole population was in arms, pressing upon the English from every side, and perhaps all the better for not being encumbered with a royal leader. Still there was great discontent with La Tremouille, as he, it was supposed, kept the king in inaction, or at least stopped the expected current of supplies to the different chiefs. These chiefs in concert with the queen and queen mother, equally jealous of the favourite, recurred to the constable, who was an expert at assassination. De Beuil, a nephew of Tremouille, joined in the plot, and the constable gave a fit cutthroat, Rosnières, to lead it. The conspirators gained by stealth admission to a castle near Chinon, where Tremouille resided, and hence into his bedroom

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at night. Rosnières plunged his sword into the favourite's stomach; but as his person was large and fat the weapon did not penetrate, and De Beuil interfering saved the life of his uncle on the condition that he should never more approach the court. It does not appear, however, that this made any difference in the conduct of the king or the war. The Archbishop of Rheims continued at the head of the government, and Charles persisted in placing his confidence in civic and unwarlike councillors rather than in military adventurers.

The desire of the Duke of Burgundy to treat with the king became stronger, whilst the efforts of the English to hold him to their alliance grew less and less effectual. They made considerable exertions in 1434, and fitted out two armies, one under the Earl of Arundel, the other under Talbot. Yet the campaigns led to no more than skirmishing; the duke met several of the princes who were in the royal interests at Nevers, lent a serious ear to the proposals which were made, and which, though defiant to the English, were most favourable to him. Charles offered him both banks of the Somme, and even Amiens, which of course implied all north of it, and would leave the duke more powerful than he ever had been.

Lured by such brilliant offers, Duke Philip consented to open negotiations for peace at Arras. He summoned the English to join him in putting an end to the international war. They were most reluctant to assent, well knowing that Burgundy alone would profit by the peace, whilst they were even to be made to pay for it. Their arms, however, were never more signally unsuccessful. Lord Arundel, having been repulsed from a castle near Beauvais, retired to an intrenched camp, where he stood on his defence. A cannon shot from the enemy severed his limb; his disheartened soldiers surrendered, and the earl

himself expired a few days after. This disaster was followed by the occupation of St. Denis, and the renewal of daily assaults upon the capital, which in consequence became clamorous for peace. Whilst to complete the depression of the English cause, which had just lost Lord Arundel, the Duke of Bedford expired at Rouen in September 1435, and took away at once the chief mainstays of English power in France.

The negotiations at Arras had made some progress before the death of the Duke of Bedford. The assemblage of that town more resembled an European congress than any meeting of princes and statesmen that had yet taken place for lay purposes. It had, indeed, sprung in a great measure from the Council of Basle, where princes had joined churchmen in endeavouring to remedy the religious disorders of Europe. The Council of Constance had failed in every aim save that of restoring unity to the popedom. But it had neither reformed the Church nor afforded the pontiff protection or security against the princes of Italy, who acknowledged no other law than that of force. Moreover, the Council of Constance, instead of extinguishing heresy with the lives of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, had provoked the Bohemians to arms. The pope had in vain recurred to the old manœuvre of a domestic crusade. The Germans, in lieu of marching with alacrity and fanaticism to the subjugation of their Sclavonic brethren, began to admire their independent spirit, and to descry reason and right in the arguments with which they defended they religious tenets. Thus, instead of the Germans crushing the Hussite principle of religious reform, the belief of the Hussites made progress amongst them. Pope Eugene, therefore, called another council at Basle, hoping it would complete what that of Constance had begun. The pontiff was soon undeceived in such hopes, for no sooner was the clergy of the

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north assembled, than they showed themselves far more alive to papal abuses and ecclesiastical misgovernment than to the Bohemian heresy; and they came to the wise conclusion that the only safe and sure way to extinguish heresy, was to reform the Church. The spirit as well as the opinion of Gerson revived and became resuscitated at Basle. And the French joined the Germans in resisting and denouncing the Italian doctrine of the infallibility and impeccability of the popes, which served them in lieu of every other principle. It was in vain, however, for the churchmen of France and Germany to accomplish any scheme of settlement or reform as long as their countries were torn by war. The pope too, seeing the emperor unfriendly, hoped to find a protector in a reconstituted monarchy of France, and papal legates came to Arras, as well as imperial envoys, to lend their aid in a great reconciliation. Spanish and Italian, Danish and Polish potentates were also represented, whilst delegates from the University of Paris and from the towns of France and Flanders evinced the eagerness of the industrious as well as the educated class for peace.

The difficulty was to arrive at some accord between Charles the Seventh and Henry the Sixth; for as to the Duke of Burgundy, the French were prepared to make every concession required to detach him from the English alliance. They were indeed already so assured in these respects that their offers to the English were illusory, if not, as the Archbishop of York expressed it, insulting. They proposed that the English should yield up all they had conquered in Normandy, and should merely retain Guyenne in fief, the monarch withdrawing his claim to the crown of France. Such offers were not serious, and the English responded to them by offering to conclude a truce for any length of time, since peace was impracticable. This was what

the French least desired. Their aim was, after having deprived the English of the alliance of the Duke of Burgundy, to press the war. The papal legate, who acted as arbiter, insisted on more decorous offers; and the French were, in consequence, induced to offer Normandy, in addition to Guyenne, in fief. Had the offer been made of the province without vassalage, it in all probability would have been accepted. But, these relations of feudal inferiority, which the Plantagenets had not been unwilling to accept, had become impossible in a more advanced age, when the fictions of feudalism had either vanished or been consolidated into hard realities. If Edward the Third would not accept vassalage, his successor could not. The offers of the French, however, answered the purpose, and satisfied the papal legates as well as the Duke of Burgundy that sufficient concessions had been made to the English, and the latter withdrew from Arras.

There remained for the Duke of Burgundy to renew his allegiance to the King of France, which he had broken off at the treaty of Troyes. His anxiety was to do this decorously, and with all the forms and delays which could excuse and cover the breach of faith towards the English, and the cancelling of a solemn treaty. In such a case the plain truth would have been the best. The duke might have pleaded that in a moment of just indignation, and in order to avenge his own private wrong he had striven to disinherit and to crush the rightful monarch. Had this been accomplished, there would have been no need of a second treaty. But as this attempt had failed, and had inflicted on the country years of misery and bloodshed, anarchy and rapine, it had become indispensable to the duke to retrace his steps, and recognise Charles the Seventh as king, there being manifestly no other means of restoring order, peace, and repose to France. Although such cogent motives had already had their

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full influence on his mind, he still went through the ceremony of ordering the doctors of the different parties to argue each their case. They did so, blending the question of right with that of expediency, and each piling up a mountain of words which served far more to obscure than elucidate the question. In the midst of this labour, tidings came of the death of the Duke of Bedford; and this had more effect in putting an end to the affected irresolution of Duke Philip than all the logic of the doctors.

The cardinals and the members of the council having duly signified to the duke that he was dispensed from observing his treaty with the English, he at length consented to consider the offers of Charles. These offers were, first to make every amends that could be required for the murder of Jean Sans-Peur, Charles "having been young at the time, and of small intelligence." The perpetrators of the act were to be punished, and the spoil of the late duke restored. The king proposed ceding to the Duke of Burgundy the district of Macon and of Bar-sur-Seine, with the county of Auxerre. He also ceded Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier, which, however, were to descend with the county of Artois to a younger son, and not to the heir of Burgundy. The towns on the Somme, including Amiens, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, were also ceded; but the king had liberty to redeem them for 400,000 crowns. The duke's claim to the Boulonnais was admitted. He was to be exempt for his own and the king's life from any act of homage, and his subjects from any military levies in behalf of the Crown; and Burgundian officers were permitted to wear their own emblem, the cross of St. Andrew, and no other. The duke abandoned the English alliance, and the king promised to break off his alliance with the emperor against the duke.

Such was the treaty of Arras, signed on the 21st of

September 1435. The aim of Henry the Fifth in the treaty of Troyes was to possess himself of the kingdom of France by the aid of the Duke of Burgundy. The result in the treaty of Arras was that the Duke of Burgundy acquired Picardy, as well as the Maconnais, by the aid of his allies. For this the English had made enormous efforts; Duke Philip none. Though fond of pleasure, like all the princes of the age, he could, like them, bestir himself on occasions, place himself at the head of armies, and achieve victory. But he never did this for the Henries. He left them to struggle almost alone in their gigantic enterprise; to preserve his own dominions and subjects from harm was his only care; and all he waited for was the inevitable failure of the English, in order to make peace with their enemies and turn upon themselves. Had Duke Philip been a crafty prince, never would the moral of active greed cheated by slow cunning have been more egregiously exemplified. But the lazy and pleasurable, though proud and jealous, duke followed no scheme of policy, but was guided by circumstances which proved too strong for the English, whilst they made of him, had he or his race known how to profit by them, the most puissant prince in Christendom.

After having broken with his old ally, it was impossible for him to remain neutral. His envoys were hooted in the streets of London, and some of his subjects even slain. The towns of the Somme and the county of Ponthieu, which the treaty transferred to him, were in the hands of the English. Duke Philip not only took them, but resolved to complete the conquest of North France by the reduction of Calais. For this he collected a large army in 1436; the Flemings, especially the Ghenters, answering his call to the number of 40,000, and promising not merely to second his enterprise, but accomplish it themselves. They found the task, however, so much beyond their power

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that they grew disheartened, accused the Burgundians of betraying them, and marched off, leaving the duke to extricate himself, with his other forces, as best he could. "Not the first time," observes Olivier de la Marche, "that when the mere people have the upper hand in a great enterprise, the conclusion is of small effect." The French generals and partisans showed themselves more skilful and successful. An insurrection of the Norman peasants of the coast allowed them to get possession of almost all the seaports of the province, even of Dieppe and Harfleur. Caudebec alone remained open to English succours; and these, owing to the rivalry of the Dukes of York and Somerset, were slow to come. When they did land, they were too much occupied with putting down the insurrection and recovering the ports, to think of either supplying Paris with sufficient force to defend it, or else withdrawing from it altogether.

The latter would have been the wisest course. The Duke of Burgundy being master of the towns and fortresses east and north of Paris, whilst the royalists interrupted the communications between it and Rouen, to preserve the capital was impossible. Lord Willoughby had not a garrison of two thousand men, of which four hundred had lately mutinied for want of pay. Thomas Beaumont, who brought a small reinforcement, chose to sally forth, and was slain. The Burgundian partisans in the capital turned against the English; and when Lille Adam appeared before the walls with the constable, at the head of six thousand men, the civic guard, instead of resisting, invited them to enter. The English were surprised. They at first attempted resistance, but, finding themselves outnumbered, took refuge in the Bastille. Here they were besieged for a few days, and at last agreed to evacuate it, the constable allowing them to float unmolested down

the river to Rouen. The retreat of the English from Paris took place in 1436.

Loud were the acclamations of the Parisians, and yet the triumph which they hailed proved no alleviation of their misery. A full year elapsed ere King Charles made his appearance; "they had no more news of him than if he had been at Rome or Jerusalem."* The constable, however, levied a large subsidy, which being soon spent on the siege of Creil, he had recourse to an adulteration of the coin.

At length, in November 1437, Charles made his solemn entry into his capital, from which he had been an exile nearly twenty years. The constable rode on the monarch's right hand, the Count of Vendôme on his left†; and the royal cavalcade was met at the Porte St. Denis by "the seven virtues and the seven mortal sins well clad, mounted upon various beasts." Charles had previously reunited the parlement of Poitiers to that of Paris, and the new judges and councillors returned to take their seats, and thus restore Paris to the rank of judicial capital of the Langue d'Oil.

* The Bourgeois de Paris.

† The Count Dunois, Bastard of Orleans, was distinguished by a large gold chain in the form of oak leaves, weighing fifty marks, — a proof of the advance of the arts.

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FROM CHARLES'S RETURN TO PARIS TO HIS DEATH.

1437—1461.

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WITH the treaty of Arras and the entrance of Charles the Seventh into his capital expires the interest of the struggle between the two nations. The English, indeed, still retained Rouen as well as Bordeaux, and were not to be driven from them by mere desultory warfare. Yet the two countries were incapable of any other. The English, absorbed more and more in their domestic quarrels, were soon lost to all continental ambition and cares in the struggle of the Roses; but France was for a long time too much exhausted to take advantage of her rival's weakness. As soon, however, as its resources were husbanded, its administration organised, and its military system placed upon a permanent footing, it required but an effort to expel the English at once from those French provinces, in which they were merely encamped as soldiers, and where they found it impossible to take root or to fortify themselves amidst a hostile and an enthusiastically nationalised population.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to conclude that the invasion and the victories of the English in France, were without important and durable results. Had not the French monarchy under John and under Charles the Sixth been crushed successively by Edward and

by Henry, it would in all probability have followed up its victories over the Flemings, and pushed its frontier northward, instead of allowing an almost independent vassal to extend his power over the whole of the Low Countries; and had the French kings and aristocracy become masters of the entire coast to the Scheldt, as well as of the wealthy provinces and population adjoining it, their martial spirit, love of plunder, and consciousness of force, would have impelled them against England, which might thus have suffered from French invasion, instead of France suffering from English. It is impossible not to perceive that our insular impunity has depended upon the estrangement, if not independence, of Flanders from the monarchs of France, as well as upon the character which the English had acquired of being indomitable in great battles. But the chief result of the long war was that it removed during at least four reigns, the capital of the monarchy and the centre of its administration from the banks of the Seine to those of the Loire. Until the English were finally expelled, Paris, exposed to their incursions, was not habitable for a court, and even afterwards the vicinity of the Burgundian garrisons at Montdidier and Auxerre, rendered it more a frontier fortress than a central capital. Charles the Seventh, therefore, with the exception of rare visits to the Isle of France, kept his court and pursued his business or pleasure in the more genial climate and the less wasted countries behind the Loire. The nobles, and indeed the whole population of the south, had shown attachment to him, whilst the northerns, or a great majority of them, felt more respect for the opulent and splendid court of the Duke of Burgundy. During the greater part of the fifteenth century, therefore, France became a southern more than a northern monarchy. It changed its very latitude, undergoing at the same time, necessarily a corresponding and gradual change in its ideas,

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policy, ambition, and tastes. England ceased in a great degree to be antagonistic or rival to France, which turned its views in altogether an opposite direction.

The perceptible consequences of the change were, however, still remote. For some years Charles the Seventh and his son had English occupation and Burgundian ascendency to combat, although the efforts and the councils of these monarchs were not so absorbed in such aims as to preclude their care and attention being directed to the internal development and organisation of the country. France during the disastrous reign of Charles the Sixth had become a total wreck, and not more in consequence of his imbecility than of the apparent vigour and cleverness of some of his predecessors. These had exaggerated the power and prestige of royalty, and included the princes of the blood within the circle of its privileges and its respect. They had treated their noblesse with oriental tyranny, not with even feudal justice, despoiling and beheading the objects of their suspicion or dislike, with greed and relentless caprice; prince and noble followed the royal example. Amidst this reign of violence the middle class had become effaced, its eminent and even moderate men suspended to the gibbet. The clergy had lost the power even of self-defence, and remained the prey, alternately, of prince and of pope. The parliament or judicial body had voluntarily ensconced itself in oblivion. The University had, indeed, come forth and battled a while for the rights of the learned, the independent church, and the middle classes, but the struggle towards these ends, and for the reform of the papacy were, though noble in conception, futile in results. The peasantry had become the mere prey of the soldier, who himself scarcely deserved the name. In short, France may be considered to have reached, in the interval between the battle of Verneuil and the

siege of Orleans, the lowest degree, not only of degradation, but of dissolution. Society was reduced to its most barbarous elements; government was a chaos.

From this state it was raised by the necessities, the duties, and the efforts of self-defence. Kings and princes had either abdicated authority, or placed it at the foot of the enemy. The inferior classes of the towns, with the peasantry led by the boldest amongst them, or amongst the lesser gentry, inspirited first by the Pucelle, sprung up and organised a resistance of their own. It was fatal to the English; but it proved for the time most oppressive to France, as it filled the country with a fierce and indisciplined soldiery, which knew no scruple or no law, levied contributions as they pleased, and gained neither resources, nor even territories for the legitimate king, although routing and dispersing his enemies.* Charles withdrew in disgust and despair from the disorders which thus prevailed in the north. In the south he possessed an organised and comparatively tranquil kingdom, in which the continued efforts for maintaining war had established a constitutional system. The estates of the great divisions or provinces periodically assembled at Bourges, at Poitiers, or at Toulouse, and the king received grants from them proportioned to his necessities. By virtue of their votes he levied *tailles* and *aides;* and it was expressly stated in the royal ordonnances that these could be raised only with the sanction of the Three Estates.†

The foundations were thus laid or preserved for the representative system in France, notwithstanding the endeavours of monarchs to efface and of subjects to

* *Terre gâtée vaut mieux que perdue,* was the motto of these ravagers.

† See the Ordonnances *passim,* especially the letter of Charles, December 1427, to the Count of Foix, complaining of his levying 22,000, livres in addition to the last aid of 150,000 without the consent of the Three Estates.

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ignore them. It was but required to extend to the north, and observe there the same mode of consulting the country, and raising the revenue, established south of the Loire, and equally known and indigenous north of it, though destroyed and suspended by tyranny and by war. This system was practised by the Duke of Burgundy in his dominions, and had been observed by the Duke of Bedford in Normandy. The character of the monarch was not unfavourable to the development of these political rights. Charles was of a gentle and easy nature, averse to violence and war. He preferred as councillors, if not as companions and friends, men of the industrious and middle classes, and he was as much inclined as necessitated to lean upon them against the high aristocracy, which treated him at times with contempt, and often with violence. But Charles's was not an initiatory genius or an enterprising spirit; and unless when roused by necessity, rivalry, or danger, he was apt to sink into the lap of a mistress, or allow himself to be guided by the not always enlightened views of his councillors.

Unfortunately, France possessed no great men in those days. It was the period which preceded the discovery of printing and the outpouring upon Europe of the stores of ancient literature caused by the capture of Constantinople. Whilst these great events were in preparation, there was a blank in the production of genius or the development of great characters. Letters there were none; those who cultivated them were despised or destroyed. The University of Paris did not send forth a second Gerson; nor did a legist replace the theologian. The middle class, indeed, furnished some able ministers to Charles the Seventh—Jacques Cœur, who managed the coin with ability, and afforded upon important occasions the pecuniary aid which a great capitalist could alone bestow. John Bureau too, a Parisian of humble birth, improved the effectiveness

of cannon and the art of undermining fortifications. But these talents were displayed in specialties that did not amount to statesmanship, and did not suggest to Charles the Seventh a commanding view of either the rights of their class or the interests of their country.

Whilst the ranks of industry and citizenship thus failed to send forth a politician that could serve or represent them, princes and gentry were equally devoid of high qualities, of education, or of talent. Military courage, indeed, the French gentleman never wanted; but it was still that of a ferocious, rapacious, selfish partisan, rather than of a great general. What was still more wanting than talent to the upper class was generous feeling. The great sources of ennobling sentiments had in truth been dried up. The religious enthusiasm which had produced the Crusades and inspired St. Louis was no longer to be found. The chivalrous spirit, which combined with the religious to form the knight, had equally disappeared. The ideal character of the gentleman, which became later the object of example and veneration, had not yet been imagined, much less enshrined. Monarchs owned no principle, much less indulged in views beyond the narrow ones of acquisition or self-defence. The duties connected with these were so inadequate to fill the mind that princes universally devoted themselves to licentious pleasures as the first occupation of life. Even their female relatives sanctioned such royal indulgences. His mother-in-law, Yolande of Aragon, provided Charles the Seventh with the beautiful Agnes Sorel; and not content with royal mistresses, Charles sunk to the monstrous indulgence of a seraglio.

The aristocracy was equally devoid of high aims or exalted duties. Even in the field they seemed to seek their own aggrandisement or emolument, more than the delivery of the country from its foes. In their relations with each other, they were without truth,

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loyalty, or disinterestedness. In perusing the memoirs of those times, one is amazed and shocked by the deep distrust and contempt displayed by Charles the Seventh and Louis the Eleventh for their cotemporaries. But on close inspection, the Frenchmen of that age seem unfortunately to merit the opinion which these monarchs entertained of them. Neither life nor character was safe in their hands. The nobles neither respected those above, nor had the slightest consideration for those below them. What they sought in war was plunder, and their recompense for serving a prince was no longer fiefs, which, in the wasted condition of the country, were little worth, but pensions and pay. Political ideas, or independence, or honour, were not to be expected from such rude and selfish mercenaries.

Charles the Seventh was thus obliged to pursue unaided the great task of recovering the country from anarchy as well as from the invaders. It was no easy one; the very chiefs who had been most strenuous in the field, showing themselves most reckless of law and discipline. The Duke of Bourbon, formerly Count of Clermont, openly patronised and retained numerous bands, that defied every authority.* Villandrado, a chief of Spanish mercenaries, even after the peace, defied Charles himself in the south, and arrested his officers, an affront that effectually awakened the monarch. He raised an army from the towns of Languedoc, and pursued Villandrado with such unwonted activity, that he compelled him to submit. The Constable Richmont, on the other hand though repressing the marauders or *écorcheurs*, as they were called, still levied *aides* and subsidies most unscrupulously, and without any warrant. He inflicted forced loans on the Parisians, and was as severe upon the clergy, carrying off the

* These bands established themselves in the castles of Vincennes and of Beauté near Paris, and refused even the Constable entrance to them.

church plate; although the Constable made good use of such resources, and with them drove the English from the stronghold of Meaux.

To alleviate if not terminate this military anarchy, Charles summoned the Estates of the North to meet at Orleans in 1439. The first question proposed to them, was, should there be peace or war. The Estates of the South had voted the important declaration that war had been terminated by the treaty of Arras, and war taxes consequently suspended.* To prevent those at Orleans passing such a vote, Charles laid before them the offers which he had made to the English, and which had been rejected. The French had insisted on Henry the Sixth waiving his claim to the throne of France, which the English would not consent to unless their French possessions were left them without vassalage. The Count of Vendome and John Juvenal des Ursins, were the advocates for peace. The Counts of Dunois and Lafayette the spokesmen for war. The assembly sided with the former, considering that hostilities should not be prolonged for a mere name.†

It was requisite, notwithstanding, to provide for the defence of the country, after some system more regular than the payment of services to such captains as were at the head of bands. A law was therefore presented to the estates, and approved of by them, ordering that no one should assume the title or authority of captain, or should become a leader of troops without royal sanction and ordonnance; that captains when appointed should be entitled to a certain pay, and should not despoil, take oxen, nor make demands in inns of "outrageous abundance;" that they should remain in the posts and garrisons appointed for them, nor absent themselves without order; that there should be no

* Berri, and Hist. de Languedoc. The duties on exports, as well as upon corn and wine, in the south had been granted merely till the peace.

† Ordonnances.

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other fortress than those established by the king; or that if the nobles chose to garrison their castles, it should be at their own expense. The captains and their soldiers were to be amenable to the royal bailiffs for crimes or offences. The financial portion of the decree was that the king should levy a tallage on the towns and districts, for the especial pay and maintenance of the captains and the forces whom he should appoint and employ. The barons were expressly forbidden, either to prevent the levy of this tax in their domains, or to attempt to raise it or any such tax themselves, no military subsidy being permitted to be levied except by royal authority.*

This was a re-enactment of the law which Charles the Fifth had issued in 1374, for the establishment of *compagnies d'ordonnances.* The period was now more propitious than it had been in the previous century for the accomplishment of the great change from a feudal and temporary to a salaried and permanent army. The circumstances of the time had, indeed, in a manner effected this. Although the English had been worsted at Orleans, and driven successfully from the Loire by the armed townsfolk, these could not carry on permanent war, without altogether forsaking town life and occupation for those of the professional soldier. Almost the whole adult population turned to this, the only mode of subsistence at such a period. The want of central administration, the suspension of royal revenues or pay, forced them to congregate in bands, which frequently were obliged to seek for subsistence in plunder. The aim of Charles and of his councillors in the estates of Tours, was to reform this army of *routiers* and reduce it to royal obedience. The task was difficult; the promulgation of the ordonnance indisposed these irregular troops. The constable Richmont, who strenuously laboured to introduce discipline amongst

* Recueil des Ordonnances; also Berry.

them, and who was proportionally hated, led an army to besiege Avranches. The English, taking what was thought an impracticable route by the seacoast, came upon the French suddenly, and routed them with loss and confusion. The constable was unable even to rally them after defeat; Charles was indignant, and he seized the occasion to enforce his lately promulgated ordonnance. Commands were accordingly issued, that no trooper should have more than three followers; they had often ten. But now, pages, women, baggage, mules, and all the *coquinaille*, as the herald Berry says, were retrenched and forbidden. Whilst to enforce these rules, new captains were appointed. This measure of Charles and his council went mainly to introduce the Italian system, by which the Viscontis and other chiefs had established their tyrannical rule, and rendered themselves, not only masters of the people, but tyrants over the nobles. By the ordonnance of Orleans, regular taxes were to be levied upon the domains of the nobles for the support of a military force, over which they had no control, and in which they had not even a command. The personages most aggrieved, the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, the Counts of Vendome and Dunois, immediately met at Blois, whilst the bastard of Bourbon, and Chabannes, who were in actual command of bands, defied the king's authority, and advanced into Berry, where was the king's chief residence, to plunder. To give weight and importance to the rebellion, it was determined to place the dauphin at its head.

This young prince had given early signs of both spirit and talent. He had shown military courage at the assault of Montereau. Poitou had been misgoverned under La Tremouille, and loud complaints were made of the extortion and abuses perpetrated in the king's name. Young Louis, sent to inquire and to remedy them, had shown himself as firm as discreet. After this he was charged with the more difficult mis-

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sion of pacifying Languedoc, which was ravaged by the bands, and torn by the feud between the Counts of Armagnac and Foix. Louis gained the confidence of the latter, and then appealing to the towns (the troops being but "a mass of brigands"), succeeded in restoring security and order. So favourably was Charles impressed with his son's intelligence and capacity, that when the estates of Auvergne pestered him with complaints, Charles for reply promised that he would send the dauphin to remedy all abuses.* But the same circumstances, which inspired Charles with respect for his son Louis, taught the latter to despise the weakness of his father. He had, moreover, a strong dislike to the mistresses and councillors who surrounded Charles, and when the malcontent nobles came to Niort, and represented to the prince the wrong done them by the military ordonnances, he made no scruple of joining their cause, and of raising the standard of resistance to the king.†

The first act of Charles was to send for the constable Richmont, who in passing through Blois had fallen amongst the conspirators, and had well nigh been arrested by them.‡ He was now on good terms with the king and his council, and approved of the military reform. His advice to Charles was to beware the fate of Richard the Second, and instead of shutting himself within walls, to keep at the head of an armed force in the open country. But Charles's true strength lay in the towns, and in their population, which universally declared in his favour against the pretensions of the malcontents. After a vain attempt to wrest the dauphin from their hands, he took the field, and surprised his enemies in Saint Maxent, which they had just

* Legrand. Hist. MSS. of Louis XI. in the Bibliothèque Impériale.

† The volume of historians, or historic fragments of the reign of Charles VII. collected by Godefroy, contains a full account of this war.

‡ Gruel, Mem. de Richmont.

captured. Attacked by the royal troops on one side, whilst the citizens assailed them on the other, they were driven from the town, and found it prudent to retreat into the Duke of Bourbon's county of Auvergne. They were disappointed at the Duke of Burgundy not joining them, and still more weakened by the defection of Dunois. The estates of Auvergne summoned by Charles, were enthusiastic in their loyalty, and voted him a large sum; whilst the principal towns of the province closed their gates against the malcontents. These in consequence submitted to the royal pleasure at Cusset, in July, 1440. The king pardoned his son, and was severe only in words and warning to the Duke of Bourbon. The dauphin besought a similar pardon to those, who, Tremouille amongst them, had joined him in the late resistance. Charles forgave, but insisted on their quitting the court. The dauphin observed, "that in that case he must withdraw too." The king's reply was, "Go, Louis; if the gates are not large enough for you, the walls shall be thrown down to give you free exit. Go, if it pleases you; with the blessing of God we shall find others of our own blood ready to aid in maintaining our honour and our lordship better than you have hitherto done." Louis remained. The king restored to him the province of Dauphiné, without its seal, however, or the power of changing its chief officers. The Praguerie, as the outbreak was called, in allusion to the rebellion of the Hussites, then the general talk of the world, was thus promptly terminated, but not without leaving on the king's mind deep mistrust both of his son and of his chief noblesse.

The English were greatly elated at this prospect of civil war amongst the French, and instead of sending envoys to negotiate, a force was despatched under the Earl of Somerset to besiege Honfleur. It was gallantly defended. But when after the submission of the mal-

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contents an army could be sent under Dunois to relieve the town, it was too late. The French succour failed, and Honfleur capitulated. Although the negotiations with the English did not lead to peace, they at least and at last produced the liberation of the Duke of Orleans. This prince, who had been a captive ever since the battle of Azincourt, and who had solaced his captivity by the composition of verses, had employed every effort to put an end to his long durance. Although he was of a most pacific temper, the English partisans of war with France opposed his liberation, as giving an able intellect to the cause and councils of the enemy. The Duke of Burgundy, who entertained a similar idea of his brother duke's capacity, was anxious to see him restored to France, in order that his influence might be exerted to counterbalance and keep down the king's rising independence. The duke furnished the greater portion of the ransom, which was fixed at 200,000 crowns. And no sooner was Orleans free, than he hastened to the court of Burgundy, espoused Anne of Cleves, the duke's niece, and a succession of fêtes and rejoicings displayed the chiefs of the two rival families in the closest alliance and friendship.

The Duke of Orleans, on quitting England, pledged his word not to bear arms against it, and promised to labour for peace. To this Charles was averse, unless the English would hold their French provinces in his vassalage.* The three estates, however, especially of the south, were too anxious for peace to insist on so impracticable a condition. And Charles in consequence had avoided consulting them. They were summoned to meet at Bourges, in order to take into consideration the terms proposed by the Duke of Orleans before his liberation. But Charles took care to stay away from Bourges, allowing the deputies to separate

* For the Duke's negotiations, see *Documens Inédites*, Melanges, tom. ii.

without having come to either discussion or vote; whilst the soldiers, knowing their inclination to peace, pillaged and maltreated them on their way home.

When the Duke of Orleans joined his brother of Burgundy, and met the other members of the Praguerie, they drew up and forwarded remonstrances to Charles, complaining of his unwillingness to make peace, and his subterfuges to avoid it. To these the king frankly replied, by stating the insurmountable difference between him and his enemies, as he would never grant provinces without homage, and the English never would accept them with it. Referring to the internal government of the country, the nobles demanded fitter appointments to judicial offices as well as the shortening of processes. Charles rebutted the insinuation by declaring that he had always made the most prudent selection for judges, and that he had nominated several on the recommendation of the Duke of Burgundy. The principal grief of the malcontents was the king's military levies and appointments, which led to so many "roberies" and outrages. They demanded as a remedy the nomination of none save notable captains, who had already served the king in war, to conduct it for the future, and have charge of the gensd'armes. They ask in the words of the ordonnance that these gensd'armes should be kept on the frontier, and paid out of the king's treasury. Moreover, they require that officers should be carefully chosen, that the government should not merely collect a multitude, and that instead of employing the lower orders as soldiers, it should compel those idle and noisy men to quit the profession, for their more natural occupation of trade and labour. The king replied, that he could have no greater pleasure than in acting upon these recommendations. The lords then complained of the taxes levied without consent of the country. To this it was observed that the nobles were always consulted as to the *aides* or

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tax on the open country. With respect to *tallage* the king invariably consulted the states, although he had the right to levy it in cases of urgency without the formality of convoking them, which was expensive, as the deputies had to be paid. Many notable persons for this reason deprecated the calling of the states at all, recommending that the king should signify to the towns* the necessity of a *taille, selon son bon plaisir*. The nobles also represented that they were not summoned to the Great Council, whilst important affairs of state were committed to two or three insignificant persons. The king answered that it was his anxious desire to employ the great nobles, and consult them on their prerogatives and authority, but that they must first prove themselves obedient, as well as observant of the rights of others. He felt the necessity of appointing to his Great Council "men fearing God, and neither extreme nor passionate with respect to past divisions."

Many of these complaints were just and patriotic, and strongly savoured of those constitutional principles and ideas which no doubt the Duke of Orleans had brought from his long residence in England. But his French associates knew not the nature of them. As to Charles, he evaded rather than complied. The leagued nobles ended by insisting on a speedy and special meeting of the estates; and of this, Monstrelet tells, the royal councillors were in dread.† The French noblesse had unfortunately held apart from the third or popular estate on all past occasions, and the citizens were now so decidedly opposed to and mistrustful of them, that it was hopeless and idle for the aristocracy to appeal from the king to the national assembly. They, therefore, abandoned *a*

* Godefroy.

† The fear of Charles's councillors was that the nobles sought to "bailler gouvernement en iceluy royaume de par les trois Etats, ce qui seroit et pourrait être à son grand préjudice."—*Monstrelet.*

course which, at this critical period, might have laid the foundation of representative government, and each making demands for himself, their pacific and argumentative stand against royalty proved as futile as the previous uprising of the Praguerie.

The liberation of the Duke of Orleans, his declared alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, and their policy in rallying the malcontent nobles to them had from the first aroused the king from his apathy. He had hitherto avoided directing war towards the frontier of Burgundy, and seeking quarrel or collision with the duke. But he flung away such scruples, and resolved, in 1441, to march into Champagne, establish his authority there, and clear the province of those bands which exercised uncontrolled rule over it. Carrying the dauphin with him, he in a short time reduced the fortresses held by independent chiefs, and filled them with garrisons of his own. He compelled the Count of St. Pol to make submission. Amongst those who surrendered to him was the Bastard of Bourbon, illegitimate brother to the duke, a leader of bands, and one of the first who resisted the military ordonnance. He had recently been guilty of the grossest atrocities in the capture of a town. Charles set aside his usual lenient nature, ordered him to be tried, and, on his crime being proved, the brother of the Duke of Bourbon was sewn up in a sack and thrown into the Aube.*

Charles for the first time seemed to take pleasure in military life. He now began really to exercise command. He felt himself, moreover, menaced by rivals and domestic foes, and was resolved to disprove their eternal reproach against him of being slothful, self-indulgent, and unwarlike. From Champagne he led his army, in the summer of 1441, to Creil, which he

* G. Gruel, M. de Richmont.

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took; and he then sat down before Pontoise, from whence the English were in the habit of ravaging the plains round Paris, and of intercepting its provisions. Instead of investing it, which would have exposed his army to the attacks of the English generals from Normandy, Charles fortified a convent, called Maubuisson, on the opposite side of the river Oise, connecting it with the siege by means of a bridge. When the English under Lord Talbot came, as they did several times, to relieve the town and offer battle to the French, Charles withdrew into the convent, and at last, afraid of being forced there, withdrew to Poissy. There too the Duke of York came and offered battle at the head of 9000 men. Charles would not accept the challenge; he knew that the English army, without provisions in a wasted country, could not remain long, and he then trusted to the superior power and skill of his artillery to make a breach in the walls of Pontoise, and capture it ere the English could return to its succour. The event proved Charles's sagacity. A church outside the walls, which was the advanced post of the English, was first battered and taken, then several breaches were made. The French were repulsed at first from two of these; but the king and the dauphin both taking part in the attack the assailants succeeded in forcing their way into the town. (Sept. 1441.) Charles exerted himself to save the women and the peasants, but the English prisoners were treated with great cruelty. Letters of noblesse and rich presents were given to those whom the monarch perceived to be foremost in the assault.*

Charles had probably received the first remonstrance of his malcontent nobles when in Champagne; the Duke of Orleans had even proposed to pay his respects and

* Berry, Gruel, Chartier, Basin —this author had been previously known under the name of Amelgard. See Quicherat's valuable edition.

devoirs to the monarch there, but Charles had declined. After capturing Pontoise the king journeyed with his court and army through the western provinces. He had made known his replies to the princes and proposed sending his chancellor to Nevers to meet them. He offered the Duke of Brittany a passage through Anjou to that town, and he expressed a hope that the leagued nobles would feel so satisfied with his promises and explanations as to meet him at Bourges. CHAP. XVI.

The attitude of the king was as proud as conciliating. He had pacified an important province, taken by assault a strong town, and baffled the English foe. He was proceeding to the south on a similar errand, strengthening his government, and putting his kingdom in order—all this without the presence, the counsel, or the aid of any of the great nobles or princes. They were completely set aside, and a despotic government substituted for an aristocratic one. They murmured, but saw not the remedy. At last each chief forwarded his own complaints. The Duke of Alençon wanted Niort restored to him, the Count of Vendome his Grand Mastership of the Household, the Duke of Bourbon the restoration of his annual pension of 14,000 francs. Charles was ready to pay whoever would submit; and finally all did so, save the Duke of Burgundy, who had kept aloof from the meeting at Nevers. The Duke of Orleans presented himself before the king, forgot his remonstrance, and accepted a large sum towards his ransom with a pension of 1000 livres.

Whilst the united grandees of the north and centre of France thus egregiously failed in the attempt to apply a check to the absolute power of the monarch and his council, these proved equally triumphant in the south, both over the English and over the local aristocracy. The former had attacked the Count D'Albret,

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and, besieging him in Tartas, had obliged him to promise to surrender if not released before a certain time. When English garrisons entered into such an agreement it was the same as surrender, for they were never relieved. Charles, however, marched south, appeared before Tartas in ample time, and in such force that the English durst not attack him. A feud had for many years agitated the country north of the Pyrenees. The county of Comminges, fallen to an heiress, had been disputed between the old rivals, the Counts of Armagnac and Foix. The heiress having espoused a Count of Foix as a third husband, the latter had immured his wife in order to enjoy her heritage uncontrolled. The Estates of Comminges complained to the king, and Charles restored the strongholds, then garrisoned with the troops of Armagnac, and soon found in them and in the count an enemy as troublesome as him of Foix. This required more efforts and another war; the more serious as Armagnac applied to Henry the Sixth, and offered to hand over the sovereignty.

Considerable efforts were made by the English, in 1442, to redeem the capture of Pontoise. Talbot, created Duke of Shrewsbury, and the Duke of Somerset, led, the one an expedition to Dieppe, the other an army from Cherburg into Maine and Anjou. Talbot, who threw up a bastide at Pollet on the other side of the port of Dieppe, was attacked by the dauphin, whom the king had appointed commander between Seine and Somme. Somerset laid siege to Pouancé. Both attempts of the English failed, and the peace party in England recovering its ascendency in consequence, the Earl of Suffolk (De la Pole) came to France, in 1444, to propose a truce and a marriage between Henry and a French princess. According to Basin there was at first question of a daughter of Charles; but that monarch, who resolved to make use of the truce merely as a temporary respite, "objected to intermarriage

between kings of England and the daughters of French monarchs as unfortunate." Margaret, daughter of Réné of Anjou, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, was fixed upon. She was affianced to Henry; but, instead of bringing a dowry, Suffolk stipulated that in consideration of the marriage, the English should cede to King Réné, her father, his hereditary dominions of Anjou and Maine. By such weakness did Suffolk inaugurate a marriage so fatal to himself, to his country, and to the house of Lancaster.

Whilst the French monarchy was thus recovering itself from the grasp of England, and making use of the power accruing from its efforts and its triumph to erect an absolute, instead of a mixed or feudal government, the empire of Germany, driven by totally different influences, had undergone a revolution the opposite of that of France. The house of Luxemburg had occupied the imperial throne for a century; but being without hereditary dominions, and hence having made the remote and Slavonic province of Bohemia the place of its residence and authority, the Germans of different classes, princes, churchmen, and townsfolk, each achieved such a full measure of independence as to leave the empire little more than a name. Everywhere in the west money or revenue became the great source of government power, and the right or means of raising it grew into the one great and essential prerogative. With this money-power became identified the ruling authority; and, whilst in England the different ranks of life shared this with their king, the French crown monopolised, and the German lost it altogether.

The political destiny, indeed, of the three great races seemed to be, that all ranks should combine harmoniously and co-exist in England; that in France the one should ever oppress, or persecute the other; whilst in Germany all sources of power and all degrees of rank developed themselves freely and majestically, like plants

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in the luxuriance of primordial vegetation, but without that culture, co-ordinance, or system that could form an harmonious or compact whole. Germany was thus marked out and prepared to be the birthplace and cradle of great and new ideas, rather than of well-knit political systems. It was one immense field, so varied and partitioned, in clime and rule, in rank and government, that the intellectual seeds thrown to grow on it could not be stifled.

The relations of France and Germany had been for many years more ecclesiastical than political. The prelates of both countries had united their efforts at Constance to put an end to the papal schism, and at the same time unfortunately to extirpate heresy by the stake. But the result of Huss's martyrdom was as fatal to Germany as to the papacy. The Bohemians defeated the armies of the empire at the very time when the Turks pressed upon Constantinople and upon Hungary. The Germans and the Hussites were not unwilling to come to terms of mutual peace and toleration, but the Pope would not hear of it. And even when a treaty was concluded, the order came from Rome to break through the convention, as faith was not to be kept with heretics. The German princes, obedient to Rome, again armed, received the papal blessing, and with the promise of all the indulgences and privileges of crusaders, marched to exterminate those who dared to communicate the sacramental cup to the laity. Ziska and the Hussites had but to appear before the armies of the faith to put them to flight, and retaliate by barbarous cruelties for the atrocities practised on themselves.

The Germans, mortified by such disasters, owing in a great measure to the superiority of the free peasant arms of Bohemia to their half feudal, half mercenary levies, received them as a sentence of Heaven. The avarice and licentiousness of the clergy appeared

the cause of the defeat of their armies. The Germans, therefore, clamoured for reformation of the Church in moral and in pecuniary extravagance, if not in dogmas. The emperor, obedient to the opinion and to his own necessities, compelled the Pope to summon another council at Basle. It was more democratic in spirit and composition than that of Constance, and passed most sweeping decrees and remedies against papal pretensions and extortions. The popes, who felt like other sovereigns that the money power was everything in that age, of course resisted, and clung to emolument and revenue; and at length the council proceeded, in 1439, to elect a new Pope, in the person of Amadeus, the retired Duke of Savoy, who assumed the tiara under the title of Felix the Fifth.

Charles the Seventh was all this time struggling for his crown with the aid of his provinces of southern France. These, as well as the clergy, had suffered most from the rapacity of the courts of Avignon and Rome. In 1431 an edict was issued, forbidding the conferring of benefices upon foreigners. And when the council of Basle passed its celebrated articles of reform, Charles in a council of prelates held at Bourges, in 1439, solemnly adopted the decrees of that council, and promulgated the principal provisions in an ordonnance, which, after that of St. Louis, was styled the Pragmatic Sanction.*

This ordonnance adopted the rules laid down at Basle, that general councils of the church were to be held decennially, and were to wield supreme authority in ecclesiastical affairs. Before the arrangements entered into at Constance, the Pope and the clergy of France had divided between them the right of appointing to benefices, this right being exercised alternately; but according to the decree of Basle and of the Prag-

* Recueil des Ordonnances. L'Enfant, Hist. du Concile de Basle.

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matic Sanction, every church, college, and convent was to elect its prelates, without respecting any reservation or revision by the Pontiff. His holiness was merely given the nomination of one in ten. A third of the prebends of each church were compelled to be graduates of the University, and no church was to be without a theologian who had lived ten years at the University. Annates were abolished, and in lieu of them the Pope, when a tax was raised upon the clergy, was to be allowed one-fifth of it. Appealing to Rome was almost abrogated. Excommunication was not allowed, except sanctioned by judges. Church spectacles and clerical concubines were likewise prohibited.

Such were the liberal views of ecclesiastical government held in the middle of the fifteenth century by the most Christian king, his estates and his council. But it was not ecclesiastical matters alone which turned Charles's attention to Germany. The preconceived policy of that prince, there can be little doubt, was first to expel the English from France, and then proceed to humble the Duke of Burgundy, and reduce him from the state of independent prince to that of submissive vassal. The duke, instead of joining zealously in either the war of the English king against France, or that of the French king against England, had employed his force and his influence to extend his empire over the Low Countries. He wrung from the Emperor Sigismund a recognition of his independence in these provinces, and whilst preserving peace and neutrality on his French frontier, he was extending his territories towards the Rhine. It would not have been difficult for Duke Philip or his successor to purchase or obtain the title of king from the emperor of the day, and, supporting this right by arms, erect a second monarchy west of the Rhine. The acts and policy of Duke Philip evidently tended towards this end, although he did not avow it, perhaps, even to himself.

The aim of Charles the Seventh and his council was to foresee and be prepared for such an event. Accordingly, no sooner was the truce with England concluded, than it was resolved to employ the bulk of the armies then on foot in military service towards the Rhine. A pretext was furnished by the request which the new emperor Frederic of Austria made for succour against the Swiss.

This hardy and heroic people now step for the first time into French history. Their independence and confederacy which sprung up in the early years of the fourteenth century, were owing to the economical fact that the central valleys of the Alps were too poor to pay rent, or to furnish the surplus produce which feeds an aristocracy. Lords, therefore, were unknown in these valleys, except perhaps at the extremities, where fortresses were erected to intercept exports and levy toll. The bailiffs of the House of Hapsburg and Austria succeeded for a time in enforcing such a tribute. But the spirit of the mountaineers, uniting with their poverty, prompted them under Tell to eject the bailiffs, and to establish their independence on the field of Morgarten. Still the feud continued in a great measure one of class; and the peasant mountaineer who had lately conquered the flat country of north Switzerland, now besieged the noblesse in Zurich. The emperor and House of Austria applied to Charles the Seventh, who purposed giving his daughter to one of its princes; and the dauphin was empowered to lead the greater part of the mercenary bands, left idle by the truce with England, into Switzerland.

That young prince had greatly distinguished himself. After the defeat of Talbot at Dieppe, he had been despatched to the south to overcome the rebellion of Count Armagnac; and this he effectually accomplished, by taking that nobleman and his family prisoners. Recalled to court after the truce, Louis was employed

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to conduct the great body of the military mercenaries to the succour of Austria, whilst Charles himself preferred marching with another army into Lorraine, to support the claims of King Réné upon Metz. Both expeditions were menacing to the power of Burgundy.

The army of Louis, composed of 14,000 French mercenaries, and 8000 English under Sir Matthew Gough, mustered at Langres, and marched through the Burgundian territory to Basle. With the aim of raising the siege of Farnsburg he proceeded to pass the Birs, near to where it falls into the Rhine. He was driven back by a corps of Swiss, who, though of insignificant number, passed the river. The French cavalry marched first against them, followed by their whole force, of between 30,000 and 40,000 men. The Swiss, numbering not more than 1600, resisted several hours on the plain, and then withdrew to the house and cemetery of St. Jacques, where they defended themselves for the rest of the day, till, overwhelmed by numbers, every man save ten perished.*

Such was the battle of St. Jacques, fought on the 26th of August, 1444. Notwithstanding the slaughter of the Swiss, and their being obliged in consequence to raise the seige of Zürich, the effects of their determined bravery upon Louis, was to make him cease to prosecute war upon so redoubtable a foe. The Austrians, too, whether princes or nobles, showed themselves little grateful; they complained of the numbers which Louis had brought, and evinced small alacrity to furnish them with provisions; he, therefore, concluded soon after a peace with the Swiss at Ensisheim.†

One result of the campaign was to disperse the prelates who formed the council of Basle. This assembly did not, indeed, formally terminate for some years, nor did the Pope, whom it had elected, Felix the Fifth,

* Matthieu de Coucy, Legrand. † Monumenta Habsburgica.

resign the tiara until 1449; but the withdrawal of French support from the council already ensured the triumph of the Italian Pope, and of the party which maintained the principle of absolutism in the Church. Thus, for mere reasons of temporal policy, was the Pragmatic Sanction weakened, and all hopes of that ecclesiastical reform which Germans and French had combined to accomplish, finally abandoned. The church, it was fully proved, could not be reformed by the church; and nothing but external influence and lay compulsion could bring the lagging corporation of the clergy into some harmony with the moral advance and intellectual improvement of the age. For this, however, one thing was indispensable; some new means of spreading ideas, and communicating the results of mental and of learned discovery, so as to constitute a public opinion, and base upon it a public movement. This was furnished at the very time when the failure of the Council of Basle to reform the Church became manifest. John Guttenburg invented printing at Mayence.

Whilst the dauphin was engaged with the Swiss, Charles had brought his court to Nancy; and sent an army under his new favourite, De Brezé, to besiege Metz, or rather to waste its territory. The towns of this region, nominally belonging to the empire, practically maintained their independence. That of Metz asked in what they had offended the King of France; Charles replied by a claim of sovereignty, which he vaguely advanced over the entire region to the Rhine. The treatment which the dauphin received from the Germans, provoked the king to retaliate. He could make no impression on the town of Metz; but to save their territory from ravages, the citizens consented to pay 100,000 florins to King Charles, and 80,000 to King Réné.* Verdun was recognised by the French as ap-

* Legrand, February, 1445.

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pertaining to the empire; but, nevertheless, the king took it under his protection, on the condition of its keeping fifty horse and fifty archers ready to serve him when required.* Peace was soon concluded with the Germans.

The princes and princesses of the house of Anjou at this time urged Charles to turn his resentment and activity against the Duke of Burgundy; who, instead of answering provocation by defiance, sent the Duchess to the French court at Chalons. She considered the treaty of Arras as her work, and soon succeeded in repairing the breaches which had been made in it, and the misunderstanding that had arisen.†

In consequence of this reconciliation with Burgundy, and of the truce with England, there was no longer the possibility of employing such large armies. Charles accordingly re-formed and re-issued his ordonnances of some years back, limiting and organising his military force. He ordered that there should be maintained but 15,000 lances, of 100 to a company, each lance comprising the man-at-arms, his page, or *coutellier*, and three archers.‡ These troops were divided into garrisons, and a fixed tallage levied on the district for their support, "the people preferring the paying of this tax, to being daily eaten and pillaged as they were." § The great objection to this military reform, which had occasioned the Praguerie, was the apparent intention of dispensing with the services of the noblesse. But it is evident from the language of Olivier de la Marche, that the gendarmerie, even then, was composed of gentlemen, although the anonymous panegyrist of Charles the Seventh declares, that the commanders at least were

* These soldiers were to serve gratuitously for two days, after which they were to receive pay in the following proportions: the knight ten sols a day, the horseman, not a knight, five sols, and fifteen *petits tournois* for the archers. See Ordonnances.

† Legrand, Matthieu de Coucy, &c.

‡ Matthieu de Coucy.

§ Olivier de la Marche.

"neither young nor grand lords, but experienced soldiers." *

These military reforms of the French monarch, accompanied as they were by analogous financial regulations, were very far from destroying or superseding the privileges of the aristocracy. For some years after it was formally ruled by ordonnance, that none save the nobly born should enter these regiments even as archers; whilst the old feudal levy of the nobles and gentry by the *ban* and *arrière-ban*, far from being discontinued, was reordered and reorganised anew. The gently born monopolised the military service, at least on horseback. Charles the Seventh and his councillors seemed, indeed, not to have felt the necessity of a foot soldier at all, until the war again broke out with the English, on which occasion he completed his military regulations, by ordering that each parish should furnish and equip a foot soldier, or archer.†

A succession of ordonnances, relative to the finances, their distribution, regulation, and control, were also issued by Charles the Seventh; taxes were raised in the first instance by certain persons elected for the purpose, and paid into the hands of the royal receiver or treasurer. At first these taxes were levied on all lands, as well as all town property. But by degrees many exceptions grew up; all those occupying functions or offices were exempt, and the nobles did not fail to represent themselves as holding fiefs in this light. The lands, indeed, which they let for *cens* or rent, were still subject, as far as the profits of the farmer were concerned, to the accustomed tax. But the baron or the gentleman, living nobly, that is, idly on his fief, and answering the calls of *ban* and *arrière-*

* Panegyric of Charles VII., in beginning of Godefroy's Hist. of Charles VII.

† Called *franc archer* from his being exempt from all impost.

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ban, were considered to contribute thereby sufficiently to the service of the state; and the nobly born, thus exempt from *taille*, were also free from prevotal jurisdiction. Feudalism was thus in its military and financial nature transformed, not abolished. The more onerous burdens, and most degrading oppression of the slave and serf, indeed, disappeared. The agricultural population paid *cens* or rent, accompanied by *corvée*, and a host of other arbitrary exactions. But the French upper classes, though deprived of the extreme power of life and death, and spoliation, still weighed quite as heavily upon the tenant, though under the denomination and with the privilege of gentry, as they had in the character of feudal baron and noble knight. Nor did the fact of they themselves being subject to a royal master always render them less tyrannical or oppressive to their retainers.

The re-establishment of the royal authority was no longer resisted by princes, or contested by nobles. The organisation of justice, of the magistrature, and of the army, with the consequent security from the plunder of the captain or the robber, the order at the same time introduced in the levy and distribution of taxes, restored prosperity, cultivation, and industry:—all these changes, this resurrection, indeed, for France, were attributed to Charles, who was thus deservedly popular, and who saw no limit to his authority, his power, or his resources. The English should have, in common policy, done everything to deprecate the hostility of such a monarch, their weakness and distraction growing in proportion to his strength. But the mode in which the Earl of Suffolk had patched up the truce, left almost unavoidable grounds of quarrel. He had promised to restore Maine to the House of Anjou, which was identified with that of the reigning family, yet he had not dared to divulge this to his nation. The English, therefore, had deferred to surrender Le

Mans, whilst the French proportionately insisted on having possession. To put an end to their hesitation, Dunois invested Le Mans; and the English garrison, though upwards of 2000 strong, were obliged to evacuate it. (1448.)

The custom had come to prevail in Normandy, as well as in France, for their military occupants to make the tallage of the town and district feed them; and they in consequence objected to the introduction of more troops or interlopers. The English garrisons of Normandy for this reason refused to receive those expelled from Le Mans.* These were, therefore, in a manner compelled to besiege Fougères, a town of Brittany.† (March 1449.) The French and Bretons demanded redress of the Duke of Somerset, governor of Normandy, who disowned the act, but could not or would not remedy it. The French retorted by surprising Pont de l'Arche, not far from Rouen.

Bishop Basin, himself a Norman, and up to this time belonging to the English party, has left a full portraiture of Somerset, as proud, taciturn, and avaricious, and of his government as rapacious and venal. Basin, like the Normans, only awaited an opportunity to go over to Charles, who could not throw away so favourable an opportunity of extending his dominions. The money requisite for mustering the French gendarmerie from their respective garrisons, and putting them in motion was supplied by Jacques Cœur, the king's silversmith and treasurer. The noblesse of Picardy and the neighbouring provinces mustered according to the late regulations, which secured them pay. Dunois took the command, and captured Verneuil in July. Here Basin, the historian, joined Charles the Seventh, who instantly allotted him

* Matthieu de Coucy.

† See the inquest into the affair of Fougères, published by Quicherat in the fourth vol. of his edition of Basin.

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a pension of 1000 livres. Pont St. Audemer et la Rivière were then taken, and simultaneously the towns on the coast and those on the Seine. Every fortress fell before the French, and even English captains joined them. Twice the Count of Dunois came with his forces before Rouen, not to besiege it, for which there was no necessity, but to afford the citizens an opportunity of delivering it up. But Talbot and the Duke of Somerset, with a small garrison of not more than 1200 men, were still able to prevent them; and on one occasion the French were driven from the ramparts which they had already gained. The archbishop and clergy, however, put themselves at the head of the citizens, and *announced* their intention of surrendering the city; whereupon the English, too few to resist this resolution, retired into the castle, the palace, and the fortress on the bridge. Finally, their commander not only surrendered Rouen, but also Honfleur, Caudebec, and Arques, and stipulated to pay 50,000 crowns by way of ransom.; Talbot and his best officers remaining as pledges in the hands of the enemy. By such a disgraceful capitulation did the Duke of Somerset close the disasters of his countrymen at Rouen, into which city Charles the Seventh made a solemn and triumphal entry on the 10th of November, 1449.

The English having been thus expelled in a short campaign from all Normandy north of the Seine, Charles proceeded with his army south of that river, and laid siege to Caen, whither the Duke had withdrawn. The Earl of Suffolk then felt the necessity of redeeming the unpopularity of his government by making an effort to save Lower Normandy. Three thousand soldiers were despatched in the spring of 1450, under Sir Thomas Kyriel, from Portsmouth. They landed at Cherburg in March, rallied several garrisons, and some cavalry under Sir Matthew Gough, which nearly doubled their numbers, laid siege to Valogne, and after some time captured it.

Charles collected an army to oppose the English, consisting of 600 lances, and a body of franc archers, probably some 4000 men, whom he entrusted to the Count of Clermont, son of the Duke of Bourbon; whilst the constable Richemont, to whom the king did not give the command, brought from Brittany a little army of 200 lances, 800 archers, and in all about 2000 men. The English proceeded eastward from Valogne, in the direction of Bayeux and Caen, the siege of which it was their purpose to raise, by the *grand grêve*, or beach, along the sea shore. To emerge from thence upon the Bayeux road, they had marshes and a river to pass. The Count of Clermont endeavoured to prevent them, but was driven back by the English, who reached Formigny a village on the road from Carentan to Bayeux.

On the morning of the 15th of May, 1450, perceiving Clermont's force prepared for combat, they drew up in advance of Formigny*, the gardens and orchards of which were thus behind them. According to their custom the English proceeded to strengthen their position by digging holes or trenches in front, such mode of defence beginning to supersede the stakes. For this work they had no other implements than their swords and daggers. The intrenchment, however, was not needed, for when the Count of Clermont's archers advanced with some *coulevrines*, ere the battle began, a large body of the English advanced from behind their defences, routed the French archers, and captured their coulevrines. "Had not the gens-d'armes held their ground," observes Gruel, "the French army had suffered great outrage." Whilst the English were thus victorious over the archers of Clermont, another army,

* The confused account of the battle of Formigny and the operations which preceded it, are to be found in Berry. Jean Chartier only copied him. Gruel gives an account of Richemont's part in it. See also Matthieu de Coucy.

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that of the constable Richemont, suddenly appeared near the windmills on the hill adjoining. It was Sir Matthew Gough who commanded on the right, and who had defeated the archers. He, seeing the fresh army of Richemont approach, and direct its attack towards a bridge which crossed a little river in his rear, fell back to defend it, thus abandoning the intrenchment and the position which it covered. Richemont pressed on, whilst the soldiers of Clermont, encouraged by seeing their enemies withdraw, returned to the combat; and the English, distracted by the double assault, gave way before it, leaving to the constable and the Count of Clermont a complete victory. More than half the English perished on the field; Kyriel was taken, with several of his officers; Gough and Vere escaped. The victory of Formigny compelled the surrender of all the smaller towns of Lower Normandy, and in a short time of Caen and Cherburg. The Duke of Somerset commanded in the one, with 3000 men, but the walls crumbled before the artillery of John Bureau, and Somerset surrendered. Cherburg made a more respectable defence, and called forth the inventive genius of a French artillery officer in the attack. He erected batteries, floating when the tide served, aground when it receded, to keep off the English vessels. And finally Cherburg surrendered.

Charles was determined not to interrupt the course of victory, which the English were in no condition to dispute. The Earl of Suffolk had fallen a victim to his unpopularity, whilst those who governed in his place had neither leisure nor resources for continental war. The French attacked Gascony in 1451, and began by the siege of Blaye, a fortress some miles lower down the river than Bordeaux, and which was captured after a short resistance. The garrison of Bordeaux itself had previously received a severe check from the French. The English marched out in strength, but so ill

commanded, that their cavalry was separated from the infantry, and attacked alone by the son of D'Albret, who routed it, and took upwards of 2000 prisoners. When the French, therefore, approached Bordeaux, after the capture of Blaye and other towns, that important city offered to capitulate if not succoured by the English before the fête of St. Jean, mid June. No English made their appearance at the appointed time, and Charles solemnly promising to respect the rights and privileges of the Bordelais and the Gascon, made the first entry of a king of France into Bordeaux. Bayonne followed the example of the Gascon capital. The fleur de lis and the white cross floated over every town from the Somme to the Pyrenees.

Many years did not elapse before the Gascons were made to feel the difference in principle and practice between the English and the French systems of government. Whilst under the English, the rule was, no tax without vote of Estates; and this law Charles had sworn to maintain. He soon, however, made light of his oath, and the Gascon towns were summoned to pay the perpetual tallage for the support of the army. They offered to provide for their own police and security; but Charles had already built two strong towers in Bordeaux, "to hold the people in subjection." * They remonstrated, as the Genoese had on a similar occasion recently; Charles was equally deaf to both; and the Gascons, like the Genoese, sought to fling off the despotic yoke of the Capets.

They applied to England, and the veteran Talbot brought 5000 English soldiers up the Garonne, in October, 1452; all Gascony re-became English, even with more alacrity and speed than it had acknowledged Charles's rule. Nor was he able to collect a sufficient force and resources for the recovery of the province until the summer of 1453. The first

* Berri; Basin.

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operation of his army was to lay siege to Castillon, on the Dordogne. John Bureau brought thither his formidable artillery, which he placed, with 4,000 gens-d'armes and their archers, in a park or camp strongly intrenched with ditches and palissades.* Moreover, the franc archers of Anjou and Berry, to the number of 800, were posted in a neighbouring abbey. Talbot, with a force fully equal to that of the French, hastened from Bordeaux to the relief of Castillon. His first care was to surprise the abbey and the franc archers in it, much less experienced in war than the gens-d'armes. In this aim the English general succeeded; the archers, alarmed by the noise of the guns and the shouts of the soldiers, abandoned the abbey, and were cut up as they endeavoured to gain the fortified park.

The English took possession of the abbey; and Talbot, ordering some pieces of wine found there to be broached for his soldiers, prepared himself to hear mass. He was thus engaged, when a messenger arrived, saying that the French were abandoning their intrenched park. Talbot, trusting too lightly to such a report, collected a certain number of his soldiers, and, mounted on a hackney, rode at their head towards the enemy. It was then manifest that the French, instead of meditating flight, had, on the contrary, brought forward their guns, and prepared most skilfully and resolutely to repel any attack. Having advanced so far, however, and being in presence of the enemy, Talbot, though advised by some of his followers to retreat, refused. The standard-bearer was ordered to fix the colours to the very gates. He was shot in the act; and the French guns opening upon Talbot and his band, made formidable havock amongst them. The English nevertheless advanced to the assault, filling the intrenchments with their dead. They were repulsed, and began to show disorder, when the French flung open the gates of their

* Matthieu de Coucy.

intrenchments and rushed forth. It was the opportune moment; for a cannon shot had struck the horse of Talbot, and flung him down with a fractured limb. The French, as they came out, fell upon those surrounding the fallen general—amongst whom were his two sons,—and slaughtered all. The fall of their commander, as well as their previous repulse, had disheartened the English, and they were completely defeated. Thus fell on the last fatal field of that long international war the veteran Talbot, eighty years of age, the most gallant and most able of the English generals, and, like his great prototype, Chandos, the companion in arms of the Black Prince, the most respected and even mourned by the French. The death of Talbot was followed by the surrender of Bordeaux without any conditions. The citizens were mulcted in a fine of 100,000 crowns, and the Gascons were declared to have forfeited their ancient privileges.

Thus after a century's struggle was decided the impossibility of English monarchs holding France, under whatever pretensions or rights. The French had outgrown those times when the sovereignty over them could be transmitted to foreigners, or divided with them by the mere laws of feudal heritage or proprietorial descent. All that the ablest kings and bravest warriors of England could do was to hold their ground upon the Continent. Any lack of talent, suspension of vigilance, or remissness of energy on their part, restored military superiority to the French upon their own soil, and ensured with this their independence.

It was fortunate for both countries that such a decision had taken place, and that it should be final. The circumstances as well as the result of the war now rendered it so. The re-conquest of all the French provinces by Charles was not, like that of Philip Augustus or Philip the Fair, the work of trickery or deceit. It had been achieved in fair and stand-up fight, and what

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was more remarkable, with forces on either side almost balanced in number. The French were not more numerous than the English at Formigny; and Talbot, when he fell at Castillon, led a greater army than that which defeated him. It was the French franc archers, too, and peasant soldiers, who fought more than the knights on that field. Experience had untaught the mistake of attempting to ride down the hardy sons of the soil by mounted gentry. English and French met on these last fields equal in courage and in strength. But as the French soldiers were now more carefully selected, disciplined, and organised, they were victorious over those of England, distracted as it was by civil war, sending forth armies as distracted as its government.*

This re-conquest, and indeed this re-construction of France, was, strange to say, the work of a monarch as dissolute and weak in domestic habits and life as he was firm and vigilant in policy. A greater contrast cannot be imagined than that offered between Charles's court and his administration. The latter was wise, orderly, progressive; the army, the finance, the magistrature, and the Parliament, all regulated and vivified by provisions suitable to their wants, and in advance of the ideas of the age; whilst the court at the same time displayed a succession of royal mistresses—Agnes Sorel first, who was succeeded by her niece, Madame de Villequier, and both by several of the sex, to whom they behaved as panders, not as rivals. In the same rapid succession the male intimates of the king's companionship passed, leaving traces merely of their greed and jealousy behind. Charles, indeed, made a marked distinction between the companions of his leisure and the instruments of his rule, whom he carefully and con-

* It is evident, that at Formigny Gough fought and manœuvred completely independent of Kyriel; and at last fled without any care of the main body, which he deserted.

tinually consulted.* No man could be more able than Jacques Cœur, who, under the title of *argentier*, managed the coinage and a great portion of the finance; than Bureau, who had charge of the artillery; or than two or three more men of that stamp, unrivalled in their specialty. But even these were obliged to ingratiate themselves with the favourites of the day; and it is probable that Cœur at least owed his tenure of office and influence as much to the discernment and patriotism of Agnes Sorel as to the gratitude of the king. The rumours which attributed Charles's activity in recovering his kingdom to the exhortations of Agnes cannot be all untrue; for after her death, which took place in 1450, Charles behaved most ungratefully to Jacques Cœur, and made no fresh selections of able ministers or men.†

The prevailing sentiment indeed of Charles's court and Charles himself was, jealousy of eminence, intolerance of greatness. No prince of the blood could live there, except the Duke of Maine, brother-in-law of the king, and altogether dependent on him. The Dukes of Burgundy, Bourbon, Orleans, stayed away. The constable Richemont, too powerful to please, came seldom to court. Even Jacques Cœur, who from his birth was incapable of pretending to any high position except through royal favour, was looked upon with jealousy from his great fortune.

But the personage most feared and hated by the king's inmates was his son Louis. The dauphin had distinguished himself in war, in administration, in difficult dealings with provincial estates and recalcitrant nobles. He had never shown disaffection, except upon

* Panégyrique de Charles VII. Godefroy.

† See Clément, Vie de Jacques Cœur. The words of Olivier de la Marche plainly attribute to Agnes Sorel the advancement of these able men: "Elle avancoit devers le Roy jeunes gens d'armes et gentils compagnons, et dont le roy fut depuis bien servi."

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one memorable occasion, that of the Praguerie. When the Duke de Maine was the favourite, the dauphin had made every effort and condescendence to conciliate him. But he disliked his father's mistresses, could not flatter even Agnes Sorel, and showed his contempt of her successor, Madame de Villequier, and of the Mignons. They revenged themselves with the usual weapons, and began by calumniating Margaret of Scotland, the wife of Louis. She was a princess of cultivated intellect and tastes, favouring the few French poets of the time, especially Alain Chartier, and composing verses herself. One of the courtiers of Charles, Jamet du Tillay, entering her apartment in the dusk of evening, found the company seated and conversing by the light of the fire. He declared it to be indecent and improper that torches were not lit; and he made up a story to the discredit of Margaret. A stranger in a licentious and malicious court, and incurring the same disfavour as her husband, Margaret was overwhelmed by the calumny, and it so aggravated a malady, which fell upon her soon after, that she died, refusing to pardon Du Tillay, notwithstanding the exhortations of her confessor. The dauphin, with the rudeness of his nature and age, seemed to think the literary tastes of his wife had been in fault*, for he carefully suppressed all her letters, and burned her poetical effusions.

Having succeeded in destroying the dauphiness, the calumniators proceeded to attack Louis. Antoine de Chabannes, Count of Dammartin, accused him of having formed a conspiracy for depriving the king of his power, and putting him *en tutelle*, and that for this purpose he had corrupted several of the Scottish guards, especially Coningham, their commander. Charles put ready credence in this story, which was confirmed or

* Legrand, Text, and the voluminous Original Documents. Some of the letters are published by Duclos, at the close of the life of Louis XI.

supported by De Brezé, the chief favourite of the time. And Louis, deeming his life in danger, withdrew suddenly to his government of Dauphiny in the last months of 1446.

Amongst the friends whom the dauphin left behind at court was evidently Jacques Cœur, who prudently concealed his opinions. When this minister went to Marseilles to settle the affair of Genoa, and obtain the return of that city to French patronage, it was suggested to the Genoese to ask for the dauphin, as the ablest governor, and the one most fitted to safeguard French interests. Neither Charles nor his courtiers would concede this. Louis was not employed in the campaign against Normandy, and when he asked to be appointed governor after the conquest he was refused. Fresh differences arose between father and son on the subject of the latter's remarrying. Louis proposed that he should espouse the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, who would aid him with troops to conquer the Milanese. Such ambitious views were alarming to Charles, who observed, that if lasting peace ensued with England, the dauphin might marry a daughter of "Boukingham." Louis, however, took the matter in his own hands, proceeded to Chambery, and espoused the daughter of the duke, notwithstanding the presence and protest of a royal herald. The feud between Charles and his son was thus widened, and was subsequently aggravated by proposals on the part of the latter to exchange his fiefs in the Rouergue with the Duke of Orleans, for the Italian county of Asti, which the Duke of Milan had restored him in 1447.*

The vengeance of the courtiers first fell upon Jacques Cœur. That great merchant, who rivalled the Medici in the extent of his trade and his mercantile operations, and who had amassed colossal wealth, which he had

* Basin.

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always placed at the king's disposal for great enterprises, was attacked in 1451 by the same calumniator who had driven the dauphin from court. Chabannes, Count of Dammartin, accused Jacques Cœur of having poisoned Agnes Sorel, an accusation sufficiently refuted by the fact, that Agnes in her will had appointed him its executor. His understanding and friendship with the dauphin was another accusation, but there was no proof to exaggerate or distort into anything criminal. Charles, nevertheless, making himself the instrument of Dammartin's cupidity and the dame of Villequier's rancour, sacrificed his noble merchant and minister to them. Cœur was arrested at Taillebourg, and sent to be tried by a commission, of which his accuser was the president. Dammartin and the woman Villequier shared his estates and honours, his ready money being grasped by the treasury, and then, of course, condemnation followed. Jacques Cœur, who had taken, probably in the prospect of misfortune, some low degree of ecclesiastical orders, pleaded being a clerk to escape punishment. His enemies replied by preparing to put him to the torture; to escape this he withdrew his appeal. At length the king, confirming the sentence of confiscation, remitted that of death. Jacques Cœur subsequently escaped from prison and reached Rome, where he was well received by the Pope, and made chief of an expedition against the Turks. Whilst fulfilling this task he expired at Chios, bequeathing his children to the tardy gratitude of Charles the Seventh. Struck by remorse, the king restored what portion of his property still remained to his offspring.

The expulsion of the English from the Continent, where they no longer held any town save Calais, left the King of France in the presence of his powerful rival the Duke of Burgundy, who reigned over dominions no less vast, and after a manner quite as independent. By the treaty of Arras, Duke Philip was

exempt even from homage. The French king, however, had but to await his death, to make a rightful demand of homage from his successor, and to enforce those other appendages of sovereignty, the rights of jurisdiction and taxation, which were held in abeyance. The antagonism between the royal and the ducal power was indeed flagrant, and it behoved both princes to prepare for the inevitable struggle. Charles had done so by reforming his army, finances, and government; but this he had accomplished by recurring to the principle of absolutism, by confiscating feudal as well as civic rights, and merging all power of taxation in the crown. Even judicial independence or law was not respected. By a simple edict Charles deprived the University of its immunities and self-jurisdiction, and the trial of Jacques Cœur, before a tribunal composed of his enemies, displays what an utter contempt of law and justice inaugurated the restoration of the monarchy.

In the face of what was at once an iniquity and an imprudence, the Duke of Burgundy had but to resuscitate the old policy of his sire, and show himself the respecter and the champion of the rights of citizens and of that lower class of gentry which so naturally allies with them. But the princes of the House of Burgundy, though they had gleams of what was their true interests in this respect, never clearly perceived or resolutely followed it. They were the acknowledged lords of large mercantile populations and wealth, and yet their predilections and tastes were all chivalrous. They indulged in the licence, the pleasures, the extravagance, the arbitrary and insolent tendencies of a court, instead of respecting the privileges, consulting the interests, or even the prejudices, of those on whom their importance depended.

True it was, indeed, that during the war, Duke Philip, like his father, Jean Sans Peur, had indulged the towns

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under his rule in all the rights of self-government. He on one occasion told those of central France and Picardy to provide for their own government and defence. And the cities of Flanders no doubt experienced equal liberty and licence. But when the war was over, and the duke in amity with the French king, he was less inclined to bow before the pretensions of his Flemish subjects. They had altogether failed and deserted him in the siege of Calais; and Bruges having followed up its froward and disloyal conduct on this occasion by open rebellion, the duke made war upon its citizens, in prosecuting which he had run great risk even of his life. Surrounded upon his entrance into the streets of Bruges, one of his chief officers, Lille Adam, was struck down before his eyes and slain, and Duke Philip himself with difficulty escaped. He subsequently returned to wreak vengeance, and completely humbled and reduced Bruges, sending a number of its turbulent citizens to the scaffold. (1447.)

As year after year of peace elapsed, and especially when the English were driven from Normandy, the Duke of Burgundy began to feel the hostility of Charles, and of his court. Whenever his subjects, especially of towns, had cause of complaint against him, they appealed to the King of France and his parliament as suzerain. These appeals came principally from Lille, but even the Flemings menaced or had recourse to them to annoy their immediate lord. When his authority in his good towns was thus contested, Duke Philip had urgent need of increased taxation and revenue. Charles the Seventh had levied a tallage upon his civic population, with which he paid and kept up an army of gens-d'armes, especially in the towns on the frontier. The duke had followed his example in organising forces, and had established not the *taille*, but the *gabelle*, or salt monopoly, in the towns where he really commanded. Ghent would not submit to a tax so odious.

The people appealed to the King of France, who pretended that the *gabelle* peculiarly belonged to the suzerain, and a French embassy soon arrived to arbitrate between the duke and the Ghenters. The former had already gained some military advantages, but he refrained from pressing them, allowing the envoys of Charles to enter Ghent, and suspending hostilities, awaited their decision. The duke calculated, not without some reason, that the envoys of the French court would soon be disgusted with the almost republican pretensions of the people of Ghent. And he seems, moreover, to have employed means to render them personally favourable to him, making them large pecuniary allowances. The duke altogether set aside the demand of *gabelle*, but insisted merely on the fact of the chiefs of trades and the demagogues having usurped the entire power in Ghent, even the administration and the election of magistrates. The French envoys took completely the duke's view of the difference, and gave an award, obliging the people of Ghent to admit the ducal bailiffs to a share of authority, to pay a large fine, give up the rallying emblem of the white *chaperon*, and desist from holding the meetings of the united trades. These were terms such as the French king might have imposed after the battle of Roosebecque, and the Ghenters scouted them.

In the following year, 1452, the French court returned to the charge and sent fresh ambassadors, not approving of the facility with which their predecessors had abandoned and condemned the democracy of Ghent. But at that time occurred the descent of Talbot on the Garonne, and the attention and efforts of Charles were necessarily turned in that direction. Duke Philip saw his opportunity. He must crush the rebellious town ere Charles succeeded in expelling the English from Guyenne. He raised a large army, brought it to Ghent, and captured several small places round it,

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cruelly hanging every prisoner. Treachery is reported to have been employed to induce the citizens to come forth to battle on the open plain. But 40,000 armed inhabitants of the Flemish capital, so often victorious in the field, scarcely needed any incentives to march to the relief of their towns and garrisons. Duke Philip was engaged in the siege of Gavre, from which the commander escaped to Ghent, craving succour, if the fortress was to be saved. The citizens accordingly mustered to the number of 30,000, and marched to attack the Burgundians. The encounter took place on the 23rd of July, 1453; it began by the cannon on both sides. The armies closed afterwards in doubtful conflict, until a cart of ammunition exploded in the ranks of the Ghenters, leaving a breach, into which the ducal gens-d'armes charged. The divisions which followed the river side were the first discomfited, the greater part perishing in the attempt to swim across the stream. The centre held firm in an enclosed field; Duke Philip and his son, the Count of Charolais, charged amongst them and incurred considerable risk till they were succoured. The Ghenters were most of them slain, 20,000 being left on the field, and the duke, on beholding the heaps of slaughtered men, felt, for the first time, that these were his subjects, the sources of his wealth and the sinews of his strength. "Victor I may be," exclaimed he, "but it is I who lose." This liberal sentiment seemed to guide his treatment of the vanquished. He inflicted no punishment or conditions of which the French king could avail himself to interfere. The *gabelle* was not mentioned, nor did Duke Philip imitate Charles's conduct at Bordeaux, in confiscating the liberties and privileges of the towns he subdued.

Whilst the Burgundians and Flemings were before Ghent, the English and French, upon the Garonne, were engaged in the sanguinary and decisive struggle which

concluded the war. In the same year Mahomet the Second carried Constantinople by assault, and extinguished the Greek empire in the east. The catastrophe, alarming to Italy and Germany, might well have aroused the monarchs of England and France. But the former was an idiot, and the royal power about to pass from the house of Lancaster to that of York. Charles the Seventh was not the hero of a crusade; the sphere of his activity and ambition did not extend so far. Yet, when the Duke of Burgundy, in a solemn festivity at Lille, made a public vow to lead his armies against the Turks, when all his noblesse became associated in the same vow, and when the Pope and emperor joined in the enterprise, Charles was mortified*; nor was his jealousy diminished when Philip, after his vow, set forth in person to visit the Swiss and the Germans, in order to negotiate alliances and aid in his great design. It is characteristic of the age that the Emperor Frederic, though favouring the duke's purpose, yet declined a personal interview from a sense of danger.

However wisely the councillors of King Charles had conducted his military operations, and his negotiations with England and with Burgundy, the spirit of their domestic administration was narrow in the extreme. The tendency to absolutism, to crush the commons and set aside the noblesse, has before been noticed. Such policy could not but excite fierce enmities. The princes of the blood, however cautious and apparently submissive, looked with jealousy and anger upon those upstarts of the king's court who so completely eclipsed and set them aside. The dauphin shared these sentiments of the noblesse. Charles, therefore, although he had triumphed over the English, and driven domestic foes from his court, trembled lest they should conspire. It was still the age in which few had scruples of taking

* See the letter of a royal envoy sent to Venice in 1459, published in Bib. de l'Ecole des Chartes, tom. iii.

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life, and Charles, in getting rid of the presence of his nobles and relations, rendered them more formidable to his imagination.

He and his council, therefore, looked upon the Duke of Burgundy's proposed crusade as merely a scheme for enhancing his importance, and placing himself at the head of the princes of Europe and of a formidable army, in order the better to entitle and enable him to assume a crown. Whatever foundation there was for supposing this, Charles's fears exaggerated it, and he resolved to attack and crush those of his subjects whom he supposed to be associates and fellow conspirators with Duke Philip. The principal of these was his son Louis, who lived independently, but not tranquilly, in Dauphiné, now warring, now intriguing with the Duke of Savoy, and omitting no opportunity of gaining followers and procuring money.

The first of the dauphin's friends whom the court attacked was the Count of Armagnac, who afforded every pretext for Charles's interference. He was living in incest, excommunicated by the Pope, and guilty of many crimes. Unable to resist Charles's lieutenants, Armagnac was soon reduced, his seventeen castles taken, and himself driven across the Pyrenees. The court then resolved to make an example of the Duke of Alençon. This prince was noted for his gallantry and independent spirit, which had won the admiration of Joan of Arc. He had been foremost as a partisan against the English, yet was an object of suspicion to Charles. Dunois was sent to arrest and bring him to the king's presence, who accused him of conspiring to receive the English into his fortresses. According to some he made an indignant answer to the king; according to others he confessed his treason, and gave information of the designs of his confederates.

By what was elicited from the Duke of Alençon, the king's suspicions and anger were increased against

his son Louis, whom he resolved to leave no longer in possession of the revenues and government of Dauphiné, at least unless he submitted. In April, 1456, the king signified his intention of resuming the government of that province. The letters which passed between the monarch and his son on this occasion, evince the deep distrust which each had of the other. The dauphin would not put himself in the power of the council, the members of which he believed capable of any crime. Nor would Charles receive his son into favour, except upon his complete submission. The march of an army, led by his declared and notorious enemy, alarmed Louis. He at first thought of resistance, but none of the nobles of Dauphiné or of his court would support him in resistance to his father. This circumstance was no doubt a principal cause of the distrust and dislike which Louis ever afterwards showed to noble courtiers. The only faithful and attached followers were his barber, and men of that humble station. With a few of these Louis abruptly quitted Dauphiné, as Dammartin advanced into it, and hastened to St. Claude, in Franche Comté. From thence he informed the king that he was determined to take part in his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy's, crusade against the Turks. He at the same time informed that potentate of his arrival. An answer of welcome speedily came, and Louis proceeded to Brussels. Here the duke embraced him so cordially and so long, as scarcely to let his feet touch the earth.* The dauphin was all in all for a few days; but a quarrel arising between the duke and his son, the latter was brought by his mother to Louis, who undertook to intercede for him, and remonstrate with his sire. This at once interrupted friendship and harmony. The duke saw in the dauphin one who might take his son's part against him, and sow the same dissension in

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his court which prevailed in that of France. Louis thus found it necessary to retire to Nieppe, near Brussels, where he lived on an annuity of 3600 francs allowed him by the duke. (1456–7.)

This was the very result which Charles most dreaded, and which he most carefully should have avoided. But his council feared the reconciliation between father and son; and some of them meditated setting Louis aside altogether, and prolonging their own power by proclaiming his brother Charles, then but a boy. The king would not entertain a project necessarily so fatal to his family and his kingdom; he would not even confer the Duchy of Guyenne upon the young prince; nor would he listen to proposals still more unworthy, of abetting the frowardness of Duke Philip's son against his sire.

Indeed, notwithstanding all that was alleged against the Duke of Burgundy and his scheme for rendering himself independent, he made no use of the presence of the dauphin at his court or in his dominions, to annoy or menace the king. He seems even to have laboured to bring about a reconciliation, which the deep distrust of father and son rendered impossible. As to Charles, his inward distrust became at last a malady, and almost an insanity. Yet his suspicions were not without grounds; for as his health and strength visibly declined, especially after the breaking of a boil in the mouth, the members of his court — even those who had been the bitterest enemies of the dauphin — addressed letters to that prince containing information as to the state of things, and assurances of their own attachment. The Count of Foix, in a letter that has been preserved, exculpates himself from all the charges brought against the councillors, and thus throws a clear light on the intrigues and the politics of the day.*

* Duclos, Louis XI., last volume..

Even the king's mistress, the Dame de Villequier, was amongst those who hastened to seek security in the worship of the rising sun.

The desertion of his own ministers did not escape Charles, who reasoned that those who were so eager to abandon him in his decline might, without scruple, hasten his death. The dauphin is said to have caused some of the letters addressed to him to be placed within reach and view of the king. Charles's terror was equal to his disgust. A captain told him that his physicians had been suborned to administer poison; one was instantly sent to prison, whilst the others fled. In his alarm, Charles refrained from taking sustenance altogether; and when the cause of his consequently weak state was discovered, and it was sought to administer food, his stomach refused to retain it. Thus did one of the most successful and triumphant amongst monarchs expire of mistrust—of hunger and inanition. Death levels all distinctions: Charles, the restorer of the French monarchy, died that of a beggar. (July 22, 1461.)

The character of Charles the Seventh is perplexing to the historian; it affords subject of surprise that such great aims, which must have been wisely conceived and steadily pursued, should have been attained by a personage in many respects so weak. We are thus obliged to separate the private habits of the prince from the public life of the monarch. In the one Charles was indolent, self-indulgent, inconstant, and immoral; in the other, active, adventurous, persevering, and patriotic. The age, for the great at least, was peculiarly given to licentiousness, and impatient of restraint. Religion and its professors, hitherto in possession of the moral sceptre, had ceased for the time to be feared or respected; the code of chivalry was exploded, whilst that of gentility had not yet been inaugurated. Hence Charles the Seventh was induced to set the flagrant

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example of a monarch indulging in a succession of mistresses, as well as favourites. The name of the first of these, Agnes Sorel, has been saved from reprobation by being supposed to have incited the king to energetic and martial efforts, conduct which was directly the opposite in all those, of whatever sex, who previously or subsequently shared his confidence.

But if Charles first set the example of royal mistresses, he also first introduced the still more important novelty of a royal council. Such, indeed, had existed under his predecessor, but it was an assemblage of magnates, not of ministers, the orators and inferior members being the followers or exponents of their chiefs' opinions. Charles's council was not on this wise the arena of factious disputes. It was composed of what his son called ministers,—functionaries charged each with a special administration. The prince or grandee, who came to court merely to further his own interests and maintain his own power, was set aside. And those summoned to give the king the benefit of their experience and advice were more exclusively devoted to him and to the country. Charles the Seventh did nothing without consulting his council. This, perhaps, is the most remarkable characteristic of his rule. And it stands in strong contrast with the habits of his son and successor, who ruled altogether from his own judgment, and who with far greater talents and capacity committed the greatest blunders, and fell far short in all his aims, which his sire contrived to avoid or to accomplish, by merely mistrusting his own omniscience and not disdaining the counsels of others.

Charles the Seventh has received great and deserved credit from raising able men of the middle classes to be members of his council and functionaries of his administration. But it would prove an error to exaggerate these selections or this preference into any large

or permanent scheme for depressing the nobility, or transferring power and privilege to the class beneath them. Several monarchs had previously felt the necessity of employing legists, or clerks instead of nobles. Some had gone further, and sought to make permanent provision for the filling of judicial and magisterial offices with men distinguished for learning and aptitude, not birth. But all schemes or efforts for dethroning the aristocracy in France may be considered to have utterly failed, down to the great catastrophe of 1789. Notwithstanding the wise regulations of St. Louis, to render judicial and administrative functionaries independent of the nobles, almost all the places of *baillis* and seneschals, in the time of even Charles the Seventh and his son, were filled by men of birth, and we find these grossly abuse their authority even in populous towns.*

The endeavours to render the clergy independent, by conferring on chapters the right of electing abbots and prelates, had also proved fatal, the real patronage and influence having been found to pass into the hands of the local noblesse. With the same views, and in a similar spirit, the distribution and levy of the quota of taxation had been entrusted to *esleus*, or persons elected by the tax-payers. But these were found so much under the control and in connivance with the rich and powerful men of the district, that Charles was obliged to reserve the appointment of *esleus* for the crown. The upper classes, their ideas, their spirit and privileges, were no doubt undergoing in this century a great and

* For example, the conduct of the Count D'Etampes, Governor of Artois. This noble began by burning certain Vaudois, accused of heresy, whom he himself indicated. From this he proceeded, with the inquisitor General of France for his accomplice, to accuse all the wealthy citizens of Arras of the same crime for the sake of extorting money. Great numbers perished. The Parlement of Paris courageously interfered, and succeeded in expelling this holy and infamous inquisition from France.

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remarkable change. This was the gradual metamorphose from the feudal baron and knight into the courtly *seigneur* and the modern gentleman. As their numbers greatly increased it became impossible for all to preserve the superiority in power and wealth which the ancient holders of fiefs had possessed. The younger brothers of the gentry were obliged to seek for public service and live upon pensions or pay, in military or other capacity. But they carefully preserved themselves from losing caste, by insisting that they alone should fill these numerous offices. Thus the originally restricted class of the nobility in France was spread into the wider caste of the gentilhomme, the power and pretensions of the whole being undiminished. They claimed exemption from taxes, monopoly of place, and succeeded in shutting out the middle classes from all influence and all means of rising, far more effectually and exclusively than their feudal ancestors had done; whilst the peasant, nominally emancipated from serfage*, remained in reality subjected to a system of exaction and oppression, as degrading in a moral sense as the old ones, and more oppressive in material respects.

Such being the result of French history and legislation, it is quite idle to indulge in panegyric of sovereigns, such as Charles the Seventh and Louis the Eleventh, for having snubbed or proscribed, or even decapitated their nobles, or having advanced to places of high station their barbers or their scribes. These personal acts of favour were mere exceptions to a rule which was unfortunately neither modified nor disturbed. Charles the Seventh and his son Louis loved to trust men of the middle ranks, and both mistrusted the high born. But their personal dislike to the aristocracy was not embodied by them in any law, nor developed by them into

* See divers ordonnances of Charles the Seventh's reign, especially his curious one, emancipating the serfs of Meung sur Yevre, and giving his reasons for so doing.

any institution. They did not encourage municipal liberty, much as they made use of civic support. They did not call the deputies of the middle and industrious classes to council; they did not establish equality of taxation; and in fine left nothing to protect the lowly save the power of the crown, which power, even when it was absolute, came to be wielded for the sole advantage of the well born. The praise, therefore, bestowed upon Charles the Seventh or Louis the Eleventh for having humbled the aristocracy or favoured the inferior classes is completely unmerited. They made no progress in either one or the other, by indulging their personal predilections for the humble. All they really did was to combat and destroy an oligarchy, in order to establish on a broader and a stronger basis the power of a national aristocracy.*

* De l'Hôpital, addressing the Estates after the death of Francis the Second, describes the privileges due to noble birth. "The nobles," saith he, "are exempt from all tallage, imposition, or subsidy. They alone are capable of holding great and little fiefs. They have jurisdiction over the king's subjects, with power over their lives and properties. They hold the first honours of the kingdom, whether in war or in peace, with the offices of constable, marshal, grand master, bailli, seneschal, and many others." —*De la Place, Commentaires.*

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REIGN OF LOUIS THE ELEVENTH, 1461 TO 1483.

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Louis the Eleventh, as dauphin, appeared in no unfavourable light. He gave ample proofs of civil capacity and military courage; and no adequate reason is assigned for the severity and almost hatred with which Charles the Seventh, under the influence of his council, pursued the prince. He was mistrustful, and apparently not without reason; and, what Charles's servitors especially disliked, he was vigilant, restless, doing everything by himself*, and dispensing with either pleasure or repose. Female blandishments or courtiers' flattery were alike thrown away upon him. He mocked at tournaments and splendour, went poorly clothed in threadbare grey amidst the richly apparelled nobles of the court of Burgundy. What he chiefly prized was money, not for itself or for splendour, but for the power which it purchased or ensured. Instead of sumptuous feasting, or robes, or pride, Louis loved companionship or gossip with shrewd men of the humble classes. In politics he was, as Michelet justly observes, of the Italian school. Of no very high aims, the greed of acquiring provinces and grasping power animated him, as well as the wish to humble rivals and circumvent enemies. He was generally absorbed in the immediate danger or the actual task before him, raising himself

* A known jest was applied by De Brezé to Louis. The former observed, on the field of Montlhery, that the hackney which Louis rode must be strong, since it carried the king and all his council.

not even to views so remote or comprehensive as his father. Italian like, he entertained no scruples as to the means he employed, provided they were crowned with success. He was restrained from treachery by no feeling of honour, from cruelty by no touch of humanity, from spilling of blood by no fear of divine retribution. Never man had less of religion, or more of superstition. There was no God in his heaven, nor had the clergy or the instructors of the day ever instilled into his mind apparently a solitary truth of the Gospel. But he believed in an invisible world of saints, having exclusive power over the events of this life, and he was ever seeking to propitiate the several members of this vulgar Olympus with a prostration of mind and a puerility of intellect, which makes one doubt at times his sanity as well as his shrewdness.

The worst features of his character became manifest as his reign progressed. Historians, indeed, make Louis the Eleventh a prodigy of craft and dissimulation from the first.* And as good jesters are never supposed

* This was greatly owing to the chroniclers of the time having belonged to parties opposed to Louis. G. Chatelain the historiographer of Burgundy, shared all the exaggerated suspicions which his master entertained of the king: Olivier de la Marche likewise. Basin, previously known as Amelgard, betrayed him, and was punished by him; hence his hatred. Even Comines was a Burgundian in his early knowledge and appreciation of Louis's character. Legrand, who wrote his history of Louis more than two centuries later, but who wrote from a mass of original documents, is the historian most favourable to Louis. His MS. history, with its score of volumes of *Pièces Originales*, preserved in Bib. Impériale, has been the great store-house from which more modern historians derive their materials. Garnier used them; Lenglet-Dufresnoy, for his edition of Comines, borrowed much; Duclos, in his text, scarcely does more than abbreviate Legrand. The latter's collection, with the letters and papers published in *Melanges* of the *Documens Inédites de l'Histoire de France*, throw indeed the fullest light on the reign of Louis the Eleventh. The recent publication of the work of Vavrin de Forestal, illustrates fully the earlier events of Louis's reign, and especially the relations of Burgundy as well as France with England. It was indeed a subject of surprise and regret, that one of the best known epochs in French history, should have been a most obscure one in the annals of our own island.

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to open their mouths without a witticism, so every act of the king from the moment of his accession has been set down to malice, to impatience of gratitude, and greed of power. Yet his first steps and orders were no more than might have been those of any one in his position. Informed of his father's death, he hastened towards the French frontier, despatched from Maubeuge a summons to lords and towns to swear allegiance to him. To provinces, such as Normandy and Guyenne, which had for governors his enemies of Charles the Seventh's council, he sent instructions for the citizens or notables to take the administration into their own hands. He besought the Duke of Burgundy to meet him with a military force at Avesnes. As every gentleman seized the opportunity of showing his zeal to the new king, thousands mustered or were preparing to join him. Louis, alarmed at the licence and rapine of such a multitude, begged the duke to dismiss the greater number, and with the rest the monarch repaired to Rheims. Louis attributed great superstitious worth to the ceremony of coronation. He adored the holy oil* brought down from heaven for the anointment of Clovis, showed the greatest satisfaction at being anointed with it, and enjoyed the sanctity more than the splendour of the ceremony, over which the Duke of Burgundy seemed to preside. This prince placed the crown on the king's head, and did homage to Louis for his dominions. The duke showed himself not the rival, but the loyal subject, of the French crown, the king in return making every profession and showing every sign of gratitude.

From Rheims the court proceeded to Paris, the citizens of which took care to avoid what had befallen Charles the Seventh after his coronation. Paris could

* *Se rua à genoux*, says Chatelain, flung himself on his knees before it.

not then find lodging for the royal suite; it now sumptuously lodged and feasted the followers of Louis.* The king was most affable to the citizens, cordial to the university, but sullen towards the parlement.† The Duke of Burgundy gave splendid fêtes, especially a tournament in the Rue de Tournelles, of which his son, the Count of Charolais, was the hero. To the king's delight a very rude and ill-clad horseman, named Wilten, who had but a deer skin to caparison his horse, hustled and rode down all the fine embroidered knights, and carried off the prize.‡

In the treatment of nobles and the choice of functionaries Louis was less guided by prudence or by craft than by the natural desire to reward friends and punish enemies. The Duke of Burgundy recommended conciliation to him and oblivion of the past, and besought the king to overlook the former hostility of his father's councillors. Louis promised to pardon all of them save eight. But these eight were precisely the men of most influence and experience. Dammartin and Brezé were both obliged to fly. Dunois shared their disgrace. Pierre de Morvilliers, who, as a judge, was accused of taking money from both parties in a suit before the parlement, came to pay his court. Louis asked him if he had thought of compromising the affair, and whether he demanded justice or favour. Morvilliers boldly replied, "Justice, and no favour." Louis made him chancellor on the spot.§ To the Count of Armagnac and the Duke of Alençon, who had shared obloquy and persecution with him under the late reign, Louis extended full pardon. To the bastard of Armagnac he gave the county of Comminges. But his trust and friendship were not wisely bestowed. The power of conferring offices was given to one Bourré, who took large fees and

* Recueil des Ordonnances.
† Chatelain.
‡ Chatelain and Olivier de la Marche.
§ Chatelain.

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bribes for expediting such grants. Whilst Montauban, another favourite of Louis, being appointed chief of forests and rivers, as well as admiral, showed himself so severe and so rapacious in the granting of licences and punishment of offences connected with the chase, that the entire gentry of the country were filled with rage.* The chase was the only pastime that Louis cared for, and he was as selfish and cruel in protecting his sport as William Rufus himself.

However anxious King Louis and Duke Philip were to remain friends, their sojourn together in the capital was not marked by increased cordiality. Their servitors did not agree. The duke's retinue were wealthy and sumptuous, qualities which the king neither indulged in, nor admired. He dismissed a *gendarme* from his service for appearing before him in a velvet doublet †; and he had an open quarrel with the Duke of Cleves, by showing dislike of his finery and airs. The Duke of Burgundy was hurt at this, as well as at the report of some of the king's officers having asserted authority in his towns of Hainault. Louis and he parted with the most profound marks of loyalty on one side, and gratitude on the other.‡ But the king seemed to have come to the conclusion that it would be more easy and more profitable for him to win the friendship of the Count of Charolais, the duke's son, than of the duke himself.

The count accordingly was induced to follow Louis to the Loire when Duke Philip betook himself to the north. And great were their mutual tokens of friendship. The government of Normandy, with a pension of 36,000 crowns, were bestowed upon the count. Indeed, the aim of the king at this time was to conciliate every

* Basin. Chatelain relates, that Louis at a later period, cut off a Norman gentleman's ear, for shooting a hare on his own grounds.

† *Il est plus joli que moi*, said the king. Chatelain.

‡ Duclerc.

one. He received the Duke of Brittany with great munificence, and gave him full authority over Maine and Anjou. The Duchy of Berry was at the same time conferred upon the king's younger brother, Charles. The Duke of Bourbon, who was deprived of the government of Guyenne, was the only prince ill treated.

Louis had peculiar views with respect to Gascons and Normans; the Count of Charolais' appointment to authority over the latter being but nominal and complimentary. He sought to obviate their regretting or favouring the English by according to them what they most desired. He granted to towns and nobles all their requests. He confirmed the privileges of La Rochelle, and a short time after restored to the people of Bordeaux the franchises of which Charles the Seventh had deprived them. In all these municipal grants, indeed, paramount jurisdiction and judicial authority remained with the king's lieutenants.* The real concessions and advantages, however, were made to the nobles, to most of whom were allowed the authority of high and low justice in their domains; who levied many dues, such as hearth-money (*fouage*), with the third and the tenth of all woods cut down, and who, as the price of their aid and acquiescence in the levy of the *taille*, were allowed a certain share or pension out of it.† Whilst these privileges were secured to the nobles, such citizens of the great towns as purchased land were declared noble also; this leaving open a door subsequently closed for the eminent of one class to rise into that above it.

One portion of France, Normandy, was still allowed to retain the right, which it had inherited from the English, of voting its own taxes. In other provinces,

* A clause in the charter to La Rochelle stipulated, that the municipality should give a previous consent to all taxes levied. The Parlement of Paris refused to register the clause. See Recueil des Ordonnances.

† Comines, l. vi. c. 6.

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the king assumed or acquired the power of levying those taxes by plea of necessity, *par urgence*. But the Norman estates were declared the sole judges of this urgency by Charles the Seventh. Louis now confirmed their charter *, and, moreover, prohibited the Paris parlement from evoking to it any trial which had sprung up in the province. The Estates of Rouen granted Louis 400,000 livres tournois, three-fourths to be raised by tallage, 25,000 by the salt-tax, and 75,000 on wine and other drinks.†

Louis thought himself entitled to tax, in the same proportion, other districts in which it had ceased to be customary to assemble the estates. Several towns rebelled in consequence, such as Rheims, Angers, Alençon, and Aurillac. At Rheims, during the coronation, Louis had listened to the complaints of the citizens against *taille* and *gabelle*. He observed that, coming from the provinces of Burgundy, where the population were comfortable, and the lands well cultivated, into France, where misery and famine were written upon every countenance ‡, he had resolved to free his people from the burdens of taxation. Such promises were more easily made than kept, and the imposition of the salt and wine duties were especially odious. Louis despatched soldiers, who had orders to enter Rheims, one by one, stealthily. When they were in sufficient numbers within the walls, their officers appeared, and themselves mustered. The insurgents were put down, six were decapitated, a captain quartered, and his men hanged.§ The king showed himself, what indeed he had been as prince, a rigid *justicier*.

* Charta Normanna, says Basin. See Floquets' account of the Norman charter in the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, tom. iv.

† Louis did not long respect the Norman franchise, and he so augmented the taxation of the duchy, that Comines says, "he has known 950,000 francs levied there," which is double the value recorded above. See Comines, sec. i. chap. 13.

‡ Basin.

§ Legrand, MS. Histoire de Louis XI.

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Whilst at Tours (1461), Louis abrogated the Pragmatic Sanction, induced partly by the wish of undoing what Charles the Seventh had done. The pope (Æneas Silvius) had lost no time in beseeching the king to grant him this favour, which was no less than the sacrifice of the Gallican Church. And Louis, who was desirous of having the pope's support for the House of Anjou, hastened to grant it. He did not like the clergy*, nor did the election of abbots and prelates, totally independent of his orders, suit his views of policy. He complained that such elections took place under the influence of the French aristocracy. He would have more authority and influence himself over them, he thought, if they were to be nominated by the pope. Indeed, the pontiff promised that if the Pragmatic Sanction were repealed, there should always be a legate at the French court, to appoint whomsoever the king should desire.† Louis in consequence abolished that statute, and restored to the holy see all the authority over the French church which it possessed in the time of Martin the Fifth and Eugene the Sixth. The papal legate instantly made use of it to expel the bishop of Poitiers from his see, in the possession of which he had been confirmed by the Parlement.‡ That body made a lengthened and able protest against the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, and pointed out the flagrant abuses which it had been promulgated to remedy. Previous to it the pope had given no less than 600 reversions (*graces expectatives*) in one year in the diocese of Angers; every one of these required a bull, and each bull cost twenty crowns. The repeal of the edict they said, would bring in to Rome the revenue of one million within the year. And as to the motive of

* When Louis reached Paris, he found that the clergy had obtained the majority amongst the *conseillers* or judges in Parlement. One of his first acts was to make the number of lay judges equal to the clerical.

† Leclerc.

‡ Legrand.

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increasing the king's influence, the sovereign could have appointed to a great many more benefices under the Pragmatic Sanction than he would under the authority of the pope, and at a much smaller expense. Far from giving proofs of either wisdom or cunning in this affair, Louis was completely duped. For the pope continued to favour the cause of Aragon in Naples against the House of Anjou, whilst in France the church revived all its old pretensions, even that of inheriting the goods and property of the deceased clergy; and the majority of French churchmen were obliged to make frequent journeys to Rome, to ransom benefices, purchase reversions or answer appeals. Within the space of two years, Louis felt obliged to suspend the execution of his edict in Dauphiny, and to issue similar ordonnances with those of his predecessors against the exactions and encroachments of the court of Rome.*

The habits and predilections which the king began at this time to display were distasteful to his nobles, and even incomprehensible to his people. He would set forth with half a dozen companions, clad like himself in coarse grey cloth, with wooden paternosters about their necks, under the pretext of performing some pilgrimage, his real aim being to visit the *marches* and confines of his kingdom, and "become acquainted with all things and all men," through the evidence of his own eyes. Some hundred guards, who followed with the interval of a day's journey between him and them, were his only protectors. In similar guise Louis journeyed along the sea-coast to Bordeaux, being nearly captured by an English boat, which fired upon him. The king's skiff lay concealed in some high reeds, till there was an opportunity of escaping.† (1462.)

The Count of Foix had obtained a claim to the favour of Louis by the circumstantial account which he had

* Ordonnance of February and June 1464, with the subsequent one respecting the *Regale*.

† Chatelain.

sent him, from Tours, of the court and council of Charles the Seventh, a short time before that king's death.* As the price of these early services, Louis gave to the count's son his sister Margaret, in marriage. This relationship interested Louis in the politics of the Pyrenees. The heiress of Navarre, grand-daughter of Charles the Bad, had espoused Don Juan of Aragon. Her son, the Prince of Viana, should have inherited Navarre. But Don Juan, who had succeeded to the kingdom of Aragon and Sicily, kept Navarre also. The rightful heir rebelled, but being enticed, under a promise of restoration, to a meeting of the national Cortes, he was seized, and he and his sister murdered. His other sister, then sole heir, was the Countess of Foix. And the Spanish provinces having rebelled against Don Juan, Louis the Eleventh intervened, at the instigation of Foix, and offered men and money, if the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne were given in pledge to him. The French troops, under the conduct of the Count of Foix, met with full success on the other side of the Pyrenees; and Louis the Eleventh congratulated himself on having cheaply acquired an important province. (1462.)

But what more occupied the French monarch were his relations with England, so complicated with his semi-gratitude, semi-antagonism towards Burgundy. Could he have maintained a cordial understanding with Duke Philip and his son, the resentment or hostility of England were of little consequence; but to keep on terms of friendship with either of these potentates was difficult, with both impossible. Of the contending factions in England, Duke Philip favoured that of York, Edward professing towards him the deepest gratitude. His son, the Count of Charolais, was an equally strenuous supporter of the

* Duclos, Hist. de Louis XI., Preuves.

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house of Lancaster. So that to whatever side Louis inclined in English politics, he was sure to find an antagonist in Burgundy. The king was still at Avesnes, on his way to be crowned, when he learned that the Duke of Somerset had landed at Eu; he instantly sent two officers to arrest him and seize his papers.* What Louis wanted was information, being still completely in the dark as to what his father's policy had been. The truth was, that Charles had supported Henry and Margaret of Anjou, Brezé, the seneschal of Normandy, being the minister charged with affording succour. And he, in order to give it with discernment, kept his secretary, Doucereau, in England with Queen Margaret. The victory of Towton routed and dispersed the Lancastrians. And Somerset now came, as he himself confessed, to try and induce the Count of Charolais to lend his aid to the broken cause. The anxiety of Louis was to conciliate Duke Philip, and with this view he retained Somerset a prisoner. No sooner, however, did coolness spring up between them, and did the king, separating from the Duke, turn his efforts to win the friendship of Charolais, than he, to please the count, not only released, but maintained Somerset at his court as a guest.† Following up the same policy, Louis reproached the Duke of Burgundy for concluding a separate truce with England, and issued a kind of non-intercourse ordonnance, forbidding trade and commerce with that country.

The English government in turn fitted out a fleet to devastate the coast of France, and the command was given to Warwick, the purpose being to seize, and ransom, if not retain, some of the seaports.‡ This did

* Vavrin de Forestal. Legrand, Pièces Orig. See also in Fenn's letters, one of Oct. 1460.

† Chatelain.

‡ King Louis had sure intelligence of all Warwick's motions; and however vigilant, showed no alarm at such a marauding expedition. M. Michelet very gratuitously infers, that there was connivance between Louis and Warwick, and that the latter suffered himself to be

not prevent Louis from receiving Vaughan, an agent of King Edward's, at Bordeaux. On his return from the Pyrenees, the king found at Chinon Margaret of Anjou, earnestly beseeching his aid, whilst Garter the English herald of Edward, was also there with a message. Since the previous year, Louis had drawn close his connections with the house of Anjou, his daughter Anne having been affianced to the grandson of King Réné. Still he hesitated to declare openly for Margaret, against the newly-crowned monarch of England. The queen, however, lured him with an offer, which Louis could not refuse, no less than the possession of Calais. And it was agreed between them, that Louis should lend 20,000 crowns towards an expedition, for which Brezé would find the men, and which he would accompany himself. He was the only Frenchman well acquainted with English politics, and whom Margaret trusted. In this manner did he recover the king's favour.* Margaret stipulated in case of success, that she would make over the government of Calais to the Count of Candale †, who it was understood was to transfer it to Louis.

After a short lapse of time Edward was victorious over Margaret of Anjou and her French succours. The circumstance of that king being thus confirmed upon the throne, and being in friendship also with the

bribed. There is no foundation for the assertion. King Louis, according to Legrand, took care to convey gratuities to Warwick's secretaries and servitors, when he was governor of Calais. But there is no ground for degrading the king-maker into the pensioner of Louis.

* Brezé afterwards married his son to the king's natural, but legitimised daughter, Charlotte, was re-appointed seneschal of Normandy, and fell at the battle of Montlhery.

† Jean de Foix, Count of Candale, as the French call him, was son of the Captal de Buch. Both had been constant partisans of the English, so much so that in 1460, liberty was granted to John of Foix, Earl of Kendale to export 2000 sacks of wool on account of his sufferings in the English cause. (See Rymer.) Margaret therefore might give him the command of Calais without exciting suspicion.

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Duke of Burgundy, rendered Louis more anxious to guard against their joint hostility. It was needless for the English to meditate invasion by fleets, all France north of the Somme was in the hands of the duke, as well as the towns which commanded the passage of that river, and opened Normandy as well as the Isle of France to an enemy. Louis therefore bent his utmost efforts to regain possession of these towns. They had been ceded to Philip by the treaty of Arras on the condition that they might be redeemed for 400,000 crowns. Charles the Seventh had redemanded them as the price of his not succouring the people of Ghent. Louis first sought to obtain them through the friendship of the Count of Charolais; but he was not to be cajoled, and the king then turned to his sire.

Between powers and princes so nearly related as France and Burgundy, it was impossible that daily causes of dissension should not arise, especially as Louis, though pliant at times, was in the main restless, enterprising, ever putting forth new claims and new ideas. One of his first acts had been to renew the protection awarded by the crown of France to Verdun, to Epinal, Liege, and other towns, lying between Burgundy and the Low Countries.* In the same spirit the king questioned the right of Duke Philip to the possession of Luxemburg. A more irritating pretension was to extend the royal salt duties into Burgundy. Duke Philip sent the Count of Chimay to remonstrate. "Is your master then," quoth Louis, "of such different metal from the other princes of my empire." "Your Majesty hath found him so," retorted Chimay, "for he protected you at a time when no one else durst attempt it." †

Louis, however, when he wished to obtain the restoration of the towns of the Somme, set aside all these

* See his early Ordonnances.

† Duclerc.

subjects of chicane, and came forward once more as the devoted friend of Duke Philip. That prince was chiefly under the influence of the Count of Croy, whom the king gained by heaping on them grants, offices, and favours. Duke Philip himself was but anxious to include his own dominions with those of France and England in a lasting peace, and he deemed the restoration of the towns on the Somme necessary to such an end. He accordingly gave his consent, to the great displeasure of his son, reckoning perhaps that the king would not be able to amass the 400,000 crowns required for the ransom within the period specified. Louis, however, made the most extraordinary efforts. He not only summoned states and towns to furnish extraordinary supplies, but, under pretence of borrowing, levied a large sum from each prelate. He commanded all churchmen to send in a full account of their possessions, titles, revenues, and rents; whilst upon landed property he levied a tax in the shape of game licences. In the list of sums furnished by great provinces, given below*, the Normans will be found to be those who contributed most grudgingly. Louis in consequence put a toll upon all wines descending the Seine, and he extended this to the roads, when the river route began to be deserted. And, at last, when all these extraordinary means proved insufficient, he seized the money deposited under the guardianship of the law courts†, belonging to suitors

* States of Limousin, De la Marche, Rouergue, Quercy, and Perigord gave 14,322 francs.

Berry, Giez, Nivernais, Bourbonnais, Chateau Chinon, Forez, Beaujolais, Lyonnais, and Auvergne, 26,592 francs.

Charolais, Orleannais, Blois Chateaudun, and Vendome, 6556 francs.

L'Isle de France, Brie and Champagne, 35,913 francs.

Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Poitou, Saintonge and Angoumois, 33,625 francs.

Normandy augmented its yearly gift by only 1500 francs. Other provinces in proportion.

Legrand MS. et Pièces Originales.

† Amongst the sums laid hands on, were a quantity of *rentes* due to the Duke of Brittany, from Abbeville. Towns were already in the habit of raising money on annuities.

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and orphans, as well as the sums destined for the payment of the troops and civil functionaries. And having thus raked together 400,000 crowns, he despatched them to the Duke of Burgundy in two payments, in return for which he took possession of Amiens, Abbeville, St. Quentin, Montreuil, Dourdens, Rue, St. Valery, Crotoy, Crevecœur and Mortaigne.* Such success in acquiring gave but fresh appetite to the king who very soon after evinced a desire to purchase also, Lille, Orchies, and Douai. But this was too much even for the good Duke Philip, who not only refused, but was heard to utter in reproachful ejaculation, "Croy, Croy, it is hard to serve two masters!" (1463).

If Louis thus triumphed over the weakness of the aged duke, and the corruptness of his counsellors, he made but a more inveterate enemy of the Count of Charolais, who was soon to succeed to the power, if not the title of his sire. Minor circumstances characteristic of the age aggravated the enmity of count and king. An Italian in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, revealed to the count an intention to poison him on the part of Coustain, a favourite valet. The man was executed, and Louis suspected of having suborned him.

In the year ensuing, the count being at the Hague, an emissary of the King of France put to sea in order to intercept the Chancellor of Brittany on his return from England. Happening to be driven on the coast of Holland, he took the opportunity to visit the castle in which the Count of Charolais resided. He was arrested, and the event magnified into a story that the king had hired an adventurer, called the Bastard of Rubempré, to carry off the heir of Burgundy.

Until the occurrence of this untoward event (Sept. 1464) the king had kept on the best and even the most intimate terms with Duke Philip, spending the summer

* G. Chatelain.

near him at his towns on the Somme, and paying visits continually at Hesdin, advising him earnestly to abandon his purpose of a crusade, and requesting him to accomplish his design of bringing about a peace, between England on one side, and France and Burgundy on the other. The bond of this alliance was to be a marriage between Edward and a princess of the House of Savoy. This portion of the scheme was defeated by the marriage of Edward with Lady Elizabeth Woodville, and the Count of Charolais, to show his satisfaction at the failure of Louis's purpose sent over John of Luxemburg with several of his knights to grace the royal wedding.

Still the English envoys were expected at Hesdin, and Louis prepared to meet them, when of a sudden the Duke of Burgundy quitted that town and retired with his court to Lille. The cause of this was the arrival of Olivier de la Marche from Holland, with the story of the Bastard of Rubempré. This personage was the nephew of the Croy, the great enemy of the Count, and the story of his conspiracy completely convinced Duke Philip, that the king had joined in a plot for the destruction of the heir of the House of Burgundy.

A very unwarrantable act, which the French king had been guilty of a short time previously, added to the facility with which such designs were believed of him. The Duke of Savoy, his family and his kingdom, had been harassed and thrown into confusion, by the intrigues of his eldest son Philip de la Bresse. In connivance with the duke, Louis enticed this prince to his court, when he immediately arrested him, and committed him to close imprisonment in the castle of Loches.

The king sought every means of clearing himself from the calumny of having suborned Rubempré to any disgraceful act. He summoned the deputies from the

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towns of the north, and explained to them how innocent he was of such a crime. He at the same time (Nov. 1464) despatched to the Duke at Lille an embassy, at the head of which was the Chancellor, commissioned not merely to repel the accusation of the Count of Charolais, but to demand reparation, especially the freedom of Rubempré, and the delivering up of Olivier de la Marche, who had spread the calumnious reports. The king was evidently nettled. He saw his hopes of peace and alliance with England destroyed, and his enemy Charolais, after having once more gained the ascendency over his father, ready to form a league with the Duke of Brittany, and perhaps with England, in order to commence hostilities. His chancellor, Morvilliers, executed his mission with harshness and passion. He denounced the Count of Charolais in his public audience at Lille with such extravagant vehemence, as to throw Duke Philip entirely into the arms and opinions of his son.* After the audience, the latter addressed the chief of the embassy, and observed, "that the king had been very hard upon him by the mouth of his chancellor, but a year should not elapse ere he should have reason to regret it."

From this period indeed, may be dated the commencement of the reign of Charles the Rash. Duke Philip becoming every day more feeble in mind and body, resigned himself and his policy to the count's ascendency and direction. And though he protested and made passionate remonstrances when the son ventured to exile his old servitors, and especially the Croy, Charles, nevertheless, managed henceforth to maintain his power and carry out his views. The first of these was a general league of the princes and high noblesse against the French king. The Count of St. Pol, whose niece Edward the First had just married, was his principal confidant, and the Duke of Brittany his chief ally.

* Preuves de Comines, ed. Dupont.

To these soon joined themselves the Dukes of Bourbon and D'Alençon, the Count Dunois, and even those on whom the king thought himself most able to rely, such for instance as the Duke of Calabria, son of King Réné, and heir of the house of Anjou.* Louis had supported the interests of this house in Italy, as long as they had any hope ; he only deserted when it was extinguished. But the Duke of Calabria did not pardon this. The Duke of Nemours, too, a grandee of Louis's own creation, soon turned against him, as did all the families of the south, Armagnac and D'Albret, enemies of the Foix. Several of the ministers and generals of Charles the Seventh were also found in the ranks hostile to the king, with Dunois, Marshal Loheac, and De Beuil.

It is strange that a politician so wary as Louis the Eleventh should not see that his whole conduct was calculated to excite enmities and not even retain friends. He was surrounded by a princely aristocracy, all of whom enjoyed comparative independence, but against each of whom the king put forth and even exercised pretensions as undefined as they were humiliating and galling. We have seen that he proposed extending the salt tax to Burgundy. In the Bourbonnais he sent commissioners to levy franc-fief or fines, which the civic classes paid on purchasing noble lands.† In Brittany the king claimed to appoint the bishops, since the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction, and to levy the episcopal revenues when a vacancy occurred ‡ ; whilst the Parlement and its agents were as usual in times of peace, active in encouraging and enjoining appeals to them from every province. The result of all this was that the monarch, even whilst enforcing a few trifling payments, made enemies of every noble.

* See letter of Louis to the Florentines in 1561, Négotiations Diplomatiques entre la France et la Toscane ; Documens Inédits.

† Legrand.

‡ Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne.*

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And yet at the very time that Louis excited this universal hostility of the noblesse, he took no measures to organise or excite the other classes to support him. His policy, indeed, seemed to be, to provoke as many enemies as he could, and then see, with how little support his own ingenuity and good fortune could succeed in extricating him from the difficulties and enmities he had raised. Had any rational plan been formed for humbling, as well as provoking the nobles, one might give him credit for sagacity. But, however pleased the historian may be to discern in a monarch the traits of the profound politician,—for this gives interest and heroism to the narrative,—such a sacrifice of truth to effect in this instance is impossible.

The malcontents of 1465 adopted the same course of proceeding, as that which accompanied the *Praguerie* in 1440, when the grandees leagued together against Charles the Seventh. They began by seducing Louis the Eleventh, then dauphin, to declare against his father. The Duke of Brittany now succeeded, by means of an envoy whom he had sent to Louis with excuses, to inveigle the king's brother Charles, then but nineteen, upon whom he had not long since conferred the Duchy of Berry.* In the month of March, Charles escaped from court, and went into Brittany, which was the signal for the princes to come forward and avow the formation by them of a league of public good against the king. Louis immediately summoned to his aid those on whom he thought he could rely; the Duke of Bourbon, who replied by taking up arms against him, and issuing a manifesto; the Count D'Armagnac, who made an evasive answer. Dunois he despatched to bend or dissuade the Duke of Brittany, from which mission the count did not return. The

* It was proposed to declare Charles regent, to appoint a constable and a council. See King's letter, and Crevecœur's confession in Mélanges Inédits, t. ii. p. 352.

counts of Eu, of Maine, and of Nevers remained true, and the king entrusted them with the defence of Anjou and Picardy. The Duke of Milan sent his son at the head of 1000 lances and other troops, to the aid of Louis, who stationed them in Dauphiny. Lorenzo di Medici sent him money.* The towns were the most zealous for the king, and Bordeaux sent him 200 cross-bow-men. It was manifest that the friends, on whom Louis could most rely, were those the farthest from him, and the least acquainted with him personally.†

The king was menaced from three sides; from the south, by the Armagnacs and the Duke of Bourbon, from the west, by his brother and the Duke of Brittany, from the north, by the Duke of Burgundy. Like an able and active general, Louis at once mustered some 12,000 or 14,000 men, and marched to crush the Duke of Bourbon, whose partisans had occupied Bourges. He had not time to reduce so strong a town, but entering the Bourbonnais, captured St. Amand and Montlucon. The malcontents began to negotiate, but receiving a reinforcement of 6000 men under the Duke of Nemours, they again defied Louis, who marched against them, and offered the united forces battle at Riom. They were not prepared for such a risk, and consented to a cessation of hostilities, as preliminary to a peace; the Duke of Nemours promising, or feigning, to rally once more to the king.

Louis was obliged to be contented with this respite from war in the south: the Duke of Burgundy he heard had passed the Oise, at the head of 26,000 men, and threatened Paris. The Count of Nevers had been unable to defend the country north of the capital. But

* In return for which Louis allowed the Medici to wear the fleur-de-lis on their arms. — *Granvelle Papers.* Two years after Louis permitted the Sforza of Milan to quarter the fleur-de-lis with the Serpent of Visconti.

† Comines, with Preuves, &c., in the edition of Lenglet-Dufresnoy, Olivier de la Marche, &c.

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the Marechal Rouault, after securing Peronne, had entered Paris with 4000 soldiers, and by the aid of the citizens, defeated every attempt of the Burgundians to enter it. The rendezvous for all those leagued against Louis, had been fixed before the walls of Paris, and the Burgundians were disappointed to find themselves alone, the southerns having been defeated, whilst the Bretons, led by Dunois, advanced with more caution than zeal. The Count of Charolais resolved to go to meet them, and with this view, he passed with his army by St. Cloud, to the country south of Paris, occupying Lonjumeaux himself, and sending an advanced guard under St. Pol, to the vicinity of Montlhery.*

The king at the same time reached this village on his way to Paris, and occupied it. He had with him some 20,000 gensd'armes, or cavalry of the regular army, with scarcely any foot. In front of him was the Burgundian, numbering some 10,000 horse, with a greater number of archers and foot.

The king's troops were by far the best equipped and disciplined, the Burgundian being ill armed, undisciplined, and ignorant, says Comines, of how to couch a lance. If the king hesitated to attack, it was that he did not trust his chief officers, De Brezé and Du Maine. He even asked De Brezé if he had not given his signature, that is, his adherence to the enemy. De Brezé replied with a joke, that wherever his signature might be, his person at present was the king's. The resolution was taken to engage.

The king's army, drawn up behind a long and wide fosse before Montlhery, issued in two divisions, one from each end of it. Brezé, followed by the king himself, led that which assailed the Burgundian left under St. Pol. Confusion reigned in its ranks. An order had been given that the knights should, according to

* Jean de Troyes; Charolais' letter in Mélanges Inédits, tom. ii. The memoirs of Philip de Comines here commence.

the English practice, dismount and fight on foot with the archers; but a great many refused to follow the order. On them, De Brezé boldly charged, and with the followers immediately around him was instantly slain. But the charge was not the less successful, the Burgundians were driven in and fled, the king pursuing them with ardour, whilst St. Pol escaped into the neighbouring woods.

That portion of the king's cavalry which issued from the other end of the fosse, did not meet with similar success. It was received with a shower of arrows which disabled the horses, and at the moment the Count of Charolais charging them, put them completely to the rout. He pursued them around and behind Montlhery, when warned that the village was still held by the king's troops, who, moreover, on the other side of the town, had completely defeated St. Pol. The count retreated in consequence, and passing Montlhery was assailed by a score of horsemen. They had nearly surrounded him, when a Parisian on a stout horse, rode in, separated the count from his assailants, and saved his life. The prince received a wound in the throat, as well as a severe thrust from a halberd in the stomach. For some hours, indeed, the count was almost alone upon the field, incapable of resisting the attack of a hundred men; but at last his followers rallied, St. Pol himself reappeared. The Burgundians, fugitives on one side, victors on another, formed once more a compact body, and held the field of battle, whilst the king withdrew with his Scottish guard to Montlhery. The Count Du Maine, with 8000 men, had altogether retreated from the field. So that the king, finding himself inferior in numbers, and fearful of attack, retired to Corbeil. It was only upon the following morning, that the Count of Charolais became aware, that he was no longer in presence of an adversary. Great was his jubilation and that of his followers. "Yet the triumph

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and the joy cost him dear," observes Comines, "for never after would he take any man's counsel, save his own. Previous to that day, he was not fond of war; after it he could think of nothing else."*

The battle of Montlhery, which terminated to the real advantage of neither party, was fought on the 6th of July, 1465; the Burgundians marching soon after it to meet their Breton allies at Etampes, whilst the king, following the course of the Seine, entered Paris. Louis did all in his power to make himself popular. He supped almost in public, and told at large the affair of Montlhery. He made great concessions to the townsfolk, and diminished the wine duty one half. Yet when he wanted to arm the students of the university and convert them into a military corps, the rector opposed and prevented it. An attempt to enrol one man in ten as a soldier also failed. The good bishop of Paris, too, seized the opportunity to lecture Louis upon his wilfulness, and recommended him to form a council and consult it, instead of trusting exclusively to his own judgment.† The king, to humour the prelate and public opinion, appointed six citizens, six clerks of the university, and six judges, to form a council; but it does not appear that he ever made use of their advice. Anxious above all things to maintain his hold of Paris, and seeing that this could not be done by the Parisians themselves, he hastened to Normandy to collect troops and provisions.

In the meantime, the leagued princes approached Paris, and took post at Charenton, their army extending north

* The early tastes of Charles the Rash were directed towards the sea; what he most loved were voyages and naval adventure. Fortune, however placed him at the head of armies, which he knew neither how to organise, administer, or lead. Comines and Olivier de la Marche were both present at the battle of Montlhery. The account of it given in the Mémoires de Haynin, will be found in Documens Inédits, Mélanges. Jean de Troyes relates what occurred at the time in Paris. See *Granvelle Papers*, vol. i.; letter to Philip le Bon.

† Jean de Troyes.

to St. Denis, whilst the Duke of Berry established his court in the castle of Beauté.* They sent envoys to the citizens, the university, and the parlement, demanding that six notables should be sent to the Duke of Berry, to hear his reasons for appearing in arms, and embracing the cause of the Public Good. The Count d'Eu, who commanded for the king in Paris, was unable to prevent the citizens from sending the deputation thus requested. They were addressed in the presence of the Duke of Berry by Count Dunois, who accused Louis of allying with foreigners to destroy the nobles of his kingdom, and refusing to assemble the estates; their aim was to have the army commanded, the finances administered, and employs distributed, by a council of princes. They asked to be allowed to enter the capital, in order to confer about these matters, and if refused, they threatened to penetrate by assault, and give no quarter. A meeting of the citizens was called at the Hotel de Ville, to consider these demands, but after the discussion, the Prévôt des Marchands refused to put any propositions to the vote. The truth was, that the principal citizens, alarmed, were for allowing the Burgundian and Breton chiefs to enter, whilst the Count d'Eu and his *gensd'armes* threatened to fire on them if they opened the gates. In the midst of the crisis Louis returned from Rouen, with 2000 lances and a large convoy of provisions; and was received by the common people with acclamations. (August.)†

After much idle skirmishing, both parties came to the conviction, the Burgundians, that they could not force their way into Paris, Louis that he was not in a condition to risk a battle in order to drive them from their position before it. Negotiations commenced. In Sep-

* Comines, Preuves, edit. Lenglet-Dufresnoy and Dupont; Jean de Troyes; Legrand.

† Jean de Troyes; Olivier de la Marche; Comines, and the Preuves of Lenglet's edition.

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tember, the king and the Count of Charolais met and conversed, the former having passed the river to the interview. The king first asked, "had he assurance of safety." "As to a brother," replied the count. "I recognise you as a gentleman, and of the royal house of France," observed the king. "Why so, Monseigneur?" "Because, when I sent my ambassador to Lille, and that fool Morvilliers spoke against you, you told the Archbishop of Narbonne, that I should repent it before a year had elapsed. You have kept your word. I have been made to repent it long before that time. I like," added the king, laughing, "to have to do with people who keep their word."* He then said he had never ordered Morvilliers to utter such charges, or to be so insolent. Notwithstanding these amenities, when they came to treat of the conditions of peace, the Count of Charolais demanded Normandy for the Duke of Berry, the towns of the Somme for himself, and the constable's staff for St. Pol. Louis was not unwilling to make these latter concessions, but Normandy was too much. It created another independent duchy, almost at the gates of Paris. But whilst the king hesitated, Normandy itself fell off from him. The widow of the Seneschal De Brezé, had sufficient influence to deliver up the castle of Rouen, and consequently the city, to the Duke of Bourbon, who took possession of it in the name of the Duke of Berry. The people of Rouen and of Normandy, not unwilling at first, adhered to the arrangement, which gave them an independent duke.† Louis, when he learned the circumstance, saw the inutility of refusing the demands of the leagued princes. He sent for the Count of Charolais, and the treaty of Conflans was soon concluded between them. (October, 1465.)‡

By it Louis ceded the duchy of Normandy, with

* Comines.

† Basin, lib. ii.

‡ Lenglet's Comines, Preuves.

all its ancient rights and judicial independence, to his brother, the Duke of Berry. The towns of the Somme and Picardy were ceded to the Count of Charolais, and to his next heir, after whose death the French monarch might ransom them for 200,000 crowns. The count also secured the Boulonnais and Guines, with Peronne, Montdidier, and Roye. Peronne, indeed, one of his officers captured at the very time, with John of Nevers in it. To the Duke of Calabria, son of René d'Anjou, the king ceded the territories and towns of Lorraine, St. Menehould, Epinal, and Verdun. The Duke of Brittany gained Montfort, Etampes, and the *regale* in his dominions. St. Pol was declared constable. The minor chiefs divided between them the command of the regular army, with the pensions requisite to pay them. The Duke of Bourbon had 300 lances; the Duke of Nemours 200, with the government of the Isle of France; Dunois 100 lances; Loheac was appointed first marshal with 200 lances; Tanneguy Duchatel, 100; De Beuil, 100. The chief result of the war of the Public Good, indeed, was, that whilst previous to it the pensions of the princes amounted to 185,064 livres, they were augmented in consequence of it to 266,848.† All these stipulations being for private rather than public good, the latter was sought to be provided for by the appointment of thirty-six personages; twelve knights, twelve clerks, and twelve legists belonging to the king's council, to inquire into the errors and abuses of government, and apply a remedy to them. But as the king was left to select these, and as nothing was fixed relative to their authority or duties, their appointment was a mere blind or pretence on the part of the princes, not to be false to the aim they had announced, of consulting the public good.

* Legrand. See also Les Pièces constatant l'Accroissement des Depenses de l'État après la Guerre du Bien Public. Doc. Inédits, Mélanges, tom. ii. p. 459.

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The princes separated, after the treaty of Conflans, the Count of Charolais being called off to repress the insolence and hostilities of the people of Liege, excited by the emissaries and promises of Louis. The king's brother proceeded to take possession of Normandy, and install his government at Rouen. The Duke of Brittany did not deem his young protégé, Charles, equal to the task. He therefore, accompanied him, along with Dammartin and others, the Bretons proposing no less than to govern Normandy, and appropriate its offices and emoluments for themselves, under the sceptre of the new duke. Such pretensions naturally offended the latter, as it did the Normans. And whilst he and his Breton suite took up their quarters on Mont St. Catherine, previous to entering Rouen, a body of Normans, led by Harcourt, seized the young duke suddenly, and compelled him to make his entry into the capital under their escort, and without either the Bretons or their chief. (Nov. 1465.)* The animosity and jealousy which this revealed disgusted the Duke of Brittany, who withdrew in anger; and with the mortifying reflection, that whilst he had formed, led, and paid the large army which had dictated the peace, all others, save himself, reaped the advantages.

The king, after having conducted out of his capital, with remarkable politeness, the different enemies who had triumphed over him, and who had reduced his authority and his dominions north of the Loire to insignificance, turned his attention to reform, not indeed the kingdom, but his own policy and councils. As a monarch, he could not have been more humble, short of absolute dethronement; as a statesman, he could not have more egregiously failed, the result of four years of reign having been the loss of all that he himself had acquired with such pains and expense,—the towns of

* Basin.

the Somme, and with them the great acquisition of his father, Normandy. Louis dismissed his councillors, Morvilliers, the Count du Maine (Montauban died about that time), and replaced them in their offices and in his favour by those of his father's ministers, whom he had hitherto proscribed; Brezé, Dammartin, Dunois, recovered his good will. He reinstated the old provost of Paris and attached to his person and employ several citizens.* He then withdrew to the Loire to watch events, and soon learned the state of things at Rouen, the incapacity of his brother, and the discontent of the Duke of Brittany. Louis lost not a moment, and hastened to meet the Duke at Caen.† The latter full of indignation, formally promised to lend no aid to the present Duke of Normandy, thereby destroying for the treaty of Conflans its most powerful guarantee. For himself the Duke of Brittany obtained the confirmation of all that the treaty had assigned to him.

This agreement took place about Christmas, 1465, and in the spring of the ensuing year Louis marched at the head of an army into Normandy. He took Evreux, and Vernon without a blow, and laid siege to Rouen. Duke Charles despatched messengers for aid to the Count of Charolais. But that prince, engaged on his side with the people of Liege, could spare neither time nor succour. His mutinous brother was thus at the king's mercy, and was obliged to promise to abide by what the Dukes of Bourbon and Calabria should award. Both these princes, however, had, since the treaty of Conflans, been gained by Louis; they indeed commanded in his rapid reconquest of Normandy. Charles therefore surrendered completely at discretion, withdrew to Harfleur and thence to Vannes, whilst Louis at once took possession of the province. (Jan. 1466.)

What enabled the king so speedily and with such

* Jean de Troyes. † Comines.

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ease to recover his lost ground was the diversion caused by the people of Liege. This town, as well as Ghent, had resisted the power of the Dukes of Burgundy as long as it could assail them but on one side; but when these princes succeeded in annexing to their dominions Holland and all the provinces of the Low Countries, the townsfolk were no match for the overwhelming feudal force that could be mustered against them. Moreover the epoch, upon which our history now enters, was marked by a general decline, if not destruction, of civic commonwealths and town supremacy. The republics of Italy sunk, one by one, under the yoke of tyrants.* If those of Germany survived, it was by

* That failure had indeed a deeper cause, and implied a change indicated at the commencement of this history. This was the totally different political development of the ancient and of the modern world. The former was, at least in Europe, exclusively civic. Wealth, greatness, power, and empire germed in cities, which extended their dominion, and introduced everywhere their peculiarities, habits, and institutions. One of these was to ignore the country, degrade the agricultural population, and thereby undermine the civic itself, always by necessity recruited from it. The modern world on the contrary, based on Teutonic principles, established rustic organisation, considered the development of the country first, and that of the towns as quite secondary. Dignity and power, social and political organisation were identified with land, its divisions and its tenures. This, in its early state of feudalism, had its harshness and its defects. But in feudalism were the germs of those great creations, a kingdom or a country held together under a community of national feeling, and not dependent upon any civic centre:—the men comprising this kingdom, ranged no longer in subjection and equality before a Cæsar, but in grades, as the chances of birth and the rights of inheritance arranged, each grade having its privileges and duties corresponding to its position. Feudalism was the necessary infancy of modern European nations.

In Italy, however, was made the great experiment of renewing and re-introducing into the modern world, the same principle of civic development and merely municipal organisation, which prevailed in the ancient. This experiment produced Florence and Milan, Genoa and Venice,—magnificent certainly, both in policy and in intellect. But they were not the less anachronisms, vain attempts to resuscitate the past, and live the life of antiquity over again, instead of starting in that new career which Europe was opening. The political universe, it was plain, had come to consist of a totally new species of unit; of nations, not of towns; of England and France and Germany, not of Athens or Sparta, or of Rome. Such being the case, it is no longer a

inviting the protection, not flinging off the sovereignty of the Emperor. In France the recovery of power and privileges by the gentry, and their continued alienation from the civic classes drove these to put their sole trust in the crown, and give up to it the uncontrolled right of taxation. Even in the towns of Flanders the wealthy citizens lent their aid to maintain a certain portion of ducal authority, so as to check the democratic tendencies of the trades. But Liege and Dinant were overgrown communities of artisans who scarcely tolerated a superior class of citizens, and who punished and prosecuted them with all the narrow jealousies and passions of the Italian democracy.

The artisans of Liege had also their wrongs. They were traditionally subject to the bishop, and had the Pope and the Duke of Burgundy respected their rights by allowing them to keep, or to elect, a fit prelate, they might have lived in peace. The duke, however, forced a worthy prelate, who enjoyed the people's affection, to resign, and imposed upon them in his place his nephew, a prince of the House of Bourbon, only eighteen years of age, who was not even in orders.* The people of

marvel, that at the epoch when modern history really begins, and which we have reached in our narrative, civic republics should disappear. Maritime and trading ones might indeed still have maintained an honourable existence; and several did so. But such towns as Liege, far removed from the sea, and the seat not so much of trade, as of manufactures, for the transport and sale of which they were of course dependent on the lords and princes round them, these led by passion and inexperience, by popular impulse, disdaining the command, or the lead, or the wisdom of even the wealthy amongst themselves, naturally fell victims to their own turbulence or imprudence.

It is also worthy of grave remark, that this failure of the modern attempts to revive the civic organisation of antiquity took place before the exhumation and revival of that classic literature which would have given new life and fresh chance to the attempt. Singular enough, the revival of classic literature in Europe shed its splendour round the power of the Medici, and the monarchic pride of Francis the First, and lit the Italian republics merely to their tomb.

* He was appointed in 1456, and did not take orders until 1466. Rerum Leodicensium per Adrian de Veteri Bosco.

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Liege resisted, as they formerly had resisted a similar injustice, which terminated in their defeat and slaughter. A similar feud now arose from the same cause. The bishop was supported by the Pope, who excommunicated Liege, and one of the effects of the interdict was to suspend the courts and the course of justice in the city. The people elected magistrates and judges — a fresh grief. They applied to the French king, who advised them to await the death of Philip the Good. But when open war arose between Burgundy and France the people of Liege saw it was their opportunity, and they rose in arms. Instead however of installing the chief that Louis the Eleventh recommended, they chose Marcus of Baden, brother of the Margrave, their chief and commander. He came indeed, but no sooner found that his army was a horde of artisans, than he withdrew. To the civil war between the Liegeois and their bishop was added the rivalry between Dinant and Bouvines, towns opposite to each other on either side of the Meuse, inhabited by hammerers of copper and makers of brazen utensils and ornaments. Dinant claimed fraternity with Liege. Bouvines belonged to the Duke of Burgundy, hence the inveterate rivalry of neighbours engaged in the same trade, and acknowledging different jurisdictions. Bouvines mocked the refractory subjects of the Crosier; Dinant replied by hanging the duke in effigy, and, as is the habit of the Turks, making dirty allusions to his wife and mother. For all their mock chivalry, the Duke of Burgundy and his son were not above being profoundly hurt by such puerilities, which they determined not to punish by the rod or stifle by contempt, but immortalise in blood.*

No sooner had the Count of Charolais concluded the

* In this war of Liege and Dinant, Michelet's 6th vol. (Hist. de France) has all the merit and vivacity of an original chronicle, so universal and minute were the researches of the author, so great the interest he has taken in the narrative of these events.

treaty of Conflans, than he marched his formidable army towards Liege and Dinant. They cried for help to France, but the King of France was crushed himself. Nothing was left to the poor beaters of copper than to surrender. But the count wanted revenge, not submission. Complete vengeance on both towns was however too much. And as Duke Philip and the Duchess were especially enraged against Dinant, it was necessary to offer terms short of destruction to Liege. A treaty was concluded in December 1465, by which Liege submitted to the authority of the duke, as well as the bishop, and by which it was deprived of what it styled the right of *peron*, that is of jurisdiction over the surrounding towns and districts. It moreover was to pay nearly 400,000 florins as a fine. The men of Liege in their extremity would have submitted to these conditions, had they found Dinant included in the amnesty. But the negotiators of Liege had abandoned it. The artisans were no sooner fully aware of their treason, than they seized the chief negotiator, one of the principal citizens, and caused him to be executed. This was a declaration of war to Burgundy, but it was mid winter, the feudal army had melted away, knights and men at arms had gone home, and vengeance upon Dinant was deferred; — only deferred, indeed, for in August, 1466, the Burgundians gathered together against it, the old duke amongst them. The town had formerly withstood a great siege against powerful armies, and relying upon their strong walls, the inhabitants replied to the Burgundian with derision, not submission. They were not aware of the terribly augmented power which had been given to cannon. In three days the Burgundian artillery had so battered down the walls of Dinant that a wide breach gaped for the assault. Liege had promised succour, but the artisans of that town were as usual deceived by those to whom they trusted for guidance and for information. The Liegeois terrorised

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their chiefs, and those chiefs in turn placed their whole policy in deceiving their townsmen; such is often the result of passionate and uncontrolled democracy. Meantime Dinant surrendered at discretion. The Count of Charolais made a solemn entry by the breach, and forbad all outrage for the present. The women and children were ordered to leave the town. The soldiers were then let loose on the male population, their property, and their homes. Time was allowed for the soldiers to discover what money the inhabitants might possess, by putting them to the torture; then the order was given to burn, destroy, and utterly rase the town of Dinant. Eight hundred of those most obnoxious to the duke were tied and flung into the Meuse. Thus for a few puerile insults and for a rebellion provoked by the boy-bishop and his patron, was one of the most remarkable seats of trade and merchant industry of this region sacrificed by two Dukes of Burgundy, whose ignorance and cruelty thus vehemently worked the speedy ruin of their own empire and their own house.

Soon after the destruction of Dinant, expired (June 1467) Duke Philip the Good, a prince, who, although his wealth, magnificence, and power were derived from the industry of the middle classes, felt little else than feudal pride and chivalrous aspirations. His daily pastime was the order of the Golden Fleece; his most ardent desire to conduct a crusade. Whilst the kings of France, with far less power and more lack of means, were successfully establishing a regular army and a regular system of taxation to support it,—circumstances to which they owed their subsequent superiority,—the Dukes of Burgundy spent the money which they irregularly raised, upon the pomp of their court*, rather than

* See in Chatelain the circumstantial account of the mode in which Charles organised his court; and in the Preuves of Comines, the magnificence of his receptions, especially that at Brussels.

in the payment of soldiers, and trusted to the undisciplined and ill-armed troops of his feudal levy. If the chivalry of the father was retrograde, that of the son, though more active and energetic, was scarcely more advanced. It was passionate selfwill and pride, the iron nature of the old knight, without any of his generous and redeeming qualities. Charles the Rash was large in person, "powerful at jousts, archery, and bars, splendid in dress, and loving pompous retinue."* He was addicted to war and to the chase. He had not his father's passion for women, nor his caprice for favourites. He was, on the contrary, harsh to his followers, punishing with the "hart," his feudal soldiers, who followed him from fear, not affection. He was a bitter foe without being a good friend. Two characters more unamiable than those of Charles the Rash and Louis the Eleventh cannot be imagined. Yet could they have changed places, the homely tastes and manners, the thrifty habits, and preference of the middle class remarked in Louis, would have rendered him a ruler dear to the burghers; whilst Charles, by his boldness, his magnificence, his recklessness, and his ambition, would have rallied the noblesse of France around him, instead of disgusting and alienating them as did their king.

When Duke Philip was taken ill at Bruges, Charles was at Ghent, a city which he had always favoured.† Yet he feared on his first becoming duke, to enter it, as was customary, lest the inhabitants should ask him to restore their jurisdiction over the surrounding districts. This it was that made the force of towns. Ghent had been deprived of it after the battle of Gavre, and Liege had just been shorn of all rustic jurisdiction. The townsmen were still more annoyed at the tax which they called the *ceuillotte*, more than half of which went to their immediate governor, not into the duke's treasury. Charles not only entered Ghent, but chose an unpropi-

* La Marche. † Chatelain.

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tious moment, when the people were celebrating the festival of the Irish saint, Saint Lieven. The procession bearing his relics, instead of turning aside, and respecting a wooden barrack, erected for the collectors of the duty on corn*, thought fit to walk through and destroy it. This gave rise to a serious turmoil, which the duke went forth to appease, in a long black robe. Striking one man with his staff, the fellow turned upon the duke with a pike. Some of the trades, boatmen and butchers, came to his rescue, and Charles entering the town-house on the market-place, harangued the people from the window, saying, "he had come for their peace and good, to grant them what was possible." In reply to this, the crowd shouted, "*wel gekommen*," "welcome." But a rude fellow named Bruneel, climbed up to the duke's side, and striking the window sill with his black gauntlet, undertook to recapitulate the people's desires. "Do ye not want the *ceuillotte* abolished?" "We do, we do." "You want your gates open, and your banner unfolded. Your white chaperons and your *chatellenies*, that is, your rural districts, in your power." The people boldly assented. The duke remained silent, but his councillor Gruthuse answered for him, that he yielded to all the desires of the mob. Released from his perilous situation, the duke deeply felt the insult which thus inaugurated his reign.†

This unrepressed turbulence of the people of Ghent was the signal for those of Brussels and Malines, as well as of Liege, to bring forward similar claims and show the same audacity. King Louis incited them, urging the Count of Nevers to claim Brabant, and sending his *bailli* of Lyons to stir up the Liegeois. The monarch knew he had nothing but open hostility to ex-

* *La ceuillotte de bled.* See Comines. Edit. Dupont, tom. iii. Preuves, p. 221.

† Meyer, and Kerwyn de Lettenhove, Hist. du Flandre, vol. v.

pect from the new Duke of Burgundy, and he accordingly encouraged the malcontents of the Low Countries, whilst he armed the citizens of Paris, and urged them to be prepared to stand a siege, should the Burgundians come in force.* The Duke of Brittany had again relapsed into hostilities with the king, who felt the difficulty of preserving Normandy from the two foes who could invade it from north and south. Duke Charles however, who declared that "there was a rebellion of all *villains* against him," was resolved first to crush their stronghold on the Meuse.

Whilst the people of Liege were so distressed by the enormity of the sum which they had agreed to pay to the Duke of Burgundy, that they were obliged to part with their plate and their wives' trinkets, the town of Huy, close to them and of their territory, remained free of exaction and distress. The Liegeois could not bear the sight; they marched against Huy, and besieged the bishop within it. Notwithstanding succours from Burgundy, Huy surrendered, though the bishop contrived to escape. They also hoisted the French standard, and decapitated a gentleman attached to the duke.

Charles summoned the ban of his vassals to proceed against Liege, but not till he had made the formal demand in marriage of Margaret of York sister of King Edward. "Although the duke," says Chatelain, "had the heart very English," still attached to the Lancastrians, he detested the House of York. It was the necessity of strengthening himself with such an alliance

* The king ordered a review, at which all the Parisians from sixteen to sixty years of age were to attend. They mustered from 60,000 to 80,000, says Jean of Troyes; of them about 30,000 were well armed. At the same time Louis and the Queen supped familiarly with the citizens and their wives; one of these, Perette de Chalons, he took to be his mistress. On another occasion Louis carried off from Lyons two townsmen of that city. His *confrères* and *commères* were all of the middle class.

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against King Louis, that made him resolve upon the match. The dowry of the English princess soon came in the shape of 2000 archers to Calais. But instead of bringing them against Liege, Charles left 1500 of them where they landed, in order to alarm Louis with the prospect of an English invasion.*

When Charles set his army in motion towards Liege the French king tried all means but the effectual one to stop it. He sent the Constable to remonstrate, a papal legate to intervene; but Charles was not to be dissuaded. He led his army to St. Tron†, his frontier town, which the Liegeois had just taken. Thirty thousand of the armed townsfolk marched out to meet him, having amongst them the king's envoy, the *bailli* of Lyons. The duke full of wise resolutions at the commencement of his reign, allowed his councillors to order the battle. Two hundred English archers were left to repel any sortie from St. Tron, a duty which they gallantly performed, repelling the citizens three times. With the rest the duke faced the men of Liege, who with their pikes charged the infantry, killing five or six hundred in an instant. But the Burgundians, under Crevecœur, charged in turn and completely defeated the pikemen.‡ The victory would have been more sanguinary, had not the marshes protected the fugitives from the horse (28th October, 1467). At Liege there was the usual dissension between the wealthier citizens who wished to surrender, and avoid a capture by assault, and the lower orders, which were for resistance. The duke had spared the lives of some hundred hostages of the former class, and they were now of the greatest use to

* Chatelain ; Comines.

† Olivier de la Marche.

‡ Van Der Rive and Olivier de la Marche attribute the victory to the Burgundian archers, whom, the latter says, the Duke Charles had armed with heavy swords, to use when the arrows were expended. Charles's own account of the action will be found in Gachart, Documens Inédits concernant la Belgique, tom. i. p. 166. See Dupont's Comines, vol. iii. p. 223.

him. They procured the duke entrance without resistance into Liege. Those citizens who hoped for mild treatment as the result of submission knew not the duke. He passed sentence on the town from the balcony of the episcopal palace, that edifice whose black columns still attest its stately grandeur. He declared Liege deprived, not only of all its authority as centre, but also of its own municipal liberties; the bishop was to be its sole lord, and to appoint its magistrates. The wall and ditch were to be levelled, the trades abolished. As a symbol of this, their *peron* *, a column before which all subject towns and persons were called to answer, was to be thrown down and removed. The duke carried it off to Bruges †; whilst all the people of Liege were to pay seven times the amount of taxes which had previously oppressed them and drawn them to rebellion.

The subjection of Liege was the signal for the towns of Flanders, Ghent itself, to submit.‡ Charles took the opportunity of coining his triumph into money. The moment was one in which his demands could meet with no resistance. Besides his accession and his marriage, celebrated, in July 1468, with Margaret of York, gave him a right to demand extraordinary *aid*. He summoned the states of Flanders, Brabant, and of the North to meet at Brussels, and demanded of them 120,000 crowns a year for three years.§ All this great

* Peronem, qui stabat super fontem in foro Leodicensi. Veteri Bosco.

† An inscription, injurious to the Liegeois, was affixed to the peron, at Bruges. One of the lines ran,

"Gentis et invictæ gloria nuper eram."

‡ Ghent did not make complete submission till the assembly of the Estates of Brussels in 1469.

§ The states of Flanders demurred and asked, was not the sum to be levied on all the Duke's dominions. Charles replied, no. Burgundy, he said, was *poor*, had no money, and in this resembled France. The Burgundians furnished him with *gensd'armes*. The Flemings, Hollanders, and Zealanders gave money. Charles rebuked them with being niggardly to his father. "The hard and big Flemings' heads were full of bad and harsh opinions. But other people had heads as well

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"finance" were preparatory to his crushing Louis, against whom the Duke of Brittany and his brother of Normandy were in arms, and already in possession of Caen.

Whilst Charles summoned the estates of his several provinces, to extract from them subsidies for the war, the king, to show equal confidence in his people, called the estates of France to meet at Tours. It was not to "ask finance" of them; the regular tallage, swelled *ad libitum*, supplied him sufficiently; but to consult them as to the dismemberment of the kingdom. Such being his view, he seems not to have summoned the deputies of the clergy, but was satisfied with the presence of the chief prelates. The nobles, too, who attended were few, so that Louis ranged the assembly of his states in the one hall*, graduating them according to their rank. The king then through his chancellor asked the opinion of the estates how his brother Charles should be treated, and whether it was right to grant him the duchy of Normandy, as had been decreed in the Treaty of Conflans. They replied that an appanage in land of 12,000 livres, with a pension of 60,000, was all that he could require.† Normandy, which Louis represented as the "third part of the kingdom of France,"‡ they decided should not be separated from the crown, and that this should be signified to the Duke of Brittany, who himself was to be warned to forego his treaties with the English enemy.

Thus armed with the consent of his people, Louis sent the bastard of Bourbon, whom he had created ad-

as they; 120,000 crowns a year for three years was not much; it would only pay a third of what a thousand lances or five thousand men would cost. And he must either pay them from his domains, or leave them to starve eight months of the year." See Gachart, tom i. p. 220.

* That of the archiepiscopal palace of Tours. See Récit des États Généraux à Tours, 1468; and Lenglet's Comines, t. iii. 65; Documens Inédits, Mélanges.

† Jean of Troyes.

‡ Documens Inédits.

miral, to resist the Bretons in Lower Normandy. A large muster or review was held of the Parisians, ample pay being provided for those who would undertake active service. A law, too, was passed, with the hope of securing the fidelity of all in royal employ, declaring that no one should be disturbed in his office or deprived of it, except by death, resignation, or confiscation.* But whilst ensuring these permanent advantages to those who remained true to him, Louis showed himself more severe than ever in the punishment of treason. Two personages who had proved false were the Sires De Lau and De Melun; the latter had prevented the Parisians marching to his aid during the battle of Montlhery. Both these persons were in captivity. De Lau managed to escape, at which Louis was so wroth, that he caused his keepers to be put to death, and hastened the trial of Charles de Melun, who being found guilty was executed at Andelys (1468). He was the first noble convicted of treason in this reign sent to perish by the executioner. Although such crime on the part of a burgess was considered worthy of death, nobles practised breach of faith as a pastime, and a lucrative one, until it was rendered a serious matter by sending the guilty to the scaffold.

Louis's object was to conciliate and amuse Duke Charles by negotiations, by truce, and by embassies, from advancing too rapidly south with the army which he had ordered to muster at St. Quentin. Nor did the duke, engaged in the festivities consequent on his marriage, frustrate this, although he received the king's envoys and offers with disdain. The royal generals prosecuted the war with far greater activity against the Bretons, driving them from Lower Normandy, capturing Alençon and Chantocé, besieging Ancenis, and

* Although the decree is quoted as the origin of the immutability of judicial offices, it is evident from the complaints made after the demise of Louis, that he himself never observed the rule.

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menacing Nantes. The duke despatched messengers to Burgundy for immediate aid*; not receiving any, he made submission, not only for himself but for the king's brother (Sep. 1468). Charles the Rash had thus his allies swept from his side whilst he delayed in entering the field.

The effects of the intelligence was to rouse the anger of the prince, who commanded his army to advance, and who came himself to Peronne, the fortress which he possessed nearest to Paris. Louis was alarmed. He feared lest the duke should march upon the capital ere he could bring back his army from Brittany. It became therefore a matter of the utmost moment to delay the duke. For this purpose the king saw but one way—a meeting between them; in which he had no doubt that his powers of cajolery and finesse would disarm his antagonist, and perhaps bring him to better terms. To demand an interview with all the forms and precautions of the age would however be an affair of time. Charles, though passionate and fierce, was honourable. If Louis had his word for safe conduct, he might trust himself in the duke's keeping, and his very doing so would disarm the wrath and suspicion of the Burgundian. His wisest counsellors dissuaded the king from so rash a step; Cardinal Balue alone recommended it, and his advice prevailed. Louis sent him to procure a safe conduct from the duke, who gave it, swearing on his "faith and honour, that the king might come, stay, and return when and as often as he wished, freely and without hindrance, whatever might happen." †

Nothing could be more full than this promise given and signed by the duke on the 8th of October 1468. Louis left Ham the next day, accompanied by the Duke of Bourbon, the constable and the cardinal, and by

* See his letter on Dom Morice, Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne.

† The *Safe-Conduct* is published in the Preuves of Lenglet's edit. of Comines, tom. iii. p. 19.

more than a hundred of his Scottish and other guards.* Charles came to meet his sovereign, and they entered Peronne together, the king's hand reposing on the duke's shoulder.† Louis was at first lodged in the town, the accommodation in the castle being scant; but learning that De Lau, Philip of Bresse, and other enemies of his had arrived with military succours to the duke, he considered that he would be safer in the castle, and he removed thither.

Those who practise deceit should have good memories. It had escaped the king's recollection or his care, that he, not long before, sent two emissaries to rouse the Liegeois to rebellion. He afterwards despatched another mission to warn them that he was going to Peronne; but the latter either arrived too late or not at all. For the king and duke had not been four days together in amicable intercourse, when tidings came that the men of Liege had rebelled, taken Tongres, and massacred the bishop as well as the duke's officer D'Humbercourt. The latter part of the story was untrue; the Liegeois had merely captured their prelate, and treated him even with honour. But the duke's choler was the same. He declared that the king had come merely to deceive him, and his first orders were to close the castle gates, which at once made Louis a prisoner, the high and gloomy tower, in which a Count of Vermandois had caused Charles the Simple to be slain, rising before his eyes.

The duke in the meantime remained a prey to irritation, but fortunately also to irresolution. The only persons with him were his chamberlain, Philip de Comines the historian, and two valets. Had there been one there, observes De Comines, to sharpen the duke's

* On their arrival in Peronne Charles sent them to lodge in the suburbs. Comines, Preuves, p. 233.

† Comines, and the several accounts given in the Preuves, ed. Dupont; also Gachart, tom. i. p. 192.

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anger, "to comfort and abet his committal of a bad action," he certainly would have done it. But the chamberlain and the valet both did their utmost to sooth his choler. For a day there was nothing but alarm and suspense. The king employed the interval in distributing all the gold he brought with him amongst those who could be useful to him; so that when the duke did call his councillors together many were for treating the captive generously and mildly; others, however, were for putting him in close confinement, sending for his brother, and making over the kingdom to him, a step which would have been the death warrant of Louis. A messenger had his horse saddled and ready to go on this errand; but he was countermanded. The third night was spent by Duke Charles even more restlessly than the previous ones. He paced his room in continued agitation, and it was not till morning that he came to the resolve to humiliate rather than injure Louis. Having formed this resolution he proceeded without loss of time to communicate it himself to the monarch, who was warned, no doubt by Comines, to yield the two points, on which the duke had determined to insist, if he wished to avert worse consequences.

On the duke's entering his apartment with a countenance in which passion was concentrated, the king asked, "If he were not safe in the home and the country of a brother?" "So safe," rejoined the duke, "that if a bolt from an arrow were about to strike you I would throw myself to intercept it." * The latter then stated his demands. They were that the king's brother in lieu of Normandy, of which he had been deprived, should have Champagne and Brie, and that the king should accompany the duke and join in the vengeance he was about to take upon Liege. However dangerous was the first condition, however humiliating was the

* Olivier de la Marche.

last, Louis at once accepted; and the conditions being drawn up in the form of a treaty, Charles insisted that Louis should swear to them upon a piece of the true cross *, which had once belonged to Charlemagne, and which the king profoundly revered.

By the 15th of October, the Burgundian army, 40,000 strong, were on their way to Liege. They were first met by the bishop, who offered the submission of the city, if the lives of the inhabitants were spared. This the duke would not grant. He even allowed a papal legate to be taken and ill-treated, because he came to persuade peace. Some hundreds of the citizens tried to offer resistance to the advancing army, but were beaten back. Towards the end of October, king and duke took post on one of the heights which surround Liege, and which touch its walls. Walls, indeed, there were then none, all had been levelled. This exposed the besiegers to frequent attacks and alarms. In one of these, on the very first night of their arrival, the Duke Charles completely lost his self-possession; the orders and provision for the defence being coolly and ably made by the king. Some nights after, 600 men of Franchemont, a neighbouring village, issued from Liege at about ten at night, and attacked the royal quarters. They first fell upon the tent of the Count of Perche, son of the Duke d'Alençon, and then upon a grange, which contained 300 Burgundians. This gave time for the Scotch guards of the prince to rally, and, finally, the assailants were repulsed; had they made at once for the duke's tent, they would have succeeded in delivering their country from impending ruin.

The king, judging of the constancy of the people of Liege, from the valour of those who conducted this night's assault, dissuaded the duke from endeavouring to penetrate into the town. Charles told him in reply,

* The king believed that to swear falsely on the cross of St. Lau, would cause death within the year.

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that he might retire to Namur, if he wished, for the assault could not be deferred. Orders were given for it, when lo! there was none to resist. It was Sunday morning, the Liegois did not expect attack, and the Burgundians marching in, took possession of the city without a blow. The duke made endeavours to regularise the pillage and the massacre, as he had done at Dinant; and with this view, he made his Burgundian gens d'armes draw up in the square, and round the cathedral of St. Lambert. But the Picards and other soldiers were not to be restrained. They rushed to plunder and to murder, in which the Burgundians then joined, only regretting that they had been anticipated. All those taken prisoners were thrown into the Meuse, large numbers of the population had escaped to the woods. But even there, perishing as they were with cold and hunger, the duke caused them to be pursued and hunted like wild beasts. Charles terminated his enterprise by setting fire to the city, and he employed 4000 men at the task, nothing being spared but the churches and the houses of the canons.*

The massacre over, the ruin complete, the king, deeming the duke satisfied, and himself sufficiently humiliated, asked if there was nothing more for him to do, in order that he might take his departure and register the treaty of Peronne in his parlement. The duke acquiesced, but did not let his captive go till the treaty was again read over, and once more received the royal sanction.

The king said nothing, when the treaty was read over, but at the moment of parting from the duke, he observed, as if unpremeditatedly, "Suppose my brother is not content with Champagne, what am I to do?" "Oh," rejoined the duke, without reflection, "content

* The officer who presided over the destruction appears to have been the same rude knight who rode down all competitors at the tournament of the Rue des Tournelles. —Gamache, *Documens Inédits.*

him as you like, that is an affair between you both;" which words, observes Comines, were followed by great results. Louis made his way south, as quickly as he could, avoiding Paris, where the very jays and magpies were taught to mock him.* His first care was to secure the friendship and attachment of Lescun, the favourite and counsellor of his brother. He then assailed the prince, and offered him the duchy of Guyenne in exchange for Champagne. In Champagne, young Charles would have been independent of the king, protected on both sides by the Burgundian territories and forces, levying moreover, *aide* and *taille*, and being bound to the king merely in homage and *ressort*. Therefore, the king preferred giving his brother the much more vast and puissant duchy of Guyenne, which he could more easily awe or subdue. The Duke of Burgundy entreated the young prince to insist on having Champagne; and whilst Louis secured the support of his brother's counsellors, the Duke of Burgundy in a similar manner, purchased the co-operation of Louis' advisers. About this time, chance threw into the king's hands, the person and the papers of a messenger, who had letters from the Cardinal Balue. This churchman had somewhat sunk in the king's esteem, from having counselled his proceeding to Peronne. His intercepted letter was for the purpose of dissuading Louis' brother from accepting Guyenne, pointing out all the advantages of having Champagne, and with it, the support and alliance of Burgundy. The monarch punished the treachery by committing the prisoner to a cage hung in one of the halls of the castle of Amboise. Prince Charles at length yielded, and accepted Guyenne, instead of Champagne, to the great annoyance of the duke. And a subsequent meeting took place between the brothers on a bridge, in which the new Duke of Guyenne professed himself completely reconciled to his

* Jean of Troyes. The king issued an edict against the birds.

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royal brother, and he accepted the royal collar and knighthood of St. Michael, in lieu of the duke's order of the Golden Fleece.* (1469.)

Whilst Louis yielded so far to circumstances, and to his engagement in Peronne, in endowing his brother with Guyenne, he resolved to show the great lords of the Pyrenees, that he still had power to crush their treason. The Count of Armagnac and the Duke of Nemours, had plotted with Charles of Burgundy, and solicited a descent of the English in Guyenne; their whole life indeed was one continued intrigue. Louis sent the Count of Dammartin against them. Armagnac fled into Spain, and his brother, Nemours, was once more obliged to take the oaths of fidelity, which he never observed.

During the greater part of the year 1469 and 1470, Charles and Louis, though animated by mutual rivalry, transferred it to England rather than exercise it on French ground. Louis who boasted the friendship of Warwick, had the gratification of seeing him turn to espouse the interests of the House of Lancaster, or at least in alliance with the Duke of Clarence, become the enemy of Edward. When this prince became his prisoner, Charles of Burgundy was no less interested to save Edward, and he is said to have contributed mainly to his liberation, by making an appeal to the Londoners on his behalf.† Warwick in consequence became an exile in his turn, and being refused entrance at Calais, sailed to Honfleur, bringing with him a number of Flemish ships, which he had captured on his passage, in order to be avenged on the Duke of Burgundy. As these prizes and their cargoes were sold in French ports, the latter remonstrated with Louis, who offered to restore the capture, but would not undertake to punish such acts of brigandage. Charles received the French envoys sent to him at Ghent, with his usual

* Comines, Preuves. † Vavrin de Forestal.

intemperance. He spurned the "friends of his enemies," as little better than the enemies themselves. In a short time, Warwick had again the upper hand in England, Edward was a fugitive at Charles's court; whilst the duke failed in accomplishing, what was with him always a necessary preliminary to attack Louis, the knitting of a conspiracy of the great nobles and princes against him.

The prospects of the king's brother had become seriously altered by the birth of a son to Louis, the future Charles the Eighth, in 1470. Thus disappointed of being the heir to the French throne, he aspired to inheriting Burgundy, which he proposed to accomplish by espousing Mary, the only child of Duke Charles. This scheme was warmly abetted by the Duke of Brittany, and the Constable St. Pol; and they resolutely refused to join in any new league against the king in concert with the Duke of Burgundy, unless he consented to affiance Mary to the prince. It was, however, one of the obstinate caprices of Charles the Rash, not to bestow his daughter in marriage upon any suitor, although he enticed many to aid and ally with him, by holding out hope of the alliance. So firm was he in this resolve, that St. Pol and the Duke of Brittany, by proposing the match with the Duke of Guyenne, merely provoked the duke's enmity, instead of overcoming his resolve.

The king in the meantime, continued restless and anxious to recover both the reputation and the possessions he had lost in the treaties of Conflans and Peronne. He was in a far better condition for war than his rival. His regular army exceeding 2000 lances, with more than six horsemen to each lance, whilst he yearly increased the number of his franc archers or infantry. The duke, on the contrary, relying on the large force and number of his feudal levy, kept up no regular troops. And the towns of the Somme, the great object of Louis's ambition, re-

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mained without garrisons. They were indeed difficult to deal with, these said towns of the Somme. They were ever protesting against having garrisons, yet would not provide for their own defence. The envoys of the king, in passing to and fro, always took care to stop at Abbeville and Amiens, and pave the way for their returning to the king's authority. And at last, the duke returning precipitately from Holland on being warned of the danger, the royal troops led by the Constable, seized Amiens and St. Quentin, and almost succeeded in capturing Abbeville also (1471). It was on this occasion that the duke raised the first regular corps of gens d'armes. Charles had need of making every effort, for whilst the French king entered Amiens, almost without resistance, Warwick sent 4000 men to Calais for the purpose of attacking the duke. The London merchants, however, stood his friend, as they had done on a previous occasion.* Several of them were at Calais superintending their exports of wool, which were destined for Holland and Flanders; and at their solicitations the warlike enterprise was suspended, lest it should interfere with the traffic of the English merchants. The duke supplied Edward with money, which enabled him to sail from the Isle of Walcheren on the expedition which proved fatal to Warwick, and definitely established the House of York upon the throne. Charles, in the meantime, collected his feudal army in a camp, which he had formed near Arras, from whence he marched to attack Picquigny. After a cannonading, of which the ruined castle still bears the traces, he captured the place, and then sat down before Amiens.

The king occupied this town as well as Beauvais with a large force, fully equal to that of Duke Charles, who was not yet joined by his Burgundian levy. And moreover the Duke of Guyenne had arrived with the forces of the south. Charles was at first anxious

* Comines, and Preuves in both the editions. Also Duclos and Legrand.

for battle, but tidings which arrived of his Burgundian forces having suffered a defeat near Macon, abated his ardour. The king too was more alarmed than encouraged by the arrival of his brother, whom he suspected, not without cause, of an intention to turn against and betray him.* So impressed was the king with these fears, that when the Constable from Amiens proposed to attack the duke, and besought the king to advance from Beauvais to co-operate, Louis forbade the attempt. And his enemies soon after, finding his army greatly straitened for provisions, made overtures for an accommodation. The king was well pleased, as this gave him hopes of retaining Amiens and St. Quentin. The duke was influenced not only by want of provisions, and by the news from Macon, but by his finding himself without allies, the dukes of Guyenne and Brittany being neither of them to be trusted, whilst the result of Edward's expedition to England was still uncertain.† A truce was accordingly concluded first for three months, and then prolonged for a year.

Suspension of hostilities merely gave fresh scope for the activity of intrigue. The Duke of Guyenne, restless like all the princes of the age, never ceased to press for the hand of Mary of Burgundy. And although Charles at the same time promised his daughter to the son of the Duke of Calabria, the monarchs of France and of England were no less alarmed at the prospect of the Duke of Guyenne obtaining the spouse he sought. Edward of England feared lest such a marriage might unite all France and Burgundy under one sovereign, Louis lest the Dukes of Burgundy and Guyenne united might overwhelm the crown. Charles sufficiently expressed his own views and wishes, when he was led to observe,

* Basin, with notes of Quicherat.

† The battle of Barnet in which Warwick fell, was fought April 14, 1471. The truce between Louis and Charles was concluded the 4th, though not promulgated till the 10th.

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"So far from desiring to destroy the one king of France, I sincerely wish that it had six kings." To create dissension and division in it was in fact his sole policy and object. And thus whilst luring the Duke of Guyenne with the hopes of his daughter, Charles enticed the king to conclude an advantageous peace with him on the express condition, that Mary of Burgundy should not be given to his brother.

The double intrigue was cut short in May 1472 by the death of the Duke of Guyenne. Louis was well informed of his brother's sinking health, and learned that as well as his death, he himself says in one of his letters, "from the monk who acted as his confessor." * The king purposely deferred concluding the treaty, which he had been negotiating with Burgundy, till assured of that event, and he then dismissed the duke's messenger, abruptly, observing coarsely, "that there was no longer a treaty to sign, as the game had been bagged." According to the custom of the age, Louis was strongly suspected of having contributed to the death of his brother, and of having employed the monk as his instrument. Lescun carried him to Brittany on this supposition and had him tried for his guilt; the king instead of giving all publicity to such an inquiry, rather stifled it. There is no adequate proof, however, of the Duke of Guyenne having fallen a victim to poison, nor did the prince himself before his death entertain such a suspicion.

The rupture of the treaty which had been almost concluded, as well as the cause of it, filled Charles with resentment. Although the Duke of Guyenne was no more, he could still count upon the alliance of the Duke of Brittany and of Edward. Whilst the king therefore was employing his troops in recovering the places and provinces of Guyenne, Charles collected a force and,

* "Le moine qui dit ses heures." See the king's letter in Lenglet's edition of Comines, Preuves.

marching south, first laid siege to Nesle, which was defended by franc archers, the peasant infantry of Louis. These men slew a herald of the duke's, who was so angered thereat, that, whilst he allowed the Dame de Nesle and the knights to depart, he took the town by assault and slew all the franc archers, first cutting off the hands of a great number. The dead were heaped high in the church into which the duke rode, and he observed "that his followers were excellent butchers." *

After this sanguinary triumph the French Chancellor came to amuse the duke with offers of peace, and of the surrender of Amiens and St. Quentin. Charles willing to accept such terms, still advanced and occupied Roye and Montdidier, but finding the king not prepared to ratify the agreement, he proposed marching into Normandy to join the Duke of Brittany. Passing Beauvais he found it without a garrison, and one of his captains, eager for booty attacked and took possession of a suburb. Two cannon shot then made a hole in the gate and it was only the want of more stone shot †, that prevented them from demolishing it. But the townsfolk were either alarmed or infuriated, or both, by the account of the duke's cruelty at Nesle and in other places, and were prepared to make a determined resistance. Defending the breach in the gate by thrusting lighted torches through it against the enemy, they thus set fire to it, and then kept it burning by throwing wood and other combustibles into the flames, which thus served as a barrier. Some of the Burgundian knights succeeded in getting over the ditch and scaling the ramparts. But they were valiantly met by the men and even by the women of Beauvais who poured down stones and boiling oil on the assailants. A girl named Jeanne, and afterwards called Hachette, particularly dis-

* Jean de Troyes.

† Iron and leaden bullets, weighing from twenty to thirty pounds were also used. See account of siege in Lenglet's Comines. Preuves, t. iii. p. 205.

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tinguished herself on this occasion, like another Pucelle seizing an enemy's standard, and precipitating it from the wall. This obstinate resistance gave time for succours to arrive. They were at first few, and had the Duke of Burgundy sent any portion of his army to intercept the Paris road, the town must have surrendered. But he only attempted this when it was too late, and when a numerous body of gens d'armes with able generals had already entered the gates. Still the duke persisted in the assault, in which he lost 1500 killed*, and 1000 wounded. Charles in consequence abandoned the siege and proceeded to Rouen, where he hoped to meet the Duke of Brittany and his army. The Bretons however had not left their province, and the chief result of the duke's expedition was the burning of 1700 villages†, and the capture and brief retention of St. Valery and Eu.

Whilst the Burgundian army was thus bootlessly engaged in marching and counter-marching, Louis was actively employed purchasing the ministers and confidants of the Duke of Brittany and furnishing proofs how willing Charles was to abandon him. It would appear that Louis granted far more valuable concessions and benefits to Lescun, the favourite of the Duke of Brittany, than the duke himself‡, but at all events the duke consented to make peace, and left the Duke of Burgundy once more alone in his resistance to the king. The result was, as usual, an accommodation, and a truce between them. The principal aim of these negotiations seems to have been to settle how both could be avenged on Count de St. Pol, who had long deceived and betrayed them. But the Constable was adroit or fortunate for the moment to avert the storm, compelling

* Legrand.

† Lettenhove, t. iii. p. 184.

‡ Comines says that Lescun had half Guyenne, which is impossible. Various readings have been proposed by different editors to restore the text to an accordance with probability; but ambiguity still remains. Lescun was made governor of Blaye.

Louis to have an interview with him to which both came armed and guarded as if St. Pol were an independent prince.

For a long series of years the Duke of Burgundy had pursued the same unvarying line of policy, of seeking to crush the monarch he both feared and hated by leagues of the French princes against him. He could not complain of being unsuccessful in his aims. The king had succumbed at Conflans before the alliance of Burgundy, Bourbon, and Brittany, with the defection of Normandy. To avoid a similar catastrophe, Louis had committed himself to the trap of Peronne. Charles at both periods triumphed, and imposed hard conditions, but he knew not how to render these permanent or binding; and Louis, however humiliated, still retained the great sinews of power, an abundant and elastic revenue, and a standing army. Whilst the latter rendered him ready and able to recommence hostilities, his command of money gave him always the power of purchasing the favour of the ministers or officers of his enemy, and of either attracting them to his service, or of corrupting them whilst in retention of their old employ.*

After the death of the Duke of Guyenne, and the repeated failure of the Duke of Brittany to be stanch in resisting the king, Charles seemed to have come to the conclusion that nothing was to be hoped from fomenting conspiracies amongst the French princes. He therefore turned his attention to augmenting and strengthening his own dominions both on the Upper and Lower Rhine, and rendering himself thus a German as much as a French prince. To effect this he proposed not merely acquiring German territory, but obtaining his own nomination as King of the Romans, and his consequent election to the empire. From such a proud eminence he hoped to be better able to resist

* Gachart; Doc. Inéd.

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the French king than by bootless intrigues and alliances with princes who were for ever playing fast and loose.

Charles commenced negotiations for this purpose in 1469. He then procured as pledge for a sum lent, the possession of the landgraviat of Alsace and the county of Ferret from Sigismund Duke of Austria, who thus hoped to engage Charles to quarrel with and crush the Swiss.* Sigismund promised to employ his interest with the Emperor Frederic to forward Charles's design. The latter in the same year concluded a treaty with the King of Bohemia, by which this prince promised to use every effort with the elector of Mayence, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburg to procure Charles's election as King of the Romans.† The proposals by which the Duke of Burgundy hoped to induce the house of Austria to consent to the arrangement were that on his being elected King of the Romans, as successor to Frederic, his daughter Mary was to be married to Maximilian, who in turn was to become his successor as king of the Romans, and inherit with the empire all the dominions of Burgundy. Full of these aims, Charles sent ambassadors to the Diet of Frankfort in 1470, where they claimed precedence over the electors and were finally allowed to occupy the seats reserved for those accredited by crowned heads.

It is difficult to say how far the Emperor entered into these views of alliance and succession. He naturally desired to secure so rich an heiress as Mary of Burgundy for his son Maximilian; but it is improbable that Frederic, who could scarcely bring himself to impart the dignity of the king of the Romans to his

* The "Monumenta Habsburgica," published at Vienna in 1853–54, commences with the documents and correspondence relative to this time and pledge. Charles's scheme is subsequently revealed in his Instructions to Hagenbach.

† Charles promised the king of Bohemia in return 200,000 florins and the county of Katzellenbogen. See Lenglet, Comines, Preuves.

own son*, ever consented to bestow it upon a stranger. Moreover, it was an epoch when the Germanic emperors enjoyed but a limited power, and when they could not attempt to confer the kingly name and rank without the consent of the princes and electors. The resuscitation of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy was thus, perhaps, thought of, as an easier task. But this led the empire into direct collision with France and with its king, who had many friends beyond the Rhine. Frederic proceeded in 1473 to meet Charles at Treves. The interview took place with astonishing magnificence, at least on the part of the Duke of Burgundy and his suite; the emperor and his courtiers looking threadbare and beggarly by the side of them, and not a little humiliated and indisposed by the contrast. At first the negotiations proceeded at a smiling pace. Frederic proffered the vicar generalship of the empire and the crown. The cathedral of Treves was fitted out with "throne and tribunals," the sceptre and royal ornaments were ready, and the bishop of Metz was to perform the ceremony.†

But Louis was not idle; his envoys found means to approach the emperor with the ostensible errand of procuring the liberation of Louis de Vaudemont. By the death of Duke Nicholas, Lorraine had lapsed to Yolande, the princess who alone survived of the powerful house of Anjou. She transferred her claim upon Lorraine to her son, who was about to assume the title of duke, when he was arrested by Charles. The French king, by way of reprisals, seized a noble who was a relative of the emperor, and offered to release him solely on the condition that Louis de Vaudemont should be set free. Frederic asked this of Charles, who consented, insisting, however, that a passage across Lorraine, with four of its principal fortresses should

* See, in Ranke's History of the Reformation, its Account of Frederic's position.

† Basin.

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be delivered to him. On these hard terms the young Duke of Lorraine was set free.

The French envoys took the opportunity of inspiring not only the emperor, but his ministers and the princes who accompanied him, with much distrust of Charles. On one occasion, when, after a reception of great magnificence, Frederic expressed his gratitude, and asked how he could make return, the duke emphatically replied, "By keeping his promises," and after this remark withdrew. The emperor then consulted his councillors present as to the expediency of investing the duke with the insignia and title of royalty, either as king of the Romans or of Burgundy. They immediately started numerous objections. Louis in a similar case would have taken care to gain them, whereas Charles had merely indisposed them by his splendour and his pride. They represented that the duke, who had all his life conspired with the French princes against his king, would as king, be likely to pursue the same conduct with regard to the emperor; and Frederic was so much alarmed and dissuaded, that he refused to grant kingdom or imperial vicarate, till the marriage was solemnised between Mary and his son Maximilian.* Although Charles had the greatest objection to give himself a son-in-law, observing that "he would rather turn Capuchin himself;" still at such a moment he could scarcely have persisted in refusing, if he had not feared to be duped and to be denied the crown when he had parted with his daughter. In fact duke and emperor both suspected each other. And suddenly Frederic took his departure from Treves for Cologne, notifying to Charles that he could not confer even the crown of Burgundy without consulting the electors of his empire.

The king had taken advantage of his truce with

* Meyer and Lettenhove, tom. v. p. 187.

Burgundy to send troops to the south. He was determined to put an end to the eternal treason of Count Armagnac, whom he had so often pardoned. The Sire de Beaujeu of the house of Bourbon, to whom Louis soon after gave his daughter Anne in marriage, was his governor of Guyenne. Armagnac had enticed him to a conference, arrested, and imprisoned him. Louis sent against him the cardinal of Albi, who showed the purpose for which he was selected, when after the surrender of Armagnac, on condition that his life should be safe, he sent a ruffian to poniard that noble, whilst still holding the act of surety in his hand*, and brought off the countess, then pregnant, as a prisoner, merely to compel her to swallow poison, and thus prevent an heir being born to the house of Armagnac. Amongst the cruelties recorded of Louis the Eleventh and his government, none are more horrible than this.

The king's army then marched to dispute possession of Rousillon with the King of Aragon, who had invaded it. Ever since he had acquired this principality, indeed, Louis was compelled to keep an army to defend it, or else a garrison to hold its principal towns. Such far conquest was beyond his power to preserve, especially as he never ventured battle or achieved victory. The son of the king of Aragon, the future Ferdinand the Catholic, at this time marched into Roussillon at the head of an army, which the French generals did not care to face. Final advantage, however, remained to neither side, a treaty being concluded, by which Louis promised to evacuate the province upon the payment of the sums which he had advanced.

The Duke of Burgundy in the meantime pursued his career. The means which he had been compelled to take in his last war with Louis, the establishment of a

* Lenglet's Comines, Preuves.

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regular corps of gens d'armes, and that of an annual tax raised on the Flemish and other towns to support them, had given a powerful impulse to his ambition. Previous to that epoch, relying more upon his feudal soldiers, his ban and rear-ban, warlike expeditions were slow to muster and almost idle to threaten. But now the Duke of Burgundy had but to conceive a caprice, to feel the greed of having this town or that province, and he had an army ready to obey and accomplish his will. Basin exclaims against this new invention of standing armies, as utterly destructive of the liberties of all countries. Comines merely sees in the novelty the danger of foolish princes being intrusted with so terrible an instrument, which lordly ambition provokes them to use, and to use to their own downfall.*

Whilst fortune, and the progress of sovereign power, endowed Duke Charles with this new sword and sceptre combined of a permanent army, his ambition raised up before him obstacles and enemies still more formidable. He had completely overcome and broken the resistance of the great towns and civic classes in his hereditary dominions. He had humbled Ghent, made Bruges his servitor, burned Liege and Dinant; but his acquisitions around Basle, in the landgravate of Alsace, and in Suabia placed him in contact not merely with town populations accustomed to self-government, but with peasant communities, which had conquered, and knew how to keep their independence with the sword. The Duke of Burgundy understood nothing of all this. He was as ignorant as reckless of the nature as well as of the rights of the people, over whom he obtained authority and pretensions. An account of the Rhenish and Suabian towns and town populations, their struggles

* Et croy bien que les gens d'armes de soulde sont bien employés soubz l'autorité d'ung saige roy ou prince; mais quand il est aultre, on qu'il laisse enfans petiz, l'usaige a quoy les employent leurs gouverneurs, n'est pas toujours profitable, ni pour le roy, ni pour ses subjets.—*Comines*, liv. 3. c. 3.

and associations against the landed aristocracy, and of the landed nobles against them, the policy with which they by turns invoked or resisted the authority of the emperor, would form an interesting narrative, beyond the scope, however, of this history. Suffice it to observe, that Charles the Rash, triumphant over the wealthy and populous towns of Flanders and the Low Countries, found himself, as he advanced his dominions to the Rhine, amidst a hive of free cities, far less populous and rich than those of Flanders, but accustomed to league for their own defence, and protect themselves by a federal bond.

To deal with such communities, either as ally or as ruler, required knowledge, skill, and temper. Charles had none. He chose the rudest and most intemperate of his followers to be *landvogt*, or governor of the country, and Hagenbach, such was his name, true to the principles of the Burgundian court, levied new taxes *, seized travellers for ransom, insulted towns, and threatened to disarm them. Those injured, whether Swiss, Suabian, or Alsatian, began by remonstrating with the puissant and chivalrous Duke of Burgundy. He who had nothing but words of vituperation for his fellow-countrymen of Ghent, was much more rude to the Germans. After his failure of obtaining royalty at Treves, he journeyed through those countries, in the worst of humours with himself and with the old subjects of the emperor. He took the part of his governor in all things, and treated his new subjects as enemies or as slaves.

The "universal spider," as Chatelain called Louis the Eleventh, could not remain indifferent to the vagaries of his arch foe. The opportunity was too favourable for weaving a net to entrap and embarrass him. And French agents were already in Switzerland

* Especially the tax laid upon drinks, most odious to the Germans. See Basin.

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and on the Rhine, prompting resistance. Through their endeavours there was soon an alliance formed against the Duke of Burgundy, between the League and city of Berne, the great and little League of Germany; in other words, between the Swiss, the towns of Alsace, and of Suabia: but "the great work," says Comines, the master-piece of the king's policy, "was to bring about an alliance between Duke Sigismund of Austria and the Swiss, who had been enemies for so long a time; nor is there any telling what great expenses and voyages it necessitated." The Margrave of Baden and the bishop of Bale joined also. Charles had provoked the national pride of the Germans. Strasburg supplied the Duke of Austria with the money to pay back the Burgundian the original sum which he had advanced.* But Charles refused to take it, and ordered Hagenbach to resist. The latter, feeling that the Brisgau was most menaced, placed a garrison of 600 men in Brisach, in order to defy resistance. But the citizens of that and other towns, aided by the Austrians, succeeded in overpowering Hagenbach and making him prisoner. After a trial, in which his manifold crimes were proved, he was handed over to the executioner and beheaded. (May, 1474.)

Whilst Louis was thus exciting Swiss and Austrian against Burgundy, Charles was inciting Edward of England to take vengeance on the great enemy of his country and of the House of York by an invasion of France. Comines hints that English monarchs were ever ready to entertain such a project, as the best and only way of obtaining *aide* from their parliament. But the equipment of a force for over-sea expeditions, now that large and regular armies were brought into the field, required time and preparation, and the

* Louis gave Sigismund of Austria a yearly pension of 10,000 francs, and bribed the king of the Romans to invade Luxembourg. See Monumenta Habsburgica.

English were not ready in 1474. The Duke of Burgundy had thus ample time for a campaign in Alsace, to avenge the death of his lieutenant. But he had already become absorbed in a new scheme and a new quarrel. The Archbishop of Cologne, brother of the Elector Palatine, had been expelled from his capital, whither the Emperor had proceeded, and summoned the prelate to return and abide his decision. The archbishop preferred having recourse to Duke Charles, who, without hesitation, proffered to replace him in his archiepiscopal chair of Cologne. The duke by the act became Protector of the See and the Electorate. A similar species of authority had enabled him to become complete master of Liege. A prince of Hesse, Herman, appointed administrator of Cologne instead of the archbishop, was at Neutz. Charles marched without delay to besiege this place and conclude the war by the capture of Herman. Neutz, too, on the left bank of the Rhine, nearly opposite Dusseldorf, joined well with the duke's possession of Cleves and Liege, and would have been an important acquisition.

The siege of Neutz, which lasted well nigh a twelvemonth, is described at length by Molinet, the successor of Chatelain in the post of historiographer of the Duke of Burgundy. Charles placed his standard before its walls at the close of July 1474, with an army said to have numbered 60,000 men. And in that position he remained until June of the following year. For the first time since Bovines it had been a struggle of race, a rivalry which Charles, especially as he wished to become a German prince, should have avoided, but which his indomitable temper and rudeness provoked. Not only did a valiant band of German knights defy him from behind the walls of Neutz, but all classes, citizens and noble, from beyond the Rhine, whilst they could not agree in the raising of an army against the Turks, readily mustered for the near and facile enter-

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prise of driving the Burgundian out of their country. The Swiss, too, joined in this league against Charles; King Louis coming forward as pay-master, and promising them a yearly gratuity of 20,000 florins of the Rhine with four and a half florins a month for every soldier that marched against Burgundy. Thus incited, the Swiss soon drove the garrisons and troops of Charles from the towns which they still held in Alsace.

When the spring of 1475 found Charles still encamped before Neutz, the most important duties called for his presence westward. Edward the Fourth, at his solicitation, had passed the straits of Calais with the most formidable army that English rivalry had yet poured into France. A fresh treaty had been concluded between the English monarch and the Burgundian duke, to share the north of France between them.* Whilst Louis, at the expiration of the truce in May, had sent forward his army, captured Montdidier, and advanced to Arras.

The emperor Frederic at the head of a large army, was in the vicinity of Neutz. On the 23rd of May he approached it with the intention of offering battle and raising the siege. Duke Charles brought his forces from their intrenchments to meet the Germans, placing the pikemen of his regular army and the English archers in the front. The engagement was commenced by the artillery on both sides, the Burgundian having the advantage, and destroying the camp of the enemy. The duke then ordered a general advance, the English, after their manner, kissing the earth, and rushing on to the cry of St. George, Burgundy.† But all the battles of the Duke of Burgundy seem to have been fought without skill or purpose, owing to the utter want of generalship or military science in their leader, so that after a general melée, and an alternation of charge and

* See Rymer, anno 1474. † Molinet.

retreat, neither side was defeated, and both claimed the victory. Thus was it at present, and the sovereigns seeing the result of war so idle, met to agree on terms of peace. The disputed question of Cologne was referred to the decision of the Pope, and Neutz given into the hands of his legate. Thus without gain of any kind, and with the dilapidation of his army, Charles withdrew the eleventh month from the siege of Neutz.

In the month of June, King Edward brought his army across the straits of Dover, the civil war had left the naval strength of England so weakened and neglected, that there were none but small boats, chiefly Dutch, to be had. And they took three weeks to transport 1500 men at arms, and 14,000 archers. The Duke of Burgundy recommended Edward to land at Havre, or La Hogue*, but means of transport were wanting. Charles left his shattered army in Luxemburg and Liege, when he came to Calais to greet Edward, and excused his coming without forces, by pleading that the country could not feed two armies. As the towns of Ponthieu and the Somme always protested even against a Burgundian garrison, Charles could not subject them to the duty of receiving and feeding the English, who were accordingly obliged to live under tents on their advance from Calais. But they hoped for plentiful and good reception at St. Quentin, which was held by the constable St. Pol, one of those who in concert with Burgundy had invited the English, and who, moreover, was a near relative of their queen. What was Edward's surprise when his van was received with cannon-shot from the town. St. Pol, although he had invited the English, and provoked war between Burgundy and France, feared alike to provoke Louis by an overt act of treason, or to place himself in the power of Edward. The latter was thus

* See note to Mlle. Dupont's edition of Comines.

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compelled to encamp and forage for provisions, instead of being supplied with them, the task being rendered more difficult by the vicinity of a French army on the other side of the Somme.* There was nothing to be heard in the English camp but murmurs against the bad faith of the Burgundians and the treachery of St. Pol. The old hatred of the French, which had been kindled by the wars of Henry and of Charles, had died away; Edward the Fourth was more a lover of good cheer and pleasure, than like Henry the Fifth, a stern worshipper of glory and of duty. King Louis knew how to take advantage of his weakness. A herald, sent from the English camp to defy him, was received with courtesy and loaded with presents, as well as with arguments against the expediency of the war, and the trustworthiness of Burgundy. The herald, in return, named two lords of Edward's court, who were favourable to peace. Louis was thus induced to send a herald also. And overtures made to the English king in the midst of his abandonment by Charles of Burgundy, found both him, his nobles and his captains, most ready to listen to them. They resulted in a personal interview between the sovereigns at Picquigny, and in the conclusion of a truce for seven years between them, Edward agreeing to evacuate France on the payment of 75,000 crowns, Louis engaging to pay Edward an annual sum of 50,000 crowns and to conclude a marriage between his son Charles and Elizabeth, daughter of the English king. (August 29th, 1475.)

Thus did Charles the Rash fling away all the advantages which he had sedulously prepared, and promised to himself by his marriage and by years of negotiations. A most formidable English army had actually marched into France at his bidding, its native valour

* Basin.

heightened by the numerous conflicts and campaigns of civil war, whilst the French had lost the habit of serious engagements. To have impelled Edward and his army upon Louis, required in Charles but common care, attention, and policy. He was lavish of these on many lesser occasions, for he did not want activity or intelligence, but he always used them at the wrong time and in the wrong place. He came to reproach Edward, and reminded him how different had been the conduct of Henry the Fifth. He declared that he had brought the English to France solely that they might recover their lost provinces, for he, the Duke of Burgundy, did not need their aid.*

Very different were the conduct and language of Louis. In the interviews which he had with the English king, and with his nobles, whom he entertained most sumptuously at Amiens, the monarch took peculiar pains not to wound the pride or rouse the susceptibilities of the English. He supplied them largely with wine, provisions, and luxuries; and was well aware that the abandonment of hostilities by the English king, in return for money payment, accompanied by such blandishments as these, must expose Edward as well as himself to no little ridicule. The English also were, as Comines attests, much more irascible and susceptible than the French, and had need of being spoken fair. An ill-timed jest might have acted like a spark amidst combustibles, and rekindled the flame of war. But Louis had full command of himself and of his followers, and even took care to soften the most testy of Edward's own followers by well-timed generosity. There was, no doubt, great meanness in those stealthy and pusillanimous precautions. But by such was

* Yet as Louis had forbidden the jays and pies to cry "Peronne," Charles now forbade the Flemings even to talk of the departure of the English. — *Lettenhove*, vol. v. p. 199.

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warded off and neutralised the last serious attempt of the English to crush France by an invading army.

Great as may have been the profit of King Louis in thus dissolving a powerful and hostile confederacy, the public feeling was manifestly that of contempt for the three belligerents; for the English king, who bartered glory for pipes of wine and sacks of silver; for the French king who preferred paying to fighting; and for the Duke of Burgundy, who committed even a baser act than his brother sovereigns. A noble from Charles's court, having come on a mission to Louis, the king placed him behind a screen, whilst he received an envoy from the constable St. Pol. This person indulged in ridicule both of the Duke of Burgundy and the king of England, and clearly represented the constable as anxious to deceive and to betray both.

St. Pol had indeed drawn down upon himself the hatred of the three potentates, by the dangerous policy of endeavouring to play one against the other. Edward revenged himself by forwarding to Louis St. Pol's letter to him, which teemed with machinations against the French king. All Louis desired was to have the arch-traitor in his power. And when the truce came to be concluded between him and Charles, the ruin of St. Pol was one of its conditions. The constable foresaw that he was to be the victim, and in order to disarm him whom he deemed the most chivalrous and generous of his foes, he flung himself on Duke Charles, having, however, first obtained from him a safe conduct. The offers which Louis made for his intended victim were great. He not only proffered the Duke the possession of St. Quentin, Ham, and Bohain, but also to allow him full scope and liberty to be avenged on the young Duke of Lorraine, who, during the siege of Neutz, had turned against Charles. This vengeance with the conquest of Lorraine chiefly occupied the Duke of Burgundy; and in order to be allowed to pursue it without distraction

he gave up St. Pol, notwithstanding his safe conduct, to Louis.*

The constable was immediately brought to Paris, and placed on his trial before the parlement. Aware how forgiving the king had often been, and relying upon his marriage with the queen's sister, who however had been some time dead, St. Pol, dreading also, perhaps, the torture, confessed the crimes and treason laid to his charge. But the pardon which he looked for as the result of such humiliation, came not. On the contrary, immediately after his sentence was read to him he was informed that it would be carried into effect; St. Pol uttered an exclamation of surprise, and asked to receive the communion, but this being also denied him, he was conducted to the Place de Grêve, and beheaded. Louis had previously executed Charles of Melun, and no doubt caused the Count of Armagnac to be summarily despatched. But the trial of his own brother-in-law for treason and his immediate execution, showed the monareh's determination no longer to trifle with those who plotted against or disowned his sovereign authority.

The remaining months of 1475 were employed by Duke Charles in the reduction of Nancy and the other places of Lorraine. During the campaign he captured numbers of Swiss, whom he ordered with the rest of the prisoners to be hanged. The ungovernable pride of the duke rendered him a monster of inhumanity. He thought nothing of human life; and since the massacres of Dinant and of Liege, he judged all who dared to resist him worthy of death. Notwithstanding the terror accompanying the name of a prince who spared no foe, the Swiss did not shrink from adding to the great provocations which they had given him in

* M. De Lettenhove attributes the surrender of St. Pol, not to Charles, but to Humbercourt and Higonnet. See his *History*, tom. v. p. 202.

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conquering Alsace; they now drove his ally, the Count de Romont, from the Pays de Vaud.

The subjugation of the Swiss became indeed a necessity, not only to the vengeance, but to the new policy and aim of the duke. His ambition was no longer limited to the monarchy of the countries included by the Rhine. He extended his views to Provence, which he hoped to induce the good King René, the last of the race of Anjou, to bequeath to him. Charles would have been thus sovereign not merely of the ancient Austrasia, but of Lotharingia, that belt of territory which extended from Aix to the Mediterranean, and which had been the portion of the most important and imperial of the Carlovingian princes.

To crush the Swiss seemed to him an aim of small emprise. They always took the field, never shrunk behind wall or intrenchment, and yet numbered scarcely a dozen horse in their armies. They were also unprovided with artillery, which began to be the most potent instrument of war; nor could they have been of that overwhelming size and strength, which has been vaunted by some historians, when Machiavel declares them to be *small* and ill-formed compared with the tall and handsome Germans.* But whatever was the stature or equipment of the Swiss, Charles the Rash was not the prince to organise a really formidable or effective army. He mistrusted his own subjects, and more than half of his armies were composed of foreign soldiers, mostly Italians. He mistrusted the officers, too, even more than Louis, changing the commanders of his ordinary or regular regiments every month.† Thus whilst the Swiss fought as one man, the Burgundians, when routed, never rallied.

Charles led upwards of 20,000 of such troops over the Jura in February, 1476, where he was joined by

* Machiavelli, Ritratti Dell' Alemagna. † Molinet.

reinforcements from Savoy and from Italy. He came in great pomp of tent and robe and jewelry, having, an eye, says Comines, to descend on Milan, and receive in state the embassies of the Italian princes. The Swiss evacuated the Pays de Vaud, and offered not only submission, but the aid of six thousand of their soldiers against Louis. Moreover they represented the poverty of the country, its whole wealth not equalling in value the spurs of the Burgundian knights. Charles rejected all such offers, being determined to crush the peasant race which had slain his governor, and even disputed with him the possession of Alsace and Lorraine.

From Orbe, where Charles had collected his army on descending from the Jura, he could behold not only the Alps of Berne and Friburg, from whence his enemies were to descend, but the breadth of the Lake of Neufchâtel. On its western bank he could descry the small town and castle of Granson, which the Swiss, having expelled its lord, occupied with some eight hundred men. Charles vowed he would "hang the villains"* before he proceeded further. He immediately invested Granson, battered down its walls, and brought an immense bombard, called the *Bergère*, to bear upon the castle, to which the garrison had withdrawn. They surrrendered† and Charles forthwith strung every one of them unmercifully to the trees around, and to the battlements of Granson.

In a few days, the confederates of the cantons, mustering at Neufchâtel in numbers scarcely inferior to the Burgundians, marched to avenge their countrymen, some advancing by the shores of the lake, others making a circuit by the hills. The Duke took post to the north of Granson, on a height and with a rivulet before him. But his impatience would not allow him to await

* Chronique du chapitre de Neufchâtel.

† In terror of the bombard, according to Molinet: on the promise of their lives being safe, says the Neufchâtel Chronicle.

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his foe, and when on the second of March the first body of the Swiss appeared advancing along the shore of the lake, he abandoned all the advantages of his artillery and position, and marched to meet them. The Swiss knelt for a moment to utter a prayer, making the duke believe they were about to yield. But as he pressed on the more eagerly, they rose, and an encounter took place in which, the Swiss pikes being double the length of those of the Burgundian, the former had all the advantage. The duke's cavalry sought to make up by an impetuous charge for the inferiority under which the foot laboured, but the phalanx of Swiss pikemen were impenetrable. The duke then ordered his men to retire to the more open space they had left, but in so doing they not only fell into disorder, but caused a panic in the second line. The corps of the mountaineers of Uri and Unterwalden pouring down at the same time from the hills with their shouts and horns, added to the consternation. And the universal rout of the Burgundians bore the duke along with it for very many leagues. There was, however, more fright and flight than loss, not more than seven hundred of the duke's army falling, though amongst them were many of his nobles. But the booty was of the richest; the duke's tent made of velvet, so marvellous for its tapestry and ornaments, his jewelled cap and sword, his robes of state, his chapel, his collar of the Golden Fleece, all became prizes. The embryo monarchy of Burgundy, though not yet born, and not yet provided with a fixed abode, still surpassed in magnificence and wealth that of either the French king or the German emperor.

Louis had come to Lyons to be near the theatre of events. The Houses of Anjou, of Savoy, of Milan, were all in the duke's interest. If he won a victory and thus gained the alliance or submission of the Swiss and the German emperor, there was peril for the French monarchy. Granson, therefore, proved a victory for

the French king, to whom the duke wrote humbly begging him to observe the truce, and he at the same time offered to the emperor to solemnise in November the marriage between Maximilian and his daughter. The duke of Milan, who had left Louis's alliance for that of Burgundy, now reversed his policy. So did the princes of Anjou and Savoy. Charles's was felt to be a sinking cause, and fair-weather friends already deserted it. The king replied graciously to all these overtures, and if he was bland to foes he was generous to friends. He promised the Swiss double their annual pension, and to pay their leading men and cantons, foreseeing another battle after no length of time, and encouraging the victors to perseverance.*

Charles had retired to Lausanne, where the Duchess of Savoy and her son the young duke, came to comfort him, which, however, did not prevent the former from seeking a reconciliation with her brother, King Louis. The defeated prince fell at first into a state of complete despondency, allowed his beard to grow, and was with difficulty restored to health and vigour by his physicians. He then exerted himself to collect forces, and soon mustered an army of recruits from the Low Countries, and auxiliaries from Italy and from England. The 113 cannons, which he had lost at Granson, he replaced by the melting of the church bells. In three months from his first defeat, Charles marched once more against the Swiss, and besieged a body of them in Morat, a town on a marshy lake of the same name, and about at an equal distance from Berne and Fribourg. The duke was thus once more in the very midst of his enemies, and spent the early days of June in bombarding and assaulting Morat, the garrison of which held firm, knowing the confederation would march in good time for their rescue.

* Monumenta Habsburgica. The letter is dated May 6th.

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On the 22nd of June they appeared in numbers exceeding 30,000 foot, one third bearing fire-arms, and the very morning of the battle, René of Lorraine, whom Philip had deprived of his duchy, arrived to combat his despoiler with a body of horse. The duke, according to Comines, had 23,000 men in his pay, besides those who served his artillery. He on this occasion avoided the presumptuous mistake of Granson, and kept his position, with his artillery intrenched, so that the Swiss in approaching to the attack, had to encounter the fire of his guns, the resistance of his pikemen drawn up, as well as the charge of his mailed cavalry. Without generalship the Swiss would have lost the day. But two of their corps turned the Burgundian main body, the one entering the camp behind it, and creating confusion, whilst the other assailed the intrenchments which protected the guns, and pointed them against the duke's army. The battle thus became a total rout, and the fugitives having no way of escape save towards the lake and marshes, almost all perished. The Swiss had sufficient horse to pursue and destroy those who fled by the plain. Though Granson afforded richer booty, the battle of Morat was destruction as well as defeat. 8,000 Burgundians perished on the field, and many in the pursuit; their bones collected in a monumental *ossuaire* attested, until the close of the last century, when the French destroyed it, the terrible victory of the Swiss. Charles's tent and personal spoil was given, as well as his artillery, to René.

The duke did not fly as before to the Lake of Geneva; it was no longer with the resources of Savoy or Milan that he could face the Swiss. He rested the night of the battle at La Rivière, near Pontarlier. And here he remained in despondency and solitude for six weeks. He was unable to realise his disaster, or reconcile it to his pride. The Duchess of Savoy came once more with

her sons to console him. The duke repaid her kindness by carrying all of them off by force, so mistrustful was he, even of his few remaining friends. The eldest of the princes, however, managed to escape, and the French king contrived to rescue his sister, the Duchess of Savoy, from her durance. "Welcome Madame the Burgundian," exclaimed Louis when he saw her. His treatment of her was kind; he knew that she and Savoy could henceforth be in no interest save his own. CHAP. XVII.

The duke was roughly summoned from his inaction, for René had lost no time, after the defeat of Morat, to reappear in Lorraine, and recover a great many places. He had no great force, but the absence of the duke discouraged his partisans, of whom no chief or noble appeared to defend the power of Charles, save one of his English captains. When he was killed by a cannon shot, the Burgundians were without a leader; and when Charles did return to Lorraine, to place himself at the head of such troops as he could collect, Nancy, the capital, had surrendered to René a few days before. Fatality, indeed, did seem to pursue the rash prince. Comines, the most sagacious historian of the epoch, depicts him as one whom Providence had deprived of all judgment, in order to his destruction. The gates of Nancy being closed against him, Charles, with his hastily gathered, ill-disciplined, and dispirited army, sat down before it, bent on the recapture. This town was to have been the capital of his meditated kingdom, for which indeed its central position well fitted it. Its supply of provisions was so scant, that it could not hold out long; nor had René of Lorraine any army with which he could compete with Charles on the field. He therefore hied once more to his allies the Swiss, who, contented with their triumph, showed little eagerness to pursue the foe: besides it was mid-winter, and a season of ex-

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treme rigour. King Louis, however, would not desert so useful a friend. He sent 40,000 francs to pay the Swiss; and René, who had previously gone as a suppliant through the Swiss towns in vain, accompanied by a tame bear as his only escort, now found so many volunteers ready to accept the king's gold, that he soon marched with 12,000 Swiss pikemen, to the relief of the siege of Nancy.*

Philip de Comines lays great stress upon the treachery of the Count of Campobasso, an Italian noble in Charles's service, and enters into long details respecting it. But there was no need of additional agency in accomplishing the disaster which ensued. The duke's force before Nancy was quite inadequate to resist that which René brought from Switzerland. Comines said he had but 4000 men; De la Marche declares there were not 2000. Charles was therefore besought to withdraw, and allow the Swiss to revictual Nancy. As they came but for pay, they would have soon withdrawn; and the duke had ample funds and resources to renew the war in spring. But the duke would not stir from his position before Nancy, where many of his men were afterwards found, seated on stones, with their feet frozen in the mud. As the Swiss advanced, Campobasso offered himself to aid them, but they replied, they would have no traitors in their camp. The Prince of Tarento also took leave of Charles, to avoid taking part in a battle that must prove a defeat. The Count de Chimay, who remonstrated with the duke, was bidden to conduct himself as became one of the House of Croy.

On Sunday the 5th of January, 1477, the Swiss advanced from St. Nicholas in two bands. The duke marshalled forth his few men behind a stream. They seemed like a "forlorn hope," an insignificant patch upon

* Dom Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine.*

the snow-covered plain. Charles received their onset with a discharge of his guns. But the two divisions of his foes advancing on either side of the cannon, and avoiding their fire, fell upon the flank of their enemies, discharging their *couleuvrines*, and the Burgundians fled, almost without awaiting the attack. Charles himself, on hearing the horn of Uri once more, is said to have turned pale. He did not fly, however, but fell amongst the foremost.*

He who had butchered so many poor soldiers opposed to him in cold blood, was condemned to lead his own subjects and mercenaries to slaughter. The Lorraine peasants were as vindictive in slaying the flying Burgundians as the Swiss. The pursuit and the massacre lasted till far into the night, Monday displaying the snow of the plain strewed with thousands of dead, stripped in an instant then, as in more recent times, by the active hands of marauders. What had become of Duke Charles none could tell. But Campobasso who had come to exult in the defeat of his late master, observed that a certain Roman page of the duke's, named Colonna, was sure to have stayed with his master to the last, and to know what had become of him. The page admitted having seen the duke stricken from horseback, and slain. It was only on the Tuesday he could point out the place, which was in the waters of the rivulet, where some score of naked bodies were found, and one recognised by divers marks as that of the duke, although a halberd, which had split his skull to the teeth, rendered it impossible to identify his features.

Thus perished, on the very eve of acquiring the kingly dignity, a prince and a race which could never comprehend the peculiar advantages and duties of their position, as lords of a great industrial country. Consulting merely their feudal pride and traditions, in

* René's own account of the battle is to be found in Lenglet's Comines, Preuves, tom. iii. p. 491.

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their relations with a people independent from their productiveness and froward from intelligence, they were continually bringing their princely power into collision with civic freedom, triumphing in appearance, but in reality so indisposing the Flemish communities, that neither men nor money were to be had from them; and as in the case of Liège and Dinant, utterly destroying and treading out a mine of wealth and hardihood, which must have rendered any prince victorious that knew how to use them. Charles's policy was that of the Italian tyrants, who mulcted their cities to pay their mercenary troops; but wanting Italian caution in the employ of those armies, which he knew not how either to inspirit or to lead. The Duke of Burgundy fell a victim to the rashness which his power inspired. And never had there been a prince's fate less worthy of commiseration. For none even in that iron age had been more lavish of human life, and more a foe to human liberty than he. Far from being, as some have depicted him, the last representative of chivalry, Charles had but its spirit, its pride, and its contempt of inferiors, without any of the generous qualities and sentiments enjoined in order to soften and humanise the rudeness of the knight.

To the demerits of the man, and the incapacity of the prince, was added in Charles the precarious and untenable nature of his position, at least from the moment that, disdaining to be a vassal, he aspired to become an independent sovereign. His territories extended along the confines of two great empires, the French and the German, partaking of the nature, tongue, interest, and allegiance of both, and thence failing to command the complete adherence of his vassals in his attacks on either side. One cause of his unaccountable weakness in crushing Louis on several occasions, was no doubt that the nobles of Burgundy, of Haynault, or of the Vermandois, but

faintly seconded him in what they considered unrighteous and unnatural; whilst Flemings and Lorrainers neither comprehended nor seconded the expedition against the Germans at Neutz, or the Swiss in the Pays de Vaud. The kingdom in fact, or the country which the Duke of Burgundy sought to create in a semicircle round France from the Scheldt to the Alps, had not the elements of cohesion, or existence, or force. And his scheme perished more from geographical obstacles, than from either the rashness of Charles, or the cunning of Louis. France was a growing country, it contained the natural and irresistible centre of attraction for all countries within the circuit of its tongue. Burgundy was but a name. When its last prince fell on the field of Nancy, there was no link to bind its provinces together; and those that fell to Louis, were less the acquisition of his policy or his vigour, than natural windfalls which dropped of themselves into his lap.

The age indeed was one in which men are universally contemptible, and where events occur and revolutions take place almost independent of them. This will at once be admitted, as far as the power and influence of Charles the Rash might extend. But it is equally true of Louis, notwithstanding the extravagant panegyrics on his sagacity, and the imagination spent upon magnifying him into a hero of the school of Machiavel.

The French king was at first informed merely of the defeat of Charles, not of his death. His determination was to give his troops orders to enter Burgundy as well as the towns of Picardy, being ready with protestations that he merely sought to protect those provinces from anarchy. He was soon aware of the duke's death*, and of course pursued more boldly his first resolution. There were two modes of conduct sufficiently obvious;

* Louis, says Comines, who had established post-conveyance in his dominions, was soon informed.

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one was to proceed by violence and grasp at the whole succession; the other, to come forward and demand the hand of Mary of Burgundy, the sole heiress of Charles, for the dauphin. This prince was certainly but eight years of age, whilst Mary was twenty. Still there were other French princes, the Duke d'Angoulême for example, to whom she might have been betrothed. A marriage between Mary and a French prince could alone have secured what was of most moment to the French monarchy, its extension to the Scheldt if not to the Rhine. This great consummation Louis lost by his impolicy, his meanness, bad faith, and over-cunning. He demanded Mary's hand for the dauphin, but at the same time proceeded to grasp her heritage by the sword, reckless of how far he indisposed and affronted both the princess and those of her subjects, who had a will and sentiments of their own, with the energy to act upon them, and to repudiate that sovereign who came forward as a deceitful and rapacious tyrant.

Louis's first care was to send large promises to the Prince of Orange, the first noble of Burgundy, and at the same time strict directions to the Sire de Craon, the commander of his troops in Champagne, to enter the duchy. The Prince of Orange had claims upon Franche Comté, called the county of Burgundy; Louis promised him the principal places of that province, as well as the governorship of Burgundy itself. The prince, therefore, preceded Craon and his troops at Dijon, and procured the peaceable submission of the entire duchy, and its estates to the king. But when Craon had arrived and occupied the fortresses, the Prince of Orange was set aside, and his services ignored.*

* To Craon and his other generals Louis was so generous that he left them half the money they found, desiring to spend the rest in repairing the fortresses on the German frontier. He also gave them all the wine in the duke's cellars. See Louis's letter in Duclos, Hist. de Louis XI.

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To the north Louis sent Philip de Comines, the historian, with the bastard of Bourbon, to receive or provoke the submission of as many towns belonging to the late Duke of Burgundy, as could be accomplished. Abbeville admitted the king's troops without hesitation. Not so Arras, the capital of Artois; although the people of the province had no troops or means of resistance, they still declined to receive a French garrison. The towns of the Somme, however, such as Ham, St. Quentin, and Peronne, surrendered almost immediately. The king was elated by his success, by the number of adhesions which poured in upon him, and by the trifling resistance which he foresaw. Edenfort, one of his gentlemen of the chamber, had promised to persuade St. Omer to surrender; and Olivier le Daim *, his barber, who was a Fleming, made sure of inducing Ghent to throw off its allegiance to Mary, and accept Louis as sovereign. In this his hour of confidence and success, Louis despised the cautious council of Comines, who advised him not to employ either violence or intrigue with the Flemings, but to obtain the young duchess in marriage, and thus accomplish the object of his ambition. This now seemed idle precaution to the king, who dismissed Comines on some errand to the south, and proceeded north himself to appropriate the possessions of the late duke by all and every means.

The king, indeed, had ample reason for reckoning upon small resistance. Flanders alone was able to support the rights of Charles's heiress; but since the duke's death the towns of Flanders had risen into tumults of hatred to his memory, and subversion to his acts. They refused to pay the taxes, obey the magistrates or submit to the laws which he had imposed.

* He was usually known as Olivier le Mauvais; but in January 1474, Louis changed the sobriquet, by ordonnance, to the name of Olivier le Daim, making him governor of Loches. Lenglet's Comines, Preuves.

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Mary could offer no resistance to such a movement. On the contrary, she acceded to every popular claim, and on the 11th of February gave her solemn sanction at Ghent, to a new charter, abrogating all that had been imposed after the victory of Gavre, and restoring their ancient rights and privileges to the Flemish towns. A superior council was appointed of twenty-two members, four for Flanders, four for Brabant, four for Holland and Zealand, two for Picardy and Artois, two for Haynault and Luxemburg, two for Limburg and the country beyond the Meuse, two for Burgundy, one for Namur, and one for Franche Comté. The country declared itself neutral for purposes of trade, all foreign merchants, even those of countries at war with Flanders being permitted to circulate and reside.* At the solemn ceremony, in which Mary sanctioned these new liberties of the Flemings, the extremity of the rope attached to the great bell of St. John's, was placed in her hand, wreathed round and concealed by roses. She was to pull this immediately upon taking the oath. The girl's hand could give such a feeble impulse to the great bell, that it struck but five scarcely audible sounds, when superstition immediately assigned but five years' weak reign to Mary.

Whilst Louis was at Peronne endeavouring to obtain entrance for his troops into Arras, a numerous embassy, appointed by Mary in concert with the States, came to request the king to suspend hostilities. As the young duchess and her intimate councillors had few hopes of such an embassy obtaining, without conditions, these imperative demands, she entrusted Higonnet and Humbercourt, two of the envoys, with a confidential letter for Louis, acquainting him that she acted by the advice of her council, consisting of her mother, of Ravestein,

* Kerwin de Lettenhove, fifth volume, gives a full account of the proceedings of the *estates*, based on the archives of the Flemish towns.

and of the two envoys. Louis was besought to pay more attention to what they said, than what the public embassy, sent to represent the wishes of the Estates, should demand. Louis replied to these overtures by demanding Arras and Boulogne, as well as the guard and tutelage of the Duchess Mary, until the dauphin was of age to espouse her. Higonnet and Humbercourt were already in the king's interests, and had been so even during the lifetime of the late Duke Charles *; and the king had made an equally important acquisition in Crèvecœur, Sire de Querdes, who was military commander in Arras. As all these were prepared to transfer their allegiance to the French king, Crèvecœur, upon an order signed by the two envoys, admitted the French troops into what was called the city of Arras, the town itself still holding out. Hesdin and Boulogne fell into his power almost simultaneously, but St. Omer refused to yield. Louis was so overjoyed at obtaining possession of Boulogne, that he solemnly made it over to the Virgin Mary, of whom the French monarch was henceforth to hold it *en fief*.

The council and estates of Ghent, seeing the French king determined to prosecute hostilities, sent another embassy to remonstrate with him, composed not of great lords or courtiers, but of men in their confidence. These represented to the king the iniquity of subjugating the country by arms, when the duchess and the estates were both willing to agree to her marriage with the dauphin. In order to understand the nature and the motives of the king's reply, it is necessary to explain that the policy of Louis was to deprive Mary, if possible, of the support of the people of Ghent and other Flemish towns, the only friends indeed, upon whose staunchness and fidelity the heiress of Burgundy could rely. Notwithstanding all the chivalrous pretensions

* In 1471; see Louis the Eleventh's letter in Duclos.

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of Charles's court, its nobles, even the knights of the Golden Fleece, all deserted one by one the cause of Mary, the only persons remaining true to her being the burghers of Flanders. The honour of the gentleman had completely passed into the hearts of the burgess class.

Louis, who had been successful in purchasing and pensioning the nobles of Burgundy and England*, despatched Olivier le Daim, to pursue the same intrigues with the citizens of Ghent. Olivier was unable to do his errand in secret. He was discovered, summoned to declare his mission, and introduced to an audience of the duchess surrounded by her officers; he declared that his message was for her ear alone, and could only be declared in a private interview. The presumption of the barber, who, though styling himself Count de Meulan, realised in garb and demeanour his original state, raised the derision of the Flemish court, whilst the people, being applied to in secret, refused to listen to the king's emissary. Olivier, therefore, was obliged to fly secretly and precipitately to Tournay.

The king nevertheless continued bent on pursuing the tortuous path which Comines deprecated. And the second embassy from the Flemings seemed to offer him the opportunity of creating an irreconcilable quarrel between Mary and the Estates. It mattered not that he flung into danger his tools Higonnet and Humbercourt; Louis could not resist the temptation of informing the Flemish envoys, that they came upon a fool's errand, that neither they nor the Estates had the confidence of Mary, who had secretly offered better terms to him by other agents. To prove the truth of what he asserted, Louis showed, nay gave, Mary's letter, accrediting her special envoys, and at the same time Higonnet's and Humbercourt's order to Crèvecœur to surrender

* See Comines, for the sums he paid to Edward and his courtiers.

Arras.* The ambassadors, of course, had not a word to urge, but returned at once to Ghent, and gave in a public assembly an account of the mode in which the French king met their demands. Mary, who presided in the assembly, instantly contradicted the assertion that she had empowered her councillors to treat separately and directly with Louis. For answer, the envoys produced her original letter. The duchess was dumb-stricken, the members of the Estates indignant, the populace, when it learned the circumstance, furious. Higonnet and Humbercourt were immediately arrested, whilst the people in arms permanently occupied the great square, and insisted on justice, which meant extreme vengeance. Mary could but throw herself on the indulgence and commiseration of the members of the Estates, who were touched by her youth and regrets, but who were not the less determined, and indeed compelled, to order the instant trial of the two envoys, who had surrendered Arras. Mary appointed eight commissioners to act as judges, and as the treason of Higonnet and Humbercourt, at least to the Estates of Flanders and the interests of Mary was clear, condemnation was not delayed. Mary did all that a woman and a sovereign could do to save the aged councillors, of whose duplicity and weakness she was partly the cause. She besought the Estates, she supplicated the people. The former would have yielded to her entreaties. Equally won to mercy were such of the populace as heard Mary's cries and prayers. But the mass was inexorable. Humbercourt had been the man to carry into effect some of the dire penalties inflicted upon Liège. Both had been instruments of Charles' tyranny. They perished by the executioner.

Mary's resentment against the French king was profound. His treachery to her had caused the death of

* The Relation de l'ambassade de Mars, 1456, from the archives of Ghent, in the *Pièces Justificatives* of Lettenhove's fifth volume.

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the councillors whom she most trusted, and had well-nigh detached the Flemings from her cause. She at once flung off all idea of a French match or of an agreement with Louis. She had conceived an attachment for Maximilian of Austria, to whom she had been in a manner betrothed at Treves. He had never ceased to solicit her hand, and she now wrote to him in despair, to hasten to save her from the rapacity and treachery of Louis.* The Austrian prince lost no time in answering so flattering an appeal. The Duke of Bavaria arrived as ambassador from the Emperor Frederic soon after, and presented in solemn audience a kind of written betrothal, drawn up at Treves and signed by Mary; he demanded the fulfilment of this promise. Mary, notwithstanding the advice of the council to defer an answer, avowed the letter at once and declared her resolution to fulfil its engagement. The ambassador accordingly espoused Mary by proxy on the 21st of April. Such was the result of the precipitate greed, the unscrupulous treachery and mean cunning of Louis. He over-reached himself; and in three months after the death of Charles, he succeeded in alienating permanently from France the suzerainty of Flanders and the heritage of the Low Countries, which went to swell the possessions of the new rival to the crown and reigning family of France, the house of Austria.

Fortune had smiled upon the first efforts of the king to secure the possessions of Charles the Rash. The population of these territories were also willing to acquiesce in the award, not excepting even the Flemings. But the treachery of Louis seemed at once to

* A letter of Mary's to Maximilian from Ghent, in November 1476, acknowledged the receipt of a letter, and a present of jewels, and promises to obey his letter in the matter of her marriage. The letter, in which she urges Maximilian to come and save her and her land, promising to be his "true wife," is dated March 26th, 1477. Monumenta Habsburgica, Erster Band, Ersler Abtheilung, p. 140.

† Monumenta Habsburgica.

have disgusted fortune and mankind, for both turned against him. The Prince of Orange, who had been so instrumental in securing the submission of Burgundy, both duchy and county, raised the latter province in insurrection to be avenged upon Louis's ingratitude. The king succeeded in entering Arras, and Olivier le Daim tricked the people of Tournay into receiving a royal garrison. But the manner in which Louis treated both towns, had for effect to alienate the civic classes from him, and thus place an insurmountable barrier to the progress of his arms or his influence northwards. The people of Arras proposing to surrender sent envoys, who were first to proceed to Louis, and then go to warn Mary of Burgundy of the necessity they were under of submitting to the king. Instead of respecting the loyal scruples which dictated such conduct, the king, after having first received and dismissed these envoys, sent after them, upon receiving some sudden news of victory, and had them decapitated. Tournay, always held by the kings of France in protection rather than sovereignty, was no sooner occupied by a royal garrison, than its magistrates were forcibly carried off and committed to captivity in Paris. The pretence that Louis the Eleventh was a friend to the middle or civic classes, because he jocularly conversed with them, or willingly employed humble instruments, was completely disproved by his conduct in the Flemish wars. He treated the people of Arras with severity equal to that which Charles had employed against Liège and Dinant. He hanged every eminent townsman, razed its walls, annihilated its liberties, and even tried to abolish its name.

Louis had with years acquired the taste for spilling blood. He came to delight in criminal prosecutions, to gloat over the dying sufferings of his enemies, and he even made a friend and a pet of Tristan, the provost executioner, as the personage who attracted most of his sympathies, and afforded him the most exquisite of

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his pleasures. An informer had given Louis details of a plot, which had been hatched some time previously by the princes and the Constable St. Pol, for seizing, slaying, and deposing him, whilst the young dauphin was to have been declared king, and the Duke of Burgundy regent. How much of truth or falsehood there might have been in this, is difficult to say; but the account alarmed and irritated Louis. He sent a force to reduce and seize the Duke of Nemours, brother of the late Count of Armagnac, which was accomplished as usual, under promise of respecting his life. And the old playmate and companion of the king, James of Armagnac, was conveyed to the royal dungeons in Paris. This was in 1476, towards the close of which year took place the assassination of J. Galeas Visconti, in the church of Milan, an event which filled the mind of Louis with fright and suspicion. He ordered Nemours to be tried; and suspecting the Chancellor Dorval of having caused St. Pol to be peacefully executed, without putting him to the torture, lest he should implicate himself perhaps, or others by his confessions, he brought his present captive down to Noyon, to abstract him from the interference of the chancellor and of parlement, in order to have more liberty to torture him, and enjoy his agonies.* The criminal procedure was that adopted by Philip the Fair. The presiding judge drew up in the form of interrogations, the crimes that were supposed to have been committed or intended, or that it was desired to prove. These were put to the accused under the agonies of the torture, in dread of which he assented to all, expecting pardon as the probable result of a confession which none could con-

* A fearful letter of Louis is still extant, reproving St. Pierre, who had the charge of Nemours, for being indulgent, ordering that he should never take the prisoner out of his cage, except to torture him, and so on. This letter of Louis, from the MS. of Bethune, is published in Lenglet's Comines, Preuves, tom. iii. p. 490.

sider truthful or trustworthy. If confessions of all kinds of conspiracies and guilt, wrung from those who had been his intimates and friends, gave an appearance of justice to the vindictiveness of Louis; they also inflicted just retribution on himself, since he thus saw all the world arrayed in one universal plot for his destruction. Nemours was spared by the king throughout the early part of 1477, when his arms were victorious, and his fortune prosperous; but with his reverses, his ill-humour and his cruelty returned; and the captive, who had in vain striven to move Louis to pity, by a letter written in the name of their ancient friendship, and signed *pauvre Jacques*, was executed at the *Halles*, in August of that year. Legrand relates that the children of Nemours were placed under the scaffold that the blood of their father might trickle on them; but no contemporary historian warrants the fact. The son of the victim was delivered over to the Lombard, Guidici, who, as Count of Castres, received the confiscated property of the duke, and he, of course, made away with the heir. Comines obtained his Flemish property. Thus was drowned in blood, the family of Armagnac, which might have deserved its fate from its egregious ruthlessness, but which certainly did not deserve it at the hands of a son of Charles the Seventh.

The marriage of Mary of Burgundy, and Maximilian of Austria, took place in the same month of August, and the States of Flanders voted the large sum of 500,000 crowns for the prosecution of the war. The arms of Louis had made small progress during the summer; and although Adolph of Gueldres was repulsed from Tournay, and even slain in his attempt to recapture it, the French made no impression upon Haynault, nor could they recover the remaining towns of Artois. The king changed his military tactics, by sending thousands of reapers, instead of soldiers, to sweep away the harvest; hoping, as he said, to win by horror what he

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could not gain by honour.* But even this more exasperated than intimidated his enemies. Franche Comté at the same time flung off his yoke, and defied his generals. Louis, in fact, succeeded in reducing the towns, and extending his frontier, as far as the French tongue prevailed. But when he attempted to pass beyond those limits, insurmountable obstacles arose to repel him. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the greatest obligations, and closest alliance with Louis, all the countries of Teutonic descent now turned, and prepared to defend Maximilian and Mary, against France. Even the Swiss became Burgundian. The House of Austria of course might reckon on German aid, and England's king, notwithstanding his French pension, was roused to the necessity of supporting the independence of Flanders.†

The personage who had most influence in awakening the English court to its duty, was the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, Margaret of York, Edward's sister.‡ Louis the Eleventh had accused this princess to Edward, of favouring the Duke of Clarence as a suitor for Mary. It was a calumny. When Maximilian's first embassy arrived in the spring of 1477, Margaret, according to Comines, favoured his demand as the most advantageous to her daughter, and to Flanders.§ When the marriage had been concluded, she wrote to Edward, demanding an immediate succour of 2000 archers. A much smaller number came at first, under Sir Thomas Evringham, and their superior skill soon showed itself, in encounters with the French.‖ In the spring, 1478, Maximilian took formal possession of Holland and Zealand, proceeded to Lille, and from

* Quoted in Lettenhove, t. iii.

† Comines, livre 6, c. 2.

‡ Margaret, by Bernardo Andrea Tholosate, is called a "Juno" to Henry the Seventh. She was no less so to Louis the Eleventh.

§ The letter of Margaret's, dated April 15, 1477, in the Monumenta Habsburgica, says, she will do her best for Maximilian.

‖ Molinet, chaps. 48 and 54.

thence to Douay, Valenciennes, and Mons, holding at Bruges his first festivity of the Golden Fleece. * Louis on his part, advanced northwards, with an army even superior in numbers to that of his enemy; and at first succeeded in taking Condé by the superior force of his artillery; but Maximilian, approaching with the determination of forcing him to an engagement, Louis, who dreaded any such risk, abandoned Condé as well as Cambray, suspended hostilities, and concluded a truce until the ensuing year. †

The efforts to convert this truce into a peace having failed, the French king invaded Franche Comté in the spring of 1479, sacked and destroyed Dôle, and compelled Besançon to submit. In the north he appointed Crèvecœur to the command, in lieu of Dammartin, who had been implicated in the same rumoured conspiracy for which the Duke of Nemours had suffered. Maximilian, taking advantage of the ardour of the Flemings, marched with 27,000 of them, almost all on foot, to besiege Therouanne. Crèvecœur came with an equal army of franc archers, but with cavalry far superior. The encounter took place at Guinegate, a hillock on the plain, south of Therouanne. Crèvecœur instead of acting the part of general, led in person the regular force of gens d'armes, of which he had been one of the first officers, against the small muster of Burgundian foot, declaring that if these were conquered, the battle was won. They could not withstand his shock and fled, pursued by Crèvecœur to the gates of Aire. The French franc archers thought also the battle won, and betook themselves to plunder the Burgundian baggage. But Maximilian, placing 500 English archers, led by Everingham in front, and supporting them by the Flemish pikemen, charged the French archers, and put them to a more complete and

* Reiffenberg, *Hist. du Toison.* † Molinet.

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decisive rout than that experienced by the Burgundian horse. When Crèvecœur returned, he found he had lost the battle and the field, and had but to retreat.*

Louis was alarmed and chagrined at the loss of this battle, not only from the triumph it afforded his enemies, but from the certitude that his infantry could not be depended on. The system of keeping a franc archer in each village might be convenient, but did not make a soldier of the man. Louis therefore abolished the franc archers; instead of organising corps of natives, as he might have done, he restricted military establishments to the gens d'armes or compagnies d'ordonnance, consisting of mounted gentry, and resolved to rely for infantry upon Swiss and German mercenaries.† The reverse of Guinegate did not prove injurious to him. Instead of enabling Maximilian to pursue further conquests, it satisfied the Flemings, and rendered them desirous of peace. And Louis flattered and strengthened this sentiment, by offering to betroth the dauphin to the infant daughter of Maximilian and Mary, and cede such parts of his conquest as alarmed or offuscated the Flemings. Maximilian, however, strove to continue the war, in which aim he found every encouragement and aid from his mother-in-law, Margaret of York. A Flemish cruiser brought some English captures into L'Ecluse in the course of 1479, and on board of one of these, were valuable presents in course of transmission from Louis to Lord Howard. Margaret sent the proofs to Edward‡, who caused Howard to be arrested, and moreover, angered by the evident intention of the French king not to complete the marriage engagement between the dauphin and Eli-

* Molinet and Lettenhove.

† "The result was," says Machiavel, "that the French could never either fight the Swiss, or fight others without them." — *Prince*, c. 13.

‡ Margaret's letter as published in Lenglet's Comines.

zabeth, concluded a treaty of alliance between England and the archduke, one of the conditions of which was the betrothal of Philip, infant son of Mary and Maximilian, with Anne, one of the daughters of Edward. A war with France was popular in England, and ever an excellent pretext for raising money; but on the other hand was the pension of 50,000 crowns paid so regularly by Louis. Maximilian's promise to replace this by 40,000 from Flanders seemed not so sure. Margaret of York, though she made frequent journeys to England, succeeded* and failed† alternately in knitting and preserving this alliance, the war with Scotland intervening to render another invasion of France more difficult. At length, the death of Mary of Burgundy, in consequence of a fall whilst hawking, flung her children into the power of the Ghenters, and deprived Maximilian of all influence. This event, which occurred in March 1482, enabled Louis to conclude a peace, for which he was most anxious on account of his sinking health. By the tenor of the treaty of Arras, Margaret, the daughter of Maximilian was to be declared Countess of Artois, and Duchess of Burgundy, and to bring in dowry to the dauphin, Artois, and Franche Comté, with the Maconnais, Auxerre, and Bar-sur-Saone. The success of Louis in contracting this advantageous peace, that gave Artois and Franche Comté to France, was owing in a great measure to the cupidity and weakness of Edward, who could neither remain true to his alliance with France, nor to that with Flanders; losing both by his bad faith and irresolution, and suffering the affront of having the marriage contract between the dauphin and his daughter Elizabeth rudely broken. According to Comines, Edward died partly from the chagrin which this treaty caused him. The Flemings had no longer their close commercial connection with England. Instead of find-

* Rymer. † Lettenhove.

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ing the chief market for their wares in that country, it was rather to Lyons and the south that they expedited the productions of their fabrics, a circumstance that explains in a great measure, the preference shown by the people of Ghent for Louis and the French alliance, to either the new connection with Austria, or their old one with England.*

Whilst the extinction of the House of Burgundy thus enabled the king to extend his frontier northwards to the Lys, and eastwards to the Saone, his sway over the south of France was completed by the decay of another branch of the royal race, that of Anjou and Provence. Margaret, the widow of Henry the Sixth of England, had long since ceded, in exchange for his succour, all that might accrue to her from the succession of her sire King René. This aged prince was induced in the same manner to make a testament of a similar kind. At his death Louis confiscated Anjou, and merely left Provence to Charles, Count of Maine. This sickly prince expiring towards the close of 1481, Louis despatched his officers and assumed the full sovereignty of Provence, in despite of the vain efforts and protests of Duke René of Lorraine. Although Roussillon was still the subject of dispute with the Spaniards, and other petty sovereigns affected independence in the Pyrenees, Louis may be said to have completed his kingdom of France in the south, where every province owned his sceptre from the Alps to the ocean. On the north and east, difference of tongue still marked the undulating line which bounded the

* The people of Flanders, writes Machiavelli, live by the work of their hands, which they dispose of in the fairs of France, especially in those of Lyons and Paris, there being no facility of selling them over sea, nor yet on the side of Germany. When the Flemings are at war with the French they find no sale for their products, and come to want provisions as well as a market. Hence the Flemings will never, unless compelled, be at war with the French. Machiavelli *Ritratti di Francia.*

French monarchy, and which Louis wanted the military genius to overleap. It was far less by the extension of his frontiers than by the consolidation of the provinces which they inclosed, that he sought to complete his kingdom. The king had the great good sense of being indifferent to possessions beyond the natural sphere of his authority and limits. He did not run after German possessions and Swiss conquests with Charles the Rash, and avoided those attractions towards Italian dominions which tempted his sons and his son's successors. When the Genoese on one occasion made offer of submission and allegiance to him, an empty form often repeated, Louis said, "The Genoese give themselves to me, and I give them to the devil." Princes of the blood, and their hereditary and almost independent appanages within the kingdom, were the obstructions at which he chiefly aimed his blows. Fortune, which about the same epoch left the houses of Burgundy, Anjou, and Brittany without heirs male, mainly contributed to the accomplishment of his purpose. His own address and arms, however, contributed not a little, and triumphed everywhere, save in Flanders. The houses of Orleans and Bourbon alone of the royal race had male heirs; to these princes Louis gave his daughters in order to ensure their future loyalty.

The princely aristocracy and the provincial independence connected with it being thus levelled before the authority of the monarch, it was Louis's intention to have extended and enforced his system of centralisation. He wished, Comines informs us, to humble the judges who hesitated at times to register his edicts, or to recognise his legislative authority. He himself, by conferring on them a life tenure of office, had mainly contributed to this; but he thought that by codifying and simplifying the law, he would lessen the overweening power of the judges and limit the exorbitant profits of courts and advocates. Uniformity of coins,

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weights and measures, was also one of his designs. He had reduced his subjects to the condition of valets, and with the true instincts of centralising absolutism, he would not have rested till he had brought them all to wear the livery betokening such a state.

But the hand of death was already extended over him. As far back as the spring of 1479, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy at Forges, near Chinon. He struggled to get to the window, but his attendants brought him to the fire, an error which his physicians remedied. Louis punished all those who had thus constrained him, by depriving them of their offices, and banishing them from court. Two years later the king had a renewal of his fit at Tours, and it strongly influenced him to accelerate the peace with Flanders. At the time of the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, the monarch was very ill, and anxious that no one should see him in his enfeebled state. He, however, received the ambassadors with whom he was to exchange oaths. They found him enveloped in furs, seated in a corner and obliged to apply his left hand instead of his right to the testament, owing to the effects of paralysis. It was the last time that Louis appeared in public: subsequently he remained shut up in the gloomy castle of Plessis les Tours, to which approach was forbidden by cross bowmen, who fired from battlement and loophole upon all who presented themselves without special permission; Tristan l'Hermite at the same time executing summary punishment upon those who for the slightest cause awakened royal suspicion. It was seldom, and only with the greatest precaution, that he allowed his ministers to visit him, preferring to convey his orders to them in writing. His son Charles resided at the castle of Amboise, no great distance up the course of the Loire. Louis showed some anxiety to instruct him in the science of government, and for this purpose caused a few dry and Machiavellic maxims to be drawn

up, under the strange title of the *Rosier des Guerres*. The whole gist of this paternal advice to his son was merely to enjoin a continuance of his own policy and dissimulation. In the midst of all this he clung to life, beseeching the clergy, whom he had ever despised, to pray less for his soul's than for his body's health. He caused the Sainte Ampoule to be brought from Rheims, and other relics from their several sanctuaries in vain. On the 30th of August 1483, the king experienced his last attack, and expired in his solitary castle.

A more forbidding or more odious character seldom animated a royal breast. Alike devoid of honour or of humanity, without morals as without scruples, with religion that was a burlesque, and policy which was but one long lie, Louis the Eleventh presents himself with all the mean, sensual cunning, and ferocious characteristics of the beast of prey, which in his later years he completed by a thirst for blood. No doubt he owed some of these qualities to his age, which was peculiarly selfish, grovelling, fierce, and unintellectual,—a bestial rather than a human age. Louis gave impulse to these tendencies by his unsocial temper, his proscription of men, and his mode of treating all as enemies, who would not submit to be his instruments. This again was also partly the result of times not long past. When one of the consequences of kings and grandees frequenting courts together, was that they laid snares for each other's lives, and dealt in poison, in magic, and assassination, the powerful naturally betook themselves once more to their castles and their solitary life. And this was no longer cheered by either the tournaments or the poems of chivalry. Cunning device or dissolute story had replaced pure love, romantic adventure. Louis mocked tournaments, and his feeling for letters is shown in his having destroyed the verses and manuscripts left by his wife. He exempted indeed the first German printers, who settled in Paris, from

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having their goods and presses confiscated by the *droit d'Aubaine*, and he even endeavoured to read or to have read to him the chronicles of the monk of St. Denis, one of the first works printed. But he did not like them, and perhaps knowing to what fate a love of Plutarch had led Charles the Rash, he thought his mother wit safer than ambition born of classic study. And although he retained the services of Philip de Comines the historian, it was evident that the king preferred the intimacy and converse of his barber.

But all the meannesses and defects of Louis are redeemed in the opinion of his countrymen by his success in two great aims, the humbling of the aristocracy, and the extension of the frontiers of France. He was no doubt one of the principal founders not only of the territorial kingdom, but of its power and compactness. And as he pursued these objects throughout a twenty years' reign, it is impossible not to attribute a portion of the result to his sagacity as well as his good fortune. That the latter, or at least that circumstances had more influence on the final result than policy or craft, is manifest enough. Still the name and memory of a monarch may be allowed to wear the laurels of the great deeds accomplished under his reign. And in this light Louis the Eleventh certainly deserves the meed of applause which posterity seems so well inclined to award him.

This, however, must not be carried so far as to distort historic truth. Louis, though he humbled French princes, overcame their rivalry, and inherited their possessions, and although he did behead some turbulent lords, cannot be said to have given any blow to the aristocracy of the country, or to have diminished its power. He neither deprived the nobles of immunity of taxation, nor of the monopoly of military service, although it was in Louis the Eleventh's time peculiarly that they might have been brought to their proper level.

He could have done with ease, what it became impossible for his successors even to attempt. He had in fact an army of infantry ready formed, and because it suffered one defeat, he broke up altogether the institution of peasant levies, and relapsed to the old feudal regulation which placed the military force under the control of the aristocracy. He indeed strove, as his nobles afterwards complained, to summon the gentry or *arrière vassals* immediately under his standard without the intervention of their feudal superiors. But this was easily set aside and reversed in the reign of his successor. He may have favoured a few kinds of trade, may have more willingly conversed with humble gossips than with lordly compeers, may have granted here and there the shadow of municipal rights, he himself taking care to appoint the commanders and the judges, and keep the power of taxation in his hands. But he left no law or institution, really protective of either the middle or lower classes. Nor were these instincts of despotism, which made Louis destroy princes, sufficiently enlightened and generous to suggest that he must fill up the void, by bringing forward as legislators or councillors the men of the middle or professional classes. He is said to have brought two senators from Venice to consult with them on the institutions of that republic. If, however, he took lessons from the Venetians in dissimulation and secrecy, and in ruthless punishments, he took none in the art of enlisting the capacity and concurrence of the notables of a country, whether those of birth, of wealth, or of talent, in the service of the state.

It is to be doubted, that even a partisan of absolute power could approve of the way in which Louis the Eleventh assumed and exercised it. He it was, following up the commencements of Charles the Seventh, who established and extended the regular army; but as has been seen, instead of rendering it a national force, or

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on terms different from feudalism, he on the contrary allowed it to fall back into the hands of the noblesse. To support it, he moreover strained the royal powers of taxation to such an extent, that they could not be continued after his death. A proof of the severity and iniquity of his taxation appears in the States-General of 1484, where it is stated, that he farmed out not only the salt duties, but the fines incidental to the breach of them to officers, who thus interested in the aggravation of fines and confiscations, put five hundred people to death within one district alone, without any form of procedure whatever.* With similar rigour Louis increased the 1,800,000 francs revenue, raised by his father, to 4,700,000,—an enormous sum for the age.

In the affairs of administration and justice, Louis was equally rapacious and still more iniquitous. He has been praised for declaring judicial functions permanent, but he never respected this law, removing all those that differed from him, especially the judges who gave sentence according to right, not according to his pleasure; and magisterial functions he frequently sold. But the climax of infamy was perhaps his appointing as judges of persons accused, like the Duke of Nemours, men amongst whom he had distributed beforehand the property of the victim, thus insuring his condemnation by the cupidity of those entrusted with passing sentence. No wonder that his conscience smote him on his death-bed for having thus procured the condemnation of his old friend and comrade, Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours.

Still amidst all these gross crimes and glaring errors, Louis contrived to increase during his reign his people's prosperity. In their social development, the French, during that period, made undoubted progress. The wars, which had ravaged the kingdom, divided and de-

* Masselin, *Etats de Tours.*

vastated its provinces for so many centuries, altogether disappeared, to give place indeed to the drain and disasters of foreign ones, but the losses and expenses of these were more than compensated by the peace, industry and security which began to prevail within the wider extent of the kingdom; allowing its industrial population to increase and thrive, and rival in some degree the national prosperity, if not the freedom and autonomy, of the Italians and Flemings.

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CHARLES THE EIGHTH, 1483 TO 1498.

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THE proofs are abundant that the tyranny of Louis the Eleventh excited amongst his subjects of all classes the deepest indignation and disgust. However timorous and submissive was the age, however apparently oblivious of man's rights or pride, learning and education were still at work, and the revival of republican feeling with classic studies made itself apparent the moment that freedom of speech was allowed. Although the spirit of either aristocratic independence or of municipal liberty might have been broken on the Loire and on the Seine by the Valois, still the provinces which they conquered, or annexed to the monarchy, brought with them men of larger views and more popular principles. In the words or writings of such public men are already to be found the first great principles of political liberty enounced with all the acumen that Machiavel displays, and with the faith that he wanted. No one could have pointed out the evil consequences to liberty of standing and regularly paid armies more forcibly than Thomas Basin, bred under the English in Normandy. No one propounded more fully or supported more rationally the great doctrine, that people can only be taxed with their own consent, than Comines, who was, it is true, of Haynault. And

immediately on Charles the Eighth's accession we find an orator of first-rate eloquence, asserting the popular origin and nature of kingly power, with a zeal and a broad liberalism not to be surpassed in our times.*

Yet sensitive as was the nation of the tyranny of Louis, and indignant as were its leading spirits with the despotic principle of his government, they failed in preventing its almost immediate recurrence. After a few vain protests and inefficient struggles, tyranny resuscitated, not even in the hands of a vigorous heir or of an experienced minister, but in those of a woman, Anne, Lady of Beaujeu, the eldest daughter of Louis, and "his image in all."

To her Louis had entrusted the care and guardianship of his son, Charles, who, but fourteen years of age, of a weak temperament and bred in seclusion, was alike devoid of confidence as of experience. So concentrated had been all power in the royal person, that the guardian of the monarch became by the fact regent of the kingdom. Still Anne could not but consult the royal council, and obey the injunctions of the late king, that the existing ministers should be continued in office, nor could she prevent the princes of the blood from taking their seats in the council. The chief of these was the Duke of Orleans, a youth of twenty-one, son of the poet duke, so long a prisoner in England. Louis had made him espouse his second daughter, Jeanne, a princess deformed in person and null in mind. Although more given to the pleasures of his age, than to rivalry or ambition, the young duke could still not brook being deprived of all influence, and set aside by the princess Anne, scarcely older than himself. His cousin, the Duc d'Angoulême, had tastes and jealousies of the same

* This was Philippe Pot, Sieur de la Roche, a Burgundian. He had been governor to Charles the Rash. The ruins of the castle of La Roche Pot, on the descent from the hills of the Côte d'Or, towards Chalons, are amongst the most picturesque in France.

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kind. Both were excited by the councils of the Count Dunois to claim a due share of political influence. The Lady Anne, around whom the old councillors of her father rallied, with the exception of Comines, agreed to the Duke of Orleans assuming the lieutenant-generalship of the Isle of France, Picardy, and Champagne, whilst to counterbalance his military authority, the Duke of Bourbon, her brother-in-law, another malcontent prince of the blood, was appointed Constable. Dunois was given the government of Dauphiné. At the same time the heir of the Duchy of Alençon was liberated from the prison to which Louis the Eleventh had consigned him, and restored to his heritage and rank. Grants of the royal domains chiefly made by the late king to unworthy favourites, were revoked; the most obnoxious of these, Olivier le Daim, was sent to the scaffold. Others were pilloried and fined. The Duke of Orleans had his share in the confiscations.*

Such concessions were not sufficient to allay either popular clamour or princely discontent. To continue to levy Louis's rate of tallage was in all probability to provoke resistance. Yet the whole sum was necessary to keep up military establishments and pay the pensions claimed and enjoyed by the grandees. The government was not strong enough to face the alternative of popular odium, or aristocratic resentment. When, therefore, the Duke of Orleans suggested the convocation of the States-General, neither the Lady Anne nor the council objected. Both expected to receive support

* The chief sources for the first years of Charles's reign are the documents which have been collected by Godfroi. Jaligny, secretary of the Duke of Bourbon, does not begin his history till 1486, but he throws light on much that passed previously. His account is the more valuable, as Comines passes over in silence the interval that elapsed between the death of Louis the Eleventh and Charles's expedition to Italy. Masselin's account of the Estates of Tours throws ample light on the domestic politics of the period. Gaguin's letters, and the later history of Belcarius serve to elucidate the facts in years which are more obscure. Lancelot's *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, t. viii.

from the Assembly, the Lady Anne reckoning more upon the universal disgust formerly excited by the rapacity of the princes, than upon the horror which the tyranny of the late king inspired.

Such simultaneous feelings in the breasts of the national representatives ought to have suggested some mode of permanently checking princely licentiousness without exaggerating kingly power. But in order to do this it was necessary that the gentry and the citizens, the notables of landed and of moneyed wealth, should understand each other. There is no truth which history takes more pains to prove than this, that a country has need of all its sons and of all the classes which are naturally developed in its progress,—need of their arms as of their heads, their intelligence, their energy and their patriotism, and that any attempt of one section or grade of society to dominate to the exclusion of others, is fatal alike to the dominant as to the oppressed party.

Unfortunately the civic and the rustic populations could seldom be induced to respect each other. Social and political organisation originated by one, or based upon it, was the direct contrary of that which sprang up from the other. Civism, more rapid to attain and develop a certain degree of civilisation, soon generates a contempt for the rude and slower efforts of its rustic neighbours, and is prone to treat them as dependants. And this opinion the rustic with his stronger arm, with the moral purity which he preserves and the salutary pride which he cherishes, is equally ready to retaliate and resent. Civism wherever it predominated, as it did in all antiquity, ignored the rustic chiefs, and precluded a landed aristocracy; whilst, on the depression of towns consequent upon the barbarous ages, the valiant rustic founded the feudal system. But civism, whenever it could gather in numbers and strength,

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never accepted feudalism. In Italy it altogether flung off the rustic yoke, compelled the patriciate to live within its walls and accept its laws, and even then ended by proscribing that class which, from its chivalrous spirit and valour, was so well fitted to defend the commonwealth. Having achieved this fatal conquest over half of itself, the Italian population recommenced in modern times the old experiment of the ancient world, to organise a social and political system based solely upon civism and governed in a municipal spirit. The result was certainly to reproduce for a time, the virtues, the grandeur, the freedom, and the energy of antiquity, and to kindle in each civic republic, a glorious flame, but one in which freedom, glory, independence, and even existence, soon perished.

It is impossible to compare the two principles without coming to the conclusion that the civic, although arriving more quickly at a certain degree of civilisation, produces, as a general government, results narrow and ephemeral. As a skeleton destined to hold together, support, and move the body politic, the rustic system affords a frame far more gigantic, powerful, and erect. In it lies scope for progress. Civic organisation is in fact a thing of the past, rustic that of the future. The former can at most associate towns and accomplish the semblance of a common country by the ever dissolving bonds of a federation: whereas the graduated ranks, relations and duties, which the rustic system engenders, permanently knit together the limbs and provinces of a great nation. If the aim of manhood be equality, this state may be more easily reached in civism. But if property and its descent be natural institutions, and if inequality be a condition of humanity, not obviated by the most stringent laws, the acknowledgment of whatever privileges wealth and birth may convey, accompanied by restrictions on the exclusiveness or abuse of such privilege, will prove far more beneficial

than any attempt, in obedience to theory to counteract the natural development of human society.

But the rustic principle of organisation must not imitate the exclusiveness of its predecessor. It must not proscribe civism, for the half of a great country must rise up in a class which manipulates other materials than the soil. The rustic system, then, if it would live and thrive, must learn first to tolerate and to cherish, and then to embrace the middle classes with their peculiarities, their freedom, and in a great measure their autonomy. Such magnanimity was scarcely to be expected from the feudal aristocracy or gentry, when triumphant; but it might have been found in a monarch, whose true policy in all countries ought to have been to soften the antagonism and conciliate the mutual rights and claims of these jarring orders. St. Louis was such a monarch; and Louis the Twelfth might have proved one, had the insane wars in which he embarked left him leisure or scope for the conception of a domestic policy. But in general the kings of France flung themselves into the interest of one class or of the other, and were either all chivalric and contemptuous of civic classes, or else like Louis the Eleventh completely absorbed by the task of curbing and crushing princes. The upshot, however, the final results of French history have ever been, that whilst the civic principle has prevailed in theory, the feudal has predominated in practice. And however the civic classes may have prevailed for a time, by calling in the mob to their assistance, the rustic classes of the peasant and the gentlemen have always in the end recovered predominance. We read, indeed, of kings who humbled and decimated their nobility, and who stretched forth the hand of amity and equality to the middle classes. But we invariably find, notwithstanding, the civic and industrious classes left, each succeeding century, with less and less consideration, privileges, and rights, whilst

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the nobles, however rigorously individuals of their body may have been treated, still survive as a highly privileged corporation, monopolising influence, respect, and place, and although losing all independence and rights in presence of the king's prerogative, maintaining power and authority the more arrogant and galling to all beneath them.

The most fatal distinction between the privileged and unprivileged classes was that the latter were alone subject to taxation. This sufficed to nullify the action of two out of the three Estates. But indeed the mode of electing the members for that assembly, as practised under Louis the Eleventh, and sanctioned by the council of the Lady Anne, must of itself have had this effect. The marked separation of the higher clergy and nobles from the inferior members of either order, deprived them of the influence which they might have exercised had the weight of the whole noblesse or the whole clergy, been wielded in the Estates. From this indeed might have sprung similar results to those produced in England, where the gentry or lesser noblesse became amalgamated with the Commons. But the different position of each class with regard to taxation rendered their alliance or amalgamation impossible. Thus Louis the Eleventh had caused the elections to take place by bailiwicks, not by provinces, unless where there were provincial states. His functionaries, in order to enable the entire tax-paying class to be represented, convoked the peasantry to name delegates *, who might join with the townsmen in the election of deputies.

The result of such an election was a respectable House of Commons, consisting of members of the lower

* Masselin, Journal des Etats Généraux de France. See also the Report on the Etats Généraux, published by Amédée Thierry, in 1847, in tom. v. of the Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. See also the account of Jean Saint Délis, Doc. Hist. Inéd, t. ii.

clergy with a sprinkling of bishops, and abbots, of the gentry with a few barons*, and the notabilities of towns. When they collected at Tours, they were presented to the young king, by the Sire de Beaujeu, as the *Messieurs* of Paris, of Picardy, or of Normandy, without any attention whatever to distinctions of order or difference of rank; and the same blending of the three Estates in one became the rule of their more solemn meeting.† The assembly met on the 16th of January, 1484, in the great hall of the archiepiscopal palace, the grandees merely assisting, as the sovereign himself did, at the opening ceremony, and making no part of the Estates. Driven from the parlement by the legists, their aim and ambition was to sit, and if possible, predominate in the Royal Council, an institution, which had grown up in all monarchies, which had drawn to it a valuable portion of the high judicial power, declaring itself the proper tribunal for trying all causes in which the monarch's interests or administration were concerned, and which moreover wielded the principal power of the executive.‡ As the French monarchy was already based and in course of development, such a body must necessarily remain dependent on the will and choice of the monarch. Predominance in it, independent of royal favour, could only be obtained during the few years of the monarch's nonage. And yet it was merely for this brief grasp of power that the princes

* The Baron de Montmorenci, for example.

† Anne of Brittany adopted the same rule in her duchy. After her marriage with Charles the Eighth she assembled the estates at Reimes, where, says Lobineau, "to avoid the disputes which ordinarily troubled such assemblies, she declared from the first that there should be no ranks; that each should place himself where he happened to be, without any prejudice to his pretensions."

‡ In Germany the struggle of the period was to oblige the emperor to allow a high judicial council, to be named by the electors, independent of him. When the emperor at last yielded this, the imperial council of judicature easily became a council of regency to share, and even supersede the prerogative of the sovereign.

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struggled, instead of seeking by any permanent institution to preserve for themselves or their order a place in the council, or a share in the political influence of the country.

The first day's sitting was occupied wholly by the opening harangue of the chancellor, who began by a panegyric upon royalty, and upon "the young Solomon," who had just ascended the throne. He announced what the king and council had done in resuming the grants of the royal domains and dismissing six thousand Swiss soldiers. When the Estates next assembled, they separated, of their own accord, into six committees, corresponding to the different compartments of the kingdom, and then busied themselves in preparing *cahiers* or reports of grievances and desires. In the midst of their labours, they were interrupted by messages from the Duke of Orleans, enjoining them to reconstruct the royal council, and demand admission into it for some of their own members. Strange to say, these counsels to the Estates to seize a portion of the executive power, were equally urged and approved of by the Sire de Beaujeu, husband of the Lady Anne, who possessed the greatest share of actual power. Both the duke and his wife hoped by their instrumentality to expel from the royal council the members most obnoxious to them.

The Estates deferring their decision concerning these personal questions, continued the drawing up of their report. The first grievance put forward was the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, and the consequent usurpation by Rome of the nomination to church dignities and benefices. Each of the 101 bishoprics had been vacant, some of them several times, since the death of Charles the Seventh. From each vacancy Rome had derived at least 6000 ducats, and from the 300 priories and abbeys, at least 500 ducats each. These sums, added to what flowed from dispensations, indulgences, fines,

and expenses of suitors visiting the papal court, constituted an immense drain of money, destructive of the wealth, as of the independence of the country. The late king had abolished the Pragmatic Sanction, because he preferred seeing ecclesiastical patronage and profit accrue to the Pope, rather than to his own froward nobility; but the French Commons were of a different opinion.

On the present occasion, indeed, the representatives of the towns and middle classes evinced no jealousy whatever of the nobles, being most ready to sympathise in their wrongs and join in demanding the remedy of their grievances. In the general report, the extreme poverty of the nobles was set forth, being repeatedly summoned to war by virtue of the ban and rear-ban, and then left without pay, either to live on the country, or raise money on their estates. They had effected loans at ten per cent., the land being forfeited after a certain lapse. This had occurred so generally, that they begged for more time to redeem their property. The nobles asked, not the exclusive right of chase, but the liberty to kill game on their own lands, of which the king had deprived them, to reserve the privilege not merely for himself, but for his courtiers and officers.* Moreover the nobles demanded to be employed in the places and posts for which they were fitted, such as the command of regiments and garrisons, in which they declared themselves to be more trustworthy than the foreigners now generally employed. This demand, indeed, the commons themselves expressly repeated, giving as a reason that if a noble of the kingdom committed wrong in his command, he could be called to account for it, whereas foreign officers without home or

* "The wild animals, which enjoyed more freedom and impunity than man," says the cahier, "had increased so much that they devoured the crops."

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property in the country could not be made responsible. The drain of gold by the church, and the plunder of the people by the soldiery, and their pressure by the taxmen was then depicted in the strongest language. "Far worse off was the Frenchman than the serf, for the serf is fed at least, whilst the free peasant is crushed by insupportable burdens, tallages, and gabelles. He was not only obliged to pay for himself, but for his neighbours, being often sent to prison for the default of others, and compelled to satisfy, not merely the taxmen, but the serjeant, the gaoler, and his scribe."

For financial abuses the commons fully stated what they considered the true remedy. This was that the king's domains should be made to suffice for the keeping of his person and court. For expenditure beyond that, and for public purposes, the Estates were always ready to provide. But extraordinary taxes ought to be abolished, and the principle of St. Louis observed, who enjoined upon his son to raise no tallage on his people without great necessity, or without previously obtaining the consent of the three Estates.

These recommendations led to many remonstrances on the part of the council. The chancellor caused the accounts of revenue and expenditure to be placed before them. The produce of the aids and domains were estimated at not more than 755,000 livres, which the best informed of the members declared to be not one half of the reality. The tallages, as Louis the Eleventh had left them, produced 4,400,000 francs. But of this tax the chancellor only demanded 1,500,000, about one third. The Estates were not satisfied with this great diminution. They persisted in voting no more than the rate of tallage which had sufficed Charles the Seventh, although the chancellor pointed out, that 1,500,000 livres, when he spoke, were not more than 1,200,000 in the days of Charles the Seventh. The dispute terminated by the Estates voting the

1,500,000, but 300,000 of it for two years was to be considered temporary.

After dealing with the abuses of the church, the difficulty remained of the composition of the council, in which, although certain of the princes pressed the Estates to interfere, most of the members shrunk from the invidious task. It was the discussion of the proposal to elect and present fit persons for the king's council, that gave rise to the famous speech of Philip Pot, Sire de la Roche: "Royalty," this orator declared, "was a dignity, not an hereditary property, which therefore, in case of a minority, could not fall under the guardianship of the nearest relatives, but devolved upon the nation or its States General. These were the sovereigns who first created kings by their suffrage, not to draw a profit from the people, but conduct them to good. By the people," says De la Roche, "I mean not the popular masses, but all ranks. It was quite a mistake to say that the representatives of the nation were a body empowered merely to vote taxes. For no law or institution ought to have force until the Estates had sanctioned it."

Such doctrines found most favour amongst the Norman and Burgundian deputies. They proposed that, leaving a certain number of the existing councillors, and at the same time acknowledging the right of all princes to take their seats in that assembly, the Estates should also name twelve members. The Parisians and Languedocians at first approved; but when upon consultation they perceived that the princes and the government urged the Estates to initiate these changes merely for the sake of recomposing the council, the Parisians, and with them the Aquitans, declined making any nomination, and their advice was adopted, leaving the executive power, and the choice of those who were to wield it to the crown. It was merely ruled that the Duke of Orleans was to preside in the council during

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the absence of the king. But as the Lady Anne could prevent the monarch from ever being absent, the Duke's presidence was nominal. With such a complete absence of result did the States General separate in the middle of March, 1484.

The struggle had been between the functionaries who had acquired their hold and experience of place from Louis the Eleventh, and the princes who sought to share or supersede that influence. The Lady Anne of Beaujeu and her husband placed themselves at the head of the old councillors, and they, being supported by the commanders of the regular armed force, maintained themselves in unshaken power. It is remarkable that the most eminent of Louis the Eleventh's ministers, Comines, took the view and side opposite to the council. He attached himself to the Duke of Bourbon, and became the councillor of him and of the Duke of Orleans. George d'Amboise, future prime minister, embarked in the same cause, and it proved a losing one, notwithstanding its counting amongst its chiefs the two wisest heads in the country.

The Duke of Orleans made, for the recovery of his influence, a variety of efforts, as desultory as they were unsuccessful. He first betook himself to Brittany, where he found the duke's upstart favourite and minister, Landais, in almost open hostility with the nobles of the province. The Duke of Orleans took Landais' part, which had but the effect of driving the Breton nobles into an understanding with the Lady Anne.* Finding thus, that he made more enemies than friends in Brittany, Louis of Orleans returned to court, and attended the king's coronation. In the fêtes and journeys which naturally followed this ceremony, the duke shone conspicuous; the gayest in apparel, the boldest in tournament, he quite captivated

* Lobineau, Histoire de Bretagne; St. Gelais, and Claude de Seyssel, Histoire de Louis XII.

the young king, and Anne, in order to preserve her influence and keep Charles from surrendering himself to his cousin, was obliged to carry off her brother to Montargis. She raised up a rival to the young prince, whom she dreaded, in René de Lorraine, the victor of Charles the Rash. René had demanded the duchy of Bar, as well as the county of Provence, to which he considered himself entitled, as the heir of the house of Anjou. He had also petitioned the Estates to be admitted to the royal council, as a Frenchman by birth and inclination.* Anne granted the chief of his demands, that regarding Provence excepted, and René promised to be true to her. He brought the court successively to Orleans and Blois, and prohibited the duke of the province from making his appearance there.† He even threatened to dispossess him of his duchy. ‡ Louis of Orleans had placed his hopes in the alliance of Brittany, and in the aid which the duke and his favourite Landais were to afford him. They had mustered an army at Nantes, which first proceeded to Ancenis, to reduce some malcontent nobles of Lady Anne's party. Instead of crushing the malcontents, the ducal forces joined them, and both marching to Nantes, insisted on Landais being surrendered to them (Jan., 1483). They forthwith tried and hanged him, compelling the duke to become reconciled to the French court, and leaving Louis of Orleans at its mercy. The latter who was at Beaugency with a few hundred men, was obliged to submit.§

Another enemy whom the court of France about the same time got rid of, was Richard the Third of England. This monarch had been in league with the Duke of Brittany, who, to gratify him, had promised to deliver up the Earl of Richmond. The latter fled to France,

* His petition in Godefroy.

† Letter of the Duke in Godefroy, Histoire de Charles VIII. p. 450.

‡ Letter of Louis XII.

§ Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne.

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and raised a loan of money at the French court, for the payment of which, it is true, he was obliged to leave the Marquis of Dorset* in pledge; but with the sum he fitted out an expedition at Harfleur. Its result on the field of Bosworth gave the Lady Anne and the French court a friend in lieu of a foe upon the English throne.

At the commencement of 1486 the Duke of Orleans was in Paris, petitioning parlement against the conduct of Lady Anne and of her husband, who had driven him from the council, from his own towns, and had even attempted his life. He accused them of spending infinitely greater sums than the Estates had voted, of keeping the king in durance, and monopolising the government. To these complaints the parlement coldly answered that they were a body instituted for the dispensation of justice, and not for matters which concerned war or finance, or the king's government, or the affairs of princes.† The University remained as deaf as the parlement‡; either the time or the duke's character was not favourable to his ingratiating himself with the Parisians and receiving their support. The Lady Anne and the council sent a troop of soldiers to arrest the duke in the capital, and he had merely sufficient time to effect his escape.§

Whilst the domestic foe of the court and of its female head was so easily crushed, the enmity of Maximilian of Austria was as little formidable abroad. This prince had been deprived by the Flemings of the governorship of their cities, as well as the guardianship of his young son Philip. The French court seemed to approve of this, by entering into an alliance with Philip and the Flemings. Maximilian in consequence, although Charles the Eighth was betrothed to

* Hall.

† Answer of Parliament, given in Godefroy.

‡ Budæus, *Hist. Univers.*, Paris.

§ Lobineau.

his daughter Margaret, who then resided in France, collected a force, and endeavoured to make the conquest of Artois. The French army was, however, quite equal to hold Maximilian in check. And although this prince was soon after elected King of the Romans, yet the strength of his house and of his empire were too fully needed and employed in the east of his dominions, to allow his military operations in Flanders to be either formidable or serious.

But the chief object of French policy was the succession of Brittany, the last of those semi-independent duchies which recognised the sovereignty of the French monarchy in name rather than in reality. Duke Francis was without a male heir, two daughters alone appearing to claim his heritage. The Lady Anne, following the unscrupulous maxims of her sire, proposed to set aside the rights of the two princesses altogether, and declare Brittany lapsed to the crown. In this hope the Breton nobles, when in rebellion to their duke, had confirmed her.* But when they had slain Landais, and taken possession of the duke's power and administration, the Prince of Orange and Lescun, who had been the principal of the Breton malcontents, saw the necessity of resisting the overweening demands of Anne. Some of the Breton nobles, indeed, De Rohan, De Rieux, Laval, and Châteaubriand, still adhered to the French court; but it was so certain that the Bretons would rise in arms, rather than sacrifice the heiress of the duchy to the daughter of Louis the Eleventh, that even French malcontents were encouraged to associate and form a party for resistance. (1486.)

* They stipulated, indeed, that the French king should appoint important personages to govern Brittany, and that he should grant the duchy to his second son, if he had one. Moreover, that he should respect all Breton rights, and levy no taxes without the assent of the Estates. Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne, and Morice, Preuves, in l'Histoire de Bretagne.

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Many of those who were most friendly to the court, now entered into the conspiracy against it—not merely, the Duke of Orleans and Dunois, but the Duke of Lorraine, the Count d'Albret, the Count d'Angoulême as well as Lescun, who had succeeded to chief influence with the Duke of Brittany. Maximilian, King of the Romans, was included in the league which professed to restore the authority of the three Estates.

More formidable, because more serious and persistent than all these princes, was the declaration of the states of Brittany, that they would maintain the right of the eldest daughter of the duke to succeed him in the duchy. The court, angered more than alarmed by such resistance, mustered its regular army, placed the young king at its head, and marched first to reduce the malcontents of Poitou and Gascony. It caused Philip de Comines and George d'Amboise to be seized and committed to prison, as councillors of the league, whilst the Duke of Orleans, their principal, escaped to Reimes. The brother of Lescun, Odot d'Aidie, held possession of the citadels of Bordeaux and Bayonne; the king's first warlike efforts in the early part of 1487 were to reduce them. This required so little time or effort, that the royal army had returned northwards and entered Brittany in May.

The Lady Anne now dissembled her project of uniting Brittany to the crown, and declared her sole aim to be to expel from it the Duke of Orleans and those of the French court in arms against her. This design the Breton nobles were more inclined to favour than oppose, for they were already as jealous of the influence exercised over their duke by Orleans and Dunois, as they had been of the ascendency of Landais. La Tremouille, therefore, the general of Anne, found no obstacle in marching his 12,000 men across the province to Vannes, from which the Dukes of Brittany and Orleans, finding themselves inferior in force, fled by

sea to Nantes, leaving Vannes to surrender to La Tremouille.

The latter proceeded to lay siege to Nantes. Reduced to such extremity, Duke Francis despatched envoys in all directions for aid, to Henry of England, as well as to the Count d'Albret and Maximilian of Austria, to each of whom was offered the hand of Anne, heiress of Brittany, in marriage. Both were eager to accept the offer, and to fulfil the condition; but d'Albret advancing with 4000 men was intercepted by the king's partisans, and Maximilian could only send 1500 men to St. Malo. These, however, succeeded in defending Nantes, on which the besieging army of the king could make so little impression that it at last withdrew.

In 1488 the Lady Anne, who had become Duchess of Bourbon by her husband's succeeding his elder brother, determined to reduce Brittany by force of arms, and rejected the offers of submission made by the Duke of Orleans, and of peace by the Bretons. They, however, all rallied to their duke. The Estates met and granted a subsidy on hearths, and an army was raised, mustering nearly 3000 horse and 8000 foot, besides 1200 German lansquenets sent by Maximilian*, and 400 English archers, whom Lord Woodville had brought to Brittany without the public sanction of King Henry.† Against these La Tremouille, the young general of Charles the Eighth, advanced. He took Chateaubriand, to punish the defection of its lord, Ancenis, and Fougeres. Half way between that place and Rennes, at St. Aubin des Cormiers, the Breton and French armies met on the 22nd of July, 1488.

The Bretons placed their chief reliance in their foot, to render whom more formidable to the enemy, they

* Jaligny. † Hall.

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The victory of St. Aubin compelled the submission of the Bretons, whose envoys, when they reached the French court, publicly applied to the young monarch himself, and interested him in their behalf. He, as well as the chancellor, De Rochefort, recommended treating the Bretons with mildness, against the opinion of the Lady Anne.‡ The duke made his submission, and promised not to marry his daughter without the consent of the French monarch. The

* Vita Lud. XII.; anonymous in Godefroy.

† Lobineau's account is, that La Tremouille only executed those who had deserted from the king's standard to the duke's.

‡ Lobineau, Jaligny.

Duke of Brittany's death, however, having occurred soon after the treaty of Sablé, the Lady Anne resumed her influence, made her policy prevail, and insisted not only on the daughters of Brittany being delivered up to her guardianship, but upon the eldest refraining from the assumption of the title of duchess till a commission should have examined her rights.

The object of this injunction was too plain — plainer when the French again advanced to the extremity of the province, seized Brest and the other seaports. The warlike ardour of the Bretons was aroused, and their danger brought powerful assistance. Maximilian, indeed, seized by the Ghenters at the commencement of 1488, and occupied with his liberation or with vengeance, could lend trifling aid. But Spain and England, the latter driven by popular opinion, in despite of the selfish reluctance of Henry the Seventh, furnished assistance. Jaligny represents Henry as in "such suspicion of his prelates and nobles," that he durst not speak to the French ambassador. The English parliament, indeed, pressed the king strongly to interfere, and save Brittany from the French. Ferdinand of Spain being impressed with the same necessity, from six to eight thousand English under Lord Broke, and two thousand Spaniards, landed in the duchy during the first months of 1489, and compelled the French to desist from further conquest.* The Lady Anne thus seeing the impossibility of reducing Brittany by arms, and finding Henry the Seventh impracticable, sent envoys to Frankfort to Maximilian, and concluded a peace with him in July. The conditions of the Treaty of Frankfort were so few and so simple that it is difficult to discover for what the belligerents were combating in the Low Countries. Brittany, however, was included in the peace, and the French stipulated to restore to the

* Rymer.

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Bretons the places which they held in the province, on condition that the English and Spanish troops were to be sent home. This, indeed, seemed to be the chief object of the French.

The Bretons themselves were torn by such dissentions, that, if abandoned by the foreign auxiliaries, they could scarcely fail to fall into the power of France. The Duke of Rohan, one of the principal nobles of the country, openly espoused the French cause, and made war upon the young duchess. The Count D'Albret, who still supported her, did so merely with the hope of becoming her husband. But having reached the age of forty, and being of a visage somewhat rubicund, the heiress of Brittany could not abide him, and declared that she would sooner enter a convent than become his wife. Yet the Marechal De Rieux, one of her guardians and a leading Breton noble, saw no other means of preserving the independence of duchy and of duchess, than this marriage. Henry the Seventh, whom Rieux visited in England, entertained the same opinion; and thus the most powerful of her friends only consented to support the young duchess' cause upon a condition to which she could never be brought to assent.

The princess found a friend more sympathetic in Dunois. That noble devoted himself to her cause, and acknowledged the justice of her objections to D'Albret. Montauban, her chancellor, adopted the same opinion. The suitor, thus spurned, withdrew, as well as Rieux and Lescun, who all joined in laying plans, now to carry off the duchess, now to render her unpopular with the Bretons. On one occasion she remained fifteen days in the suburbs of Nantes, the townsfolk being prevented from receiving her. But at last she succeeded in winning the adherence of the people of Rennes, and also in persuading Henry the Seventh of the incongruity of making her espouse

D'Albret. Dunois conceived the idea of her marrying Maximilian; and Henry the Seventh embraced the project, as that best fitted to secure the independence of Brittany. The archduke, highly flattered by the prospect of winning this province for his family, as well as Flanders, by marriage, sent envoys as early as March 1490 to conclude so important a negotiation. The Treaty of Frankfort intervened, and it was probably owing to the French court entertaining a suspicion of the intended match, that it delayed to execute the stipulations of that treaty, which obliged it to surrender the fortresses of Brittany. It was impossible to effect even the betrothal of Maximilian and Anne of Brittany as long as the Marechal de Rieux opposed it. But he was at last won over by Henry the Seventh, abandoned the pretensions of D'Albret, became reconciled to the duchess, and in 1490 the ceremony of marriage took place between the duchess Anne and the Prince of Nassau, as representative of Maximilian. The ceremony consisted in the ambassador introducing his leg into the young duchess's bed, in the presence of witnesses. It would have been expedient to keep even this a secret. For when D'Albret discovered it, he entered into negotiations with the French court, and stipulated to surrender to it the fortress of Nantes, on condition that his marriage with the duchess should be sanctioned and aided. By pretending to accept this condition, the French obtained possession of Nantes, in February 1491.

The loss of the second and most important city of her duchy alarmed Anne, and she instantly despatched envoys to Henry as well as to Maximilian for immediate aid. But the king of the Romans, "an archer," says Bacon, "who never shot an arrow home," was then in Hungary, and Henry was not over zealous to second a prince who was so powerless or reckless to maintain his own interests. Dunois, seeing the vanity of the

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German marriage, turned his views to one nearer home, when a revolution which took place at the French court at once facilitated the completion of his scheme.

The friends of the Duke of Orleans, especially his wife Jeanne, and his friend George D'Amboise, were indefatigable in their exertions and supplications to obtain his deliverance from prison. The Lady Anne was in this respect inexorable. But the young king, secretly moved with pity for his cousin, only sought an opportunity to fling off his sister's authority and give the most signal proof of it by liberating the Duke of Orleans. Encouraged in this design by his chamberlain and his *pannetier*, Miolans and Cossé, he left the castle of Plessis under the pretext of hunting, and sent one of his followers, Daubigny, to release the duke from the tower of Bourges, and bring him to his presence. The duke and Charles mutually wept and embraced; the king shared his bed, necessaries, and apparel with the prisoner whom he had liberated, and bringing him to Plessis, reconciled him to the Lady Anne and her husband.

The young king found in Louis of Orleans at once a confidant and councillor, not very different from him in years, and sympathetic in his love of adventure and thirst of heroism. Charles seemed to have become early disgusted with the politics of the north, its inglorious wars, interminable negotiations, and petty intrigues. His imagination, influenced by such literature as the time afforded, followed the flights of the Prince of Anjou, that most adventurous of the Bourbon race. And he seemed especially incited to emulate the ambition of his namesake Charles of that family, by whom the conquest of Naples was first achieved, and considered as a mere stepping-stone to that of the east. To put an end to civil dissensions, and come to a treaty of pacification with all those neighbours who might distrust his purpose in crossing the

Alps, was the French king's first thought. And no one was more prone to associate or aid in the scheme than the Duke of Orleans, who, as possessor of the duchy of Asti, and descended from Valentine Visconti, had pretensions upon Milan, and who was as full as Charles of exaggerated ideas of the value of Italian dominions. The succession of Brittany was the first stumbling-block in the way of such enterprises. To secure it to the crown of France, there was one simple mode, the monarch's marriage with the young Duchess Anne. But Charles' sister, Anne of Bourbon, had evidently never contemplated such a compromise. By the Treaty of Arras, the king was betrothed to the Princess Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, who had been educated at the French court, and who brought with her Artois and Franche-Comté as her dowry. The Lady Anne could never reconcile herself to the restoration of those, accompanied by a total breach not only with Maximilian but with the Flemings. Even Brittany, in the Lady Anne's conception, was not worth such a sacrifice; Brittany, which must sooner or later lapse to the French crown, and could be retained by no other, whereas such outlying provinces as Franche-Comté and Flanders would never be recovered unless the greatest pains were taken to preserve intact the royal claim in them, as well as the attachment of those provinces to the crown. In these political views the Lady Anne was probably in the right. Neither Austria, nor England, nor Spain could ever have kept the French out of Brittany, whilst out of Franche-Comté and Flanders they certainly did and could continue to expel them.

The Duke of Orleans, however, now embraced eagerly the idea long entertained by Dunois, of the expediency of Charles himself espousing the heiress of Brittany, and of course sending back Margaret, together with her dowry, to Maximilian. The proposal, when

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broached to the young duchess, was not rejected.* Maximilian was neither in years nor in feeling so fitting a husband as Charles, and whatever right the ceremony of betrothal gave him had been long obliterated by neglect. An agreement, therefore, was soon come to. But, as in the case of Anne's marriage with Maximilian, it was thought necessary to envelope it in profound secrecy, to prevent any vigorous efforts of Spain, and more especially of England, to defeat it; so the treaty or understanding between Anne and Charles was not only kept secret, but covered by a mock Treaty concluded at Rennes. It promised a safe conduct to Anne to withdraw to Germany to Maximilian, and stipulated a due pension to her, as well as guaranteeing the independence of the duchy. This mask of a treaty, concluded in November, was followed by Anne leaving Brittany some weeks after of her own accord, with neither guard nor suite; but instead of repairing to Germany, she proceeded to Langeais in Touraine, where the marriage between her and King Charles was celebrated with all solemnity, December 1491.

Thus did a boy king, or one but just of age, cheat by their own arts of dissimulation two of the craftiest of monarchs, Henry the Seventh of England, and Ferdinand of Spain, not to mention Maximilian, King of the Romans, doubly interested in the matter. Charles, however, did not aggravate the mortifications which he had caused his foes and rivals, by assuming a tone or policy of defiance. His anxiety was to propitiate them even by concessions which almost counterbalanced his success. The coalition, indeed, which the Breton marriage raised against the French king was formidable; it consisted of Henry the Seventh, of Ferdinand, of Maximilian, and the Flemings. All of these had, no doubt,

* Molinet.

been long since arrayed in hostility to France, but it was a mild and semi-active hostility. Henry, showed himself peculiarly piqued. It need not be believed that he uttered the magniloquent threats against France which Bacon puts into his mouth, neither is it credible that he was actuated by the mean motives which the same historian supposes. The English king had befriended Anne of Brittany whilst seeking to avoid the revival of the old idle antagonism between England and France. But finding himself tricked, Henry, who, by the despatch of a naval force, had captured Damme, and thereby enabled Maximilian to recover his authority over Bruges, now mustered an army, and resolved to proceed in person with it to the continent. He landed at Calais in October at the head of 25,000 foot and 1600 horse. This formidable army was met, both by its ally and its foe, precisely as that of Edward the Fourth had been by the Duke of Burgundy and King Louis the Eleventh. The Duke then utterly failed in his promise of affording co-operation or aid, as Maximilian did now, whilst Charles the Eighth, under the inspiration of his sister the Lady Anne, met the English monarch as their sire Louis had done, with proffers of peace, and at the same time with secret largess to all who had authority about the king. The result was the conclusion of a peace at Etaples, not distant from Henry's camp before Boulogne. The French paid an indemnity to Henry for the expense of this war, as well as a yearly pension of 24,000 crowns. The Treaty of Etaples, concluded towards the close of 1492, was followed in the spring of 1493 by another treaty, that of Senlis, between France and Maximilian, by which Margaret was sent back, and her dowry, consisting of the counties of Burgundy (Franche-Comté), of Artois, Charolais, and the lordship of Noyelles, restored at the same time. Arras, Hesdin, Aire, and Bethune were to remain in the hands of the French till the Archduke Philip was of

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age, and then be restored to him. Tournay, Mortaigne, and St. Amand were declared to belong to France: Courtray and St. Omer were placed in a kind of neutrality.

Whilst the French court thus appeased England with tribute, and Germany with the surrender of Franche-Comté and a great part of Artois, it proceeded by a still greater concession to pacify Ferdinand of Spain. He was, indeed, the most formidable foe. He had just triumphed over the Moorish king, and captured his capital of Grenada, an exploit great in the eyes of the world of that time, not merely for its completing the Spanish empire, but for humbling and depressing that Mahometan power which had so recently conquered Constantinople, and was then menacing Europe itself and Italy. Ferdinand might have brought his victorious army to the re-conquest of Roussillon. He came himself northwards with his queen to Barcelona to conduct the negotiations. The Spanish historians say that Ferdinand bribed the ecclesiastical counsellors of Charles, as the latter were accused of having bribed those of Henry the Seventh. But at all events the treaty ceding Roussillon and Cerdagne to the Spaniards was signed at Barcelona in January 1493.*

It requires no elaborate enumeration of causes to account for the ambition of a young king, arrived at full possession of power, and feeling himself at the head of a numerous and regular army, to employ in some striking manner such ready instruments of acquisition and of renown. All around Charles impelled him to military exploits. His sister the Lady Anne would have had him conquer Brittany by the sword. Des Cordes, the general of the Flemish frontier, insisted on his turning the whole force of his kingdom in that direction, driving the English from Calais, and annexing

* Prescott's Life of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Flanders definitively to his crown. But Charles had experienced the tedium and non-result of a Flemish campaign, where populous towns stubbornly withstood his arms, the English as well as Germans always pouring in to save this province of the Teutonic race from French subjugation. Past events showed that a hundred miles beyond the Alps were more easily conquered than a foot of ground in Flanders. In the classic peninsula were not merely provinces but kingdoms to be won, fiefs to be conferred, and conquests such as those recorded in Plutarch to be achieved. There was a sufficient amount of right, also to justify ambition. Naples had been the heritage of the House of Anjou, and Charles was the only representative of that house who could vindicate its claim.

The entire state of Italy was calculated at the same time to entice rather than deter an invader. Machiavel shows that the fifteenth century was the epoch in which the component members of great nations grew into one, the leviathans thus produced naturally turning to absorb and devour those which remained unattached and independent. But that smallness was not synonymous with weakness, Flanders and Switzerland remain proofs. The Flemings especially had the wealth, the civilisation, and the internal divisions which rendered Italy attractive to, and defenceless against, the stranger. And yet the chivalry of France, which surmounted the Alps and marched to Naples, was defied by the walls and the breasts of the Flemings.

The same master of political science denounces the pope as the great cause of Italian disunion. In other countries the prince who had the central position, ended by assimilating or reducing all those that encircled him. But the Papacy was neither sufficiently strong nor consistent to effect this. It kept North and South Italy apart, content with vain suzerainty over the latter and following small aims and intrigues in the north,

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whose wealth and developed citizenship might accept the Church as an ally, but which it scorned and could not tolerate as a master. The best popes had aims far higher than patriotism ; the worst far meaner objects ; the good and the bad thus alike pernicious to Italy. If a theocracy had been thus established in Central Italy, and a feudal monarchy in the south, the north had resuscitated the great experiment of basing political existence upon municipal institutions. A host of republics had sprung up, flourished, reached their full development, gone as far as they could go in freedom, wealth, dominion, and civilisation, and were already on the decline. Their first effort had been to get rid of the feudal noblesse, and to resist and defeat the Emperor, who sought to re-establish them. The surplus produce of this fertile region being thus exclusively at the disposal of the industrious classes, communicated great impulse and wealth to them. But the accumulation of riches soon placed the possessors of it in as marked antagonism to those who had but their hands to depend upon, as had existed before between the feudal aristocracy and the unserfed citizen. And both were glad to invite foreign domination, and call in a tyrant to escape from class domination and civil war.

The civic system, which thus failed to produce concord within the city walls, failed still more egregiously in the attempt to found strong empire or extended dominion. In its conquests the city was more exclusive, tyrannical, and unfair, than either prince or lord. It knew not how to communicate rights or privileges to rustics, neither durst it do this to the population of subject towns. Thus not one in a thousand of the Italians under a republic had civic rights.* When the Pisans complained that the Florentines would not allow them to occupy any public office, follow career

* Sismondi's Repub. Ital. c. 91.

or calling more lucrative or ennobling than handicraft, the Florentines replied that they treated the Pisans only as they treated all other subject cities.* For what, then, were the few Florentines who became political masters of Tuscany, better than the feudal nobility which had done the same? Such a system naturally terminated in the despotism of the Medici, which rose up by its patronage of a fair income-tax, and substituted the more tolerable tyranny of one, for that of an arrogant and oppressive oligarchy.

Another result of the feud between those who had wealth and those who had none, was that the former could not trust or command the latter as soldiers, and were in consequence compelled to employ mercenaries, who soon became the sole combatants of North Italy. These professional soldiers, having no interest beyond their pay, came at last to wage the mere semblance of war against each other. Military operations were a mockery, and princes had recourse to poison and to treachery as the only efficient arms. The impracticability of union, the absence of patriotism, the municipal spirit precluding any large sentiment, the decay of science and even seriousness, the corruption of morals, left the civic Italians at the mercy of their more rustic and feudal neighbours, the French, who had at least the military virtues of being true to one prince, proud of their own country, and animated, if no longer by the old spirit of chivalry, at least by that sentiment of heroism derived from it, which at that epoch was forming and subliming into the code of the modern gentleman.

The best that could have befallen the Italians or their country, perhaps, was that the Turks had really gained a footing in the peninsula, and followed up their capture of Otranto in 1480 by the subjugation of the

* Guicciardini, lib. ii. c. i.

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southern provinces. This would have aroused the princes and people of Italy to a defence similar to that which made of Spain a martial and united nation. But the Turks ceased to menace; and successive popes turned their intrigues and the arms of whatever allies they could engage, first against Venice, and then against Ferdinand of Arragon, who ruled over Naples. Rome, in 1486, had sought to bring René of Lorraine as heir of the House of Anjou, to dispute the crown of Naples with Ferdinand. In this enterprise his holiness was aided by the barons of Ferdinand's kingdom. The crafty monarch, adopting the Machiavelic policy of the time, enticed the magnates to an interview, seized and massacred them; one grandee, San Severino, almost alone escaping to the court of France, where he filled the ears of young Charles with accounts of the facility with which Naples might be conquered.

Ludovic Sforza had usurped the government of Milan, setting aside his incapable nephew Galeaz. This young prince had married a Neapolitan princess, the daughter of Alphonso, who was the son and heir of Ferdinand. Hence arose griefs of the Neapolitan court against that of Milan, and griefs grew into enmity. Peter of the Medici, who had succeeded to power in Florence, favoured Ferdinand. And Ludovic, alarmed at having so many Italian enemies, sent to beseech the French king to march to the conquest of Naples.

The proposal, which was to the taste of the young monarch, was abetted by his favourite, De Vesc, who had possessions in Provence, and by Briconnet, a financier, who had entered the church, and hoped by the king's favour and future influence in Italy to become a cardinal. Charles repaired to Lyons in 1493, and signed a treaty with Ludovic, who offered a passage to the king and his army, with an auxiliary force of 500 men-at-arms and 200,000 ducats. Charles promised to defend Milan, to leave 200 French lancers in Asti for

the purpose, and to confer the Duchy of Tarentum on Sforza after the conquest of Naples.

Bouchet * states the army which Charles assembled at Vienne in Dauphiné at 3600 horse and 28,000 foot, of whom 8000 carried harquebusses. The force was too considerable to transport by sea, as was originally the intention, 300,000 francs being spent in preparing galleys at Genoa to transport them.† But Charles, who had lavished large sums in jousts and festivity at Lyons, reckoned upon repeating the same enjoyment on entering each Italian town, and preferred the journey by land. Seeing such to be the commencement and concomitant of the expedition, the Lady Anne and several sage councillors dissuaded it. The city of Paris, of which a loan of 100,000 crowns had been asked, thought fit to protest. Deputies from the capital, from Rouen, and other towns of the kingdom were summoned to meet at Lyons. The Estates were solemnly opened, but the members were known to be prepared with such strong remonstrances that time was not allowed them to answer.‡ Yet the funds for the expedition were already exhausted; and there was a moment when Charles and even his favourites hesitated to pass the Alps so ill-provided. But the Cardinal De la Rovere, the future Julius the Second, reproached the French monarch with his pusillanimity, and Ludovic procuring a seasonable loan of 50,000 ducats, Charles crossed the Mont Ginevra in the first days of September 1494.§

* Panégyrique du Chevalier sans reproche.

† Comines.

‡ Della Casa's letter from Lyons in *Négot. Dip. entre la France et la Toscane.* See also account of meeting in *Documens Hist. Inédites,* t. ii. p. 477.

§ Guicciardini, whose history here begins, Belcarius, Ferronius, Gaguin, and the several accounts in Godefroy's collection. The volume recently published by the French government containing the *Négotiations Diplomatiques entre la France et la Toscane,* throws a fuller light on this period. Della Casa's account of his embassy to France is especially valuable. He represents every one as opposed to Charles's expedition, including the prince of the blood and the members of the coun-

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The Duke of Orleans had preceded the monarch to Genoa with 3000 Swiss, to make what use he could of the naval armament. His arrival was opportune, for Duke Frederick, son of Alphonso, who had succeeded to the throne of Naples on the death of Ferdinand, appeared off the coast with forty-four galleys, and entered the harbour of Rapallo, where he landed 3000 men, with some of the Genoese exiles. The Duke of Orleans at once embarked in the Genoese galleys, and sailed to the attack of the Neapolitans in Rapallo. Frederick avoided the naval encounter, whilst the duke with his Swiss attacked and defeated the troops of Naples, capturing the Genoese exilés in their company. The French and Swiss soldiers, who were not in the habit of taking common prisoners, surprised and startled the Italians by the mercilessness which they showed.

Such was the welcome news which met Charles as he advanced by Chieri to Asti, where he found Ludovic Sforza, and where all the banqueting and excesses of Lyons were renewed. Charles and the Duke of Orleans fell dangerously ill. The monarch recovered his health, to find his penury greater than ever. But Ludovic furnished fresh supplies, the Duchess of Savoy gave her jewels, by pawning which the French king was able to reach Pavia and Piacenza. In the first city he had an interview with young Galeaz, the imprisoned Duke of Milan, who piteously besought Charles to be the protector of his infant son.* The meeting pro-

cil. "Nella propria corte," says the Bishop of Arezzo, "non sino piu che due, che non sene ridono."

In the same volume may be traced the old relations of the French kings with Italy. Philip of Valois sent to the Florentines to complain of their treatment of the duke of Athens. In the fourteenth century Florence demanded French aid against the Visconti, and in 1407 sent Pitti ambassador to France. Charles the Seventh manifested much friendship for the Sforzà, and in 1452 threatened to intervene in their behalf. Louis the Eleventh shared the same predilection. In 1478 Comines went to Italy to reconcile the Pope and the Florentines.

* Négot. Dip. entre France et Tosc. p. 586.

bably alarmed the fears of his gaolers, for the death of Galeaz was announced soon after.

From Piacenza the king marched across the Apennines, approaching the coast, and avoiding the Romagna, where the Neapolitan army held a French division under Daubigné in check. The French proceeded by Pontremoli to Sarzana, then having a strong fortress, to which they immediately laid siege. Pietro di Medici, whilst he aroused French enmity by adhering to the King of Naples, took no efficient steps to resist it. No sooner, indeed, did the pusillanimous tyrant of Florence learn that the enemy had taken Fivizzano, and put its garrison to the sword, than he hurried to Charles's court, threw himself at his feet, and surrendered all his strongholds, including those of Pisa and Leghorn, on the mere promise that they should be restored after the campaign against Naples. He stipulated, moreover, to pay 200,000 ducats; thus supplying the French with what they most needed, and making their expedition already a most lucrative speculation.

Ludovic Sforza and Pietro di Medici met on this occasion in Charles's camp, when the latter excused himself for not having met the duke before, in consequence of the other having gone out of his road. "One of us, no doubt, lost his way," rejoined Ludovic, "but it was probably yourself." Pietro had, indeed, lost his way, for the Florentines, indignant at his pusillanimous surrender of all their towns, turned him and his followers out of the city. Charles was then allowed to enter Florence; but its citizens, far from displaying the obsequious submission which had hitherto greeted the French, showed themselves by no means resigned to be his subjects. Like most Italian cities, they cared little for granting nominal suzerainty; but when Charles proposed to leave behind him in Florence certain law officials to govern and to tax, Capponi, the head of the civic deputation, tore the copy of the con-

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dition in the royal presence, and exclaimed to the French, "Since you make such dishonourable demands, you may sound your trumpets and we will ring our bells." This gallant and eminently civic defiance brought at once Charles and his councillors to reason. They desisted from exorbitant demands. They merely stipulated to retain Pisa and Leghorn till the close of the war, the Florentines paying 50,000 ducats down, with 70,000 subsequently, and promising not to elect a captain-general without French participation.*

The next potentate whose dominions the French army necessarily crossed was the pope. The King of Naples had given one of his daughters to a son of the pontiff, who was no other than the infamous Borgia, Alexander the Sixth. In his first alarm at the coming of the French he had sent an envoy to the Sultan Bajazet, stating that Charles was coming to Rome, not only to destroy the popedom, but to take Bajazet's brother Gem, then in Rome, and proceed with him to the conquest of Greece. He begged the Turk to expostulate with the Venetians, and demand their interference. The answer of Bajazet shows how well he was informed concerning the pontifical court. He begged the pope to put an end to the life of Prince Gem and send his body to Constantinople, for which service he proffered 3000 ducats to buy lands and lordships for the pope's sons.† The representative of Mahomet made no effort to save Rome from the French king, who entered that city on the last day of 1494, helm on head and lance in rest, the Neapolitan army under the Duke of Calabria retreating at the same time by the opposite gate. The pope shut himself up at first in the castle of St. Angelo, but in consequence of a sub-

* Guicciardini, l. i.

† The pope's envoy, Basard, was seized on his return by the French, and his papers are preserved in the Bib. Imp. MS. Bethune, No. 8457. Alexander the Sixth made a better hand of Gem, by selling him to the French for 20,000 ducats.

sequent agreement he received Charles in the church of St. Peter. Nor was the conqueror arrogant. He twice bent the knee on approaching the pope, who feigned not to perceive the two first genuflexions, but came forward to prevent the third.* The king insisted on holding the principal fortresses, Terracina, Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, and Spoleto. But his chief anxiety was that his friend and minister, Briconnet, should be instantly created a cardinal. This Alexander complied with, and having delayed at Rome a week, the French king proceeded with his army towards Naples.

Alphonso had given frequent proofs both of capacity and courage, but these qualities deserted him at the approach of the French. He abdicated in favour of his son Don Fernand, and withdrew to Mazarra in Sicily, given him by Ferdinand of Spain, who ruled over that island. Alphonso's son seemed to have no more resolution than his father. Had he, indeed, been ever so brave, his soldiers were neither trained nor accustomed to serious fighting. Guicciardini represents the Italian troops as used merely to a kind of guerilla war, whilst the Swiss and French presented a firm and serried front.† The garrisons of the places taken by the French being instantly put to the sword, Naples itself and other towns rebelled, in fear of being subjected to a siege, and Ferdinand, finding adhesion neither in his troops nor in his towns, followed the example of his father, and abandoned Naples, the castle of which alone held out for some time. The French king, at the head of his army, made his entry into the capital on the 22nd of February 1495.

Up to this, the apogeum of his triumph, no Italian prince or people dared to offer resistance to Charles. They could not conceive that so much power, so per-

* Such is the account given by a follower of Charles, and preserved in the volume of MSS. above quoted, No. 8457. It appears that Charles did not kiss the pope's foot or hand.

† Lib. ii. cap. 3.

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fectly organised in a military sense (for the French discipline was admirable, and their artillery irresistible,) could have sprung up without corresponding proficiency in politics and statesmanship. But the French were no sooner masters in Naples, and called to reduce and order it permanently to their obedience, than it became evident that, however formidable in the field, they were but children in the art of government. Charles himself knew no mode of conquest or of settlement save the feudal one, to dispossess the holders of fiefs, and confer them on his own followers. This, indeed, had been the aim of the expedition, the inducement to his noblesse. The chief proprietors of the kingdom, even those of the Aragonese party, had hitherto quietly submitted to the French, whilst the survivors of the Angevine faction adhered with alacrity. Yet these did not find their reward. Several important towns on the eastern coast, learning they were to be made over to French chiefs, raised once more the standard of Aragon. And the whole population, irritated by the arrogance of the conquerors, soon displayed the same inclination.

But had the French king been ever so politic and prudent, his successes could not have failed to raise up many and potent enemies. The states of Europe had already begun to be closely affected by their mutual fears and jealousies, and by that desire to preserve a balance of power amongst them which forms the basis of modern policy. Ferdinand of Aragon could not tranquilly regard the French masters of Naples, which rendered his hold of Sicily and Sardinia uncertain. The Spanish ambassador, indeed, did not wait for the conquest of Naples to inform Charles, that his master would make war rather than permit the oppression of the pope and the subjugation of Italy. Venice, on more just grounds, was alarmed at the prospect of a foreign domination, not merely in Naples, but in North Italy, where the French kept possession of the Tuscan as well as the

Genoese fortresses. Moreover they liked not Charles's project of invading Greece, where French emissaries were already active and intriguing.* The Duke of Orleans, who had remained behind in Asti, at first from illness, marked his convalescence by advancing claims on Milan by right of his descent from the Visconti.† This flung Ludovic Sforza amongst the enemies of the French, and a League was soon formed of all the Italian States, the pope included, against Charles, Florence alone holding aloof. Had the Italians a just confidence in their strength and cause, they would not have sought or accepted foreign aid. Unfortunately, they called on that of both the Spanish monarch and the German Emperor, which tended merely to substitute one foreign domination for another. This League, concluded in the spring of 1491 at Venice, was not kept secret, but communicated to Philip de Comines, Charles's ambassador in that city.

Even before he received intelligence of this hostile league, the king was impatient to return to France. He had accomplished his purpose, achieved his triumphs, rewarded, or apparently rewarded, his followers. A fresh enterprise required funds to be raised and preparations to be made at home. The news of the League did but hurry his departure. Not having received investiture of the Pope, he hastened the ceremony of his coronation as King of Naples without it. Gilbert de Montpensier, a brave but indolent man, was appointed viceroy, and D'Aubigny, a Scotchman, constable and general, with 500 lances, 2500 Swiss, and some French infantry. Charles's departure from Naples took place in May.

Pope Alexander had evidently abetted the League

* Paul Jove.

† La Case says that Orleans was not so ill but that he might have marched with the army. The king, he adds, asked the duke to waive his claim upon Milan, which the latter refused.

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against France, and even then was urging Ferdinand of Aragon to invade Naples. He did not await Charles's approach, but withdrew to Orvieto, which did not prevent the French monarch from evacuating the Roman fortresses. On approaching Florence, he was met by Friar Savonarola, who, like Jeanne D'Arc, was moved by the distresses of his country to come forward as its political saviour. He invoked Charles, as Dante had called on the Emperor, to reform the church, and thereby restore the ancient state and ascendancy of Italy. Savonarola's simultaneous advice to the Florentines was, to merit this regeneration and prosperity by saintliness, good morals, and pacific policy; which only proved that the Florentine friar wanted that admixture of sagacity and worldly spirit with celestial enthusiasm which marked and gave success to Cromwell and Jeanne d'Arc.

From Florence, the king pursued his course by Pisa, which he knew not what to do with, whether to sacrifice to Florence, or support against it; and without clearly deciding one or the other, he withdrew, by the same road along which he had advanced the previous year, to Pontremoli. It was no doubt his intention to retreat by the foot of the Apennines and the sea-coast. But this was impossible, unless he was sure of Genoa. The Aragonese fleet was already at Rapallo, and had beaten some French vessels there, and although Charles detached a portion of his force to Genoa, that city refused to open its gates to a prince who was fleeing from Italy. It was unavoidable, therefore, for Charles to cross the Apennines due north into the Duchy of Parma. The passes were difficult, the road traced, but not opened, and it seemed impracticable to transport artillery. The Swiss, however, volunteered to yoke themselves by one and two hundred to the guns, and to drag them up and let them down the mountains, the ammunition and projectiles being carried by the rest of

the army in their hats and hands. By means of such heroic adhesion and zeal, Charles passed over his army and his guns, and descended with them into the plain on the banks of the Taro. Hostilities had broken out between the Duke of Orleans and the Sforza. The former had advanced to Vigevano, and might, it was thought at one time, have taken Milan. But, hesitating till the enemy collected forces, he himself was besieged in Novara.

On the 5th of July Charles occupied the village of Fornova, about eight leagues from Parma, and had scarcely done so when his outposts were assailed by the Stradiot cavalry. The enemy were 35,000 strong, four-fifths of them soldiers of Venice, which thus came forward to defend the independence of Italy against the French. Charles was not able to bring more than 9000 men on the field. At the head of a force so disproportioned to that of his enemies, Charles signified to them that his only desire was to pass unmolested. But Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, who commanded the Venetian army, was resolved not to allow the French so easily to escape. He began the action, therefore, with his artillery on the morning of the 6th July. The king's army was more in marching than in fighting order. Trivulzio led the advance, in which were the gens-d'armes and the Swiss. The king, with the guard and archers, followed, and occupied the dry and stony bed of the Taro, whilst the rear and the baggage followed under Tremouille. It was upon this rear-guard, which formed the right of the French as they faced to fight, that the Marquis of Mantua fell at the head of his Italian men-at-arms and his Stradiot light cavalry. He apparently avoided the encounter with the French gens-d'armes under Trivulzio, and hoped to terminate the battle ere they could engage. The marquis's onset was fully successful at first. The French under Tremouille and Foix were broken, when

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the king, with the central division round him, hurried back to their succour; the gens-d'armes under Trivulzio and Gié following the movement. The advance of the king in person restored the battle in the rear, although Charles was in imminent peril, charging in front, and at one time surrounded by several of the enemy's horse, one of whom would have run him through with his lance but for the Bastard of Bourbon, who parried the thrust; the king's good horse, Savoye, at the same time extricating him from the *mêlée*. The Stradiot cavaliers, though at first triumphant, were disturbed from the fight by seeing their comrades pillaging the king's baggage. The Count de Caiazzo then led a division of Italian gens-d'armes against the flower of the French under Gié and Trivulzio, to prevent them succouring the king and the rear-guard. The Italians, however, shrunk from crossing lances with the French, and turned. This decided the battle, which might have been restored had the Venetian reserve been brought up, but its commander, the uncle of the Marquis of Mantua, being slain, there was no officer to replace him. So that, beaten on all sides, though not without the glory of proving that they were fully equal to a stand-up fight and a bloody encounter, the Venetians fled, leaving upwards of 3000 men on the field.*

Notwithstanding the loss of the battle of Fornova, the Venetians and the Duke of Milan were still far superior in numbers to the French, nor could the latter even attempt to raise the siege of Novara. Events in South Italy had followed the same course as in the north. The great Aragonese general, Gonsalvo de Cordova, had taken the field in Calabria against the French under D'Aubigny, and had been defeated by

* Comines was present at the engagement, and has left the most graphic account of it. See André de la Vigne, La Tremouille, and Bembo for the Venetian account. See also the letter of Vettori in *Négot. Dip. entre la France et la Toscane*, p. 624.

them at Seminara, as the Venetians were at Fornova, by the superior strength and skill of Charles's gens-d'armes. But this did not prevent young Ferdinand from getting possession of Naples. Landing near it, Gilbert de Montpensier had marched out to repel him, when the entire population of the capital rose in favour of their former prince, and Montpensier was obliged to shut himself up in the castle. Charles himself soon perceived that the task which he had undertaken was too vast. Could he have extricated the Duke of Orleans from Novara, he would have passed the Alps at once. In this disposition, the parties were easily brought to negotiate, and a treaty was concluded at Vercelli in October, between Charles and the Duke of Milan, by which the former evacuated Novara. Very large numbers of Swiss, who had come down from the mountains into Lombardy to serve in Charles' army, might have redeemed its fortunes had the monarch still retained spirit and ardour for the war. The Duke of Orleans pressed him to continue it. But Charles and his council were dissatisfied with the duke's rash provocation of Milan, and his advice was not listened to. Charles repassed the Alps with his army, and he soon after learned the double capitulation of his lieutenant, Montpensier, in the castle of Naples, and of D'Aubigny in Calabria. The French invasion had swept like an Alpine torrent over Italy, but dried up and disappeared as fast as it came, leaving nothing behind it but disorder and ruin.

The expedition of Charles the Eighth to Italy has generally been considered one of the great examples of kingly rashness. French ambition overleaping the Alps at all has been treated as monstrous imprudence, and as much a transgression of the law of nature as of right. And yet Italy fell, in no long years afterwards, a prey to kings and countries even more remote than France, with fewer claims, and not more military re-

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nown. Charles's mistake seems to have been, that he not only achieved conquest, but attempted to preserve the conquered country by purely feudal armies, officers, and means. The characteristic of feudal conquest was arrogance and severity to the conquered. It entailed confiscation on the landed nobles where such existed, and ignorant contempt for the weal and the pride of the civic classes. Florence, Pisa, Genoa, were all eager to embrace the cause, and even accept the suzerainty of the French, who did not know how to avail themselves of these Italian predilections. The genius of French and Italian was opposed, and there seemed to be more affinity in the latter for the sombre Spaniard than for the gallant and reckless French. It is singular, indeed, that, often as France has taken its ideas from Italy, Italy should never have taken example from the French. In many epochs, and in many walks, France has certainly been foremost in civilisation. Yet the Italians have preferred to borrow policy, philosophy, and even manners from the Germans and the Spaniards, to taking them from the French. The people of the peninsula hate the Germans, but their jealousy of the French is more profound.

The two years which elapsed from Charles' return over the Alps to his death, were marked by no event of importance. He was himself too disheartened to lead back another army, and his council were much divided as to the best policy to pursue. At one time he was for despatching the Duke of Orleans to make war on Milan; but the duke, who perceived the sinking state of the king's health, did not think it prudent to absent himself from a kingdom which he was destined to inherit.* Another project was to carry on the Italian war by Italians, chiefs of which nation were not wanting. The Marquis of Mantua had abandoned the service of

* The king's son, whom he had christened Orlando, had died some time previous.

Venice, and was ready to adopt with Trivulzio that of France. The Duke of Ferrara, the Bentivoglios of Bologna, the Orsini and the Cardinal de la Rovere, were zealous. "Eighty thousand crowns," says Comines, "would have enabled these Italians to have kept the field for a long time, and, the Duke of Milan once defeated, Naples would have fallen of itself." But for this, order and economy in the finances were requisite, and the preference in the king of business to pleasure. A little before his death Charles, indeed, showed signs of amendment in both respects. He made resolutions "to live according to the commands of God, and to regulate the affairs of justice and of the church, as also to confine his expenditure within the 1,200,000 francs voted by the States of France." * The chief expenditure and amusement that occupied him seemed to be the building and ornamenting of the castle of Amboise, for which he had brought with him eminent architects and artists from Italy.

It was here that, on the eve of Easter 1448, he proceeded to the battlements with his queen to watch some of the courtiers playing ball in the fosses below. Traversing a narrow passage, Charles struck his head against the archway of a low door. He seemed at first nowise incommoded by the blow, continuing for a long time to contemplate the game, and to converse with those around him, when of a sudden he fell back in a kind of fit. He was carried into a little chamber near, recovered speech once or twice for a short time, and after nine hours of agony expired.

Guicciardini has left a probably exaggerated picture of the ungainliness of Charles' personal appearance. The spirit of the Italian revolted against a conqueror so unheroic in form and so infantine in policy. "Of a weak complexion and sickly body, small in stature and

* The French, says Comines, paid, at the time he wrote, two millions and a half of francs in tallage.

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ugly in feature, disproportionate in his members, Charles was so ignorant as scarcely to know his letters." Comines had no great love for Charles either, but he depicts the monarch on the morning of the battle of Fornova, mounted on his splendid horse Savoye, looking very different from his usual character, complexion, or stature. "He was ever wont to be timid of speech, in consequence of severe nurture in youth — on this occasion he wore a good colour, seemed of fair stature, his words bespeaking both prudence and boldness." Charles, indeed, redeemed many acts of a weak reign at Fornova, where his readiness and his valour contributed mainly to the victory.

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LOUIS THE TWELFTH. 1498—1515.

THE first acts of the Duke of Orleans on becoming Louis the Twelfth bespoke policy as well as generosity; which of them most swayed him might be difficult to decide. It is something to have two such qualities agree in a monarch. He called La Tremouille, who had taken him prisoner at St. Aubin, and had completed the victory of the salaried noblesse over the princes of the blood, and, confirming him in all his offices and pensions, bade him serve the "crown as loyally as before, and with better hope of recompense." * The Lady Anne, now Duchess of Bourbon, had been the vengeful rival of the Duke of Orleans, and had kept him four years in prison. Louis now summoned her and her husband, and in lieu of vengeance conferred upon them the greatest of favours. They had but a daughter, to whom the Duchy of Bourbon did not descend. The king arranged a marriage between her and the son of Gilbert of Montpensier, of a younger branch of the House of Bourbon, who had been viceroy at Naples, and had died there. On the young spouses, Louis the Twelfth settled the succession of the duchy, thus restoring the grandeur of the almost only princely house.†

* Panégyrique du Chevalier sans reproche.

† The only peers at Louis' coronation, beside the Duke of Bourbon, were the young Duke of Alençon, the Count de Foix, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Counts of Orange and Ravestein; as many foreigners as French.

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In accordance with this generous policy was the answer of the king to the citizens of Orleans, who besought him not to remember their past offences to him, that "it was neither decorous nor honourable for a King of France to avenge the quarrels of a Duke of Orleans."*

Those who see a politic motive beneath this generosity, point out the monarch's conduct to his wife, his divorce and his subsequent marriage, which, if resisted and impugned, might have occasioned serious difficulties. Jeanne had been a docile wife, had laboured zealously to obtain her husband's liberation, and had never murmured at his neglect. True, the Duke of Orleans had espoused her under the compulsion of her father, Louis the Eleventh. She was ill-favoured, and herself admitted that she was not beautiful or well-formed.† Louis excluded her from the ceremony of his coronation, and applied to Pope Alexander the Sixth for a divorce. The pope appointed commissioners to inquire, one of them Louis's own minister, Amboise. The acquiescence of the pontiff was already purchased by the promise of the hand of the Princess Charlotte of Naples, then at the French court, with the Duchy of Tarentum, for Cæsar Borgia, the pope's son. Jeanne resisted the captious questions and charges of the judges, but offered no resistance to the final decision, which was for a divorce, and which the king softened by a grant of the Duchy of Berry. Louis did not wait for the sentence to enter into an engagement to espouse Anne of Brittany, widow of the late king, and thus secure that important duchy to the crown. Chroniclers hint that there had been a previous attachment between them; but they date from a time when Anne was but a child. Cæsar Borgia, who came to France with the papal dispensation for the marriage with Anne, and who brought also a cardinal's hat for the minister, George D'Amboise,

* MS. Humbert Velay.

† Inquest and interrogatory of Jeanne, MSS. Bib. Impériale. See, for copious extracts, Hist. du 16me Siècle en France, par le Bibliophile Jacob.

sought to procure his own marriage before he delivered the document.* But he was cheated of it, and the marriage of Louis with Queen Anne was celebrated at Nantes in January 1499 ; the nominal privileges and independence of the proud province being strictly stipulated.†

The conciliatory and equitable spirit displayed by the new king towards his political rivals, was also manifest in his conduct towards his people. Almost his first act had been to declare the rate of tallage greatly diminished, and to issue orders to check the rapacity of the gens-d'armes‡; he also refused to accept the large gifts usually paid by the great towns on a royal accession. Whatever he deemed to be the desire of his people, Louis the Twelfth anticipated. Unfortunately, he had no reason to think that popular institutions or representative liberties were amongst the objects of their desire. His first act in public life as Duke of Orleans had been to demand and to obtain the summoning of the States-General. They had in nowise answered his expectations, followed his advice, or manifested gratitude. They overlooked his right as first prince of the blood, shrunk from the modification of the council, which was in their power. They had placed no check to the royal prodigality or the absolutism of the court, and proved, in short, an utter failure. Had Louis the Twelfth, when Duke of Orleans, experienced liberality and justice from the Estates, he was, from character and inclination, precisely the monarch to have confirmed that great representative institution. But, having neither reason to respect nor esteem the States-General himself, nor to suppose that the French people cared for the privilege, Louis summoned an assembly of notables to meet at Tours, in order to form an ordi-

* Guicciardini, liv. iv.

† Don Morice, Preuves de l'Histoire de Bretagne.

‡ St. Gelais, Hist. de Louis XII., declares that, before Louis's reign, the quartering of gens-d'armes in a village for a night did more damage than the *taille* of a year.

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nance for the reformation of justice and of the courts of law.

Louis had no more reason to feel respect or gratitude for parlement and for the university than for the Estates. The parlement had turned in derision from his solemn appeal to them when Duke of Orleans. The university had alike declined even to employ its old mode of remonstrance. The university was now treated with harshness, and lost some of its privileges. It tried to stop its lessons, and even prevent its doctors from curing the sick. But the chancellor found no difficulty in putting an end to the academical *emeute.**

The parlement likewise showed its spite to Louis on several occasions. It refused to register some of even his salutary edicts. The resettlement of the Duchy of Bourbon was one of these points of opposition. But the king found no more trouble in quelling the resistance of the legists than in putting down the turbulence of the professors. Neither were supported by the middle or lower classes of the town population, who admired Louis too much for his remission of taxes, and his redress of the expenses and tortuosities of litigation, to countenance any frowardness displayed against the crown. The townsfolk wanted neither States nor municipal privileges. The king was their magistrate, their tribune; more efficient, indeed, than institutions, if the character and principles, the leanings and the genius of kings, could be handed down and perpetuated with the stability of law.

But the chief blow received by the parlement had been dealt in the previous reign. The king's council had long been instituted, not only for the consideration of political questions, but the trial of claims and causes connected with the crown and its officers. Under Charles the Eighth these functions had been separated, and a court or council, consisting of the functionaries

* Robert Gaguin.

and nobles in the king's employ, was established to pass sentence in causes in which the interest of the monarch was concerned. The court of accounts was at the same time established for the trial of causes which regarded the finances. The fees, exactions, and delays of judicial procedure were sought to be abolished. And a copy of the royal ordonnances, together with the customs of each province, were ordered to be supplied to every court. It may be seen from these regulations how largely the nobles participated in, and almost monopolised, the patronage of the crown. This class, indeed, complained that Louis was not so lavish as his predecessor and successor. Under Louis there was little to glean at court, and the French noblesse accordingly kept away from it.* But, as St. Gelais affirms, the king never tormented his nobles with feudal duties, nor summoned them under the *arrière ban* to make war at their own expense. The gens-d'armes, or regular army, was exclusively composed of men of birth. And it is evident that the functionaries and judicial officers in the provinces were not clerks, but gentlemen. Hence so many clauses in the edicts of Louis the Twelfth, commanding that, if a seneschal were not a doctor of laws, he should be assisted by one. Obliged to put a stop to the system of appeals, which rendered suits interminable, provincial authorities were still forbidden to decide without summoning a royal judge to enlighten and aid them.

Whilst thus granting the lesser noblesse or gentry a monopoly of military service, and a share of judicial employ, Louis preserved for the more respectable of the civic classes the possession of the great judicial emi-

* "His French majesty," writes Macchiavelli, in 1500, from Montargis, "has much fewer courtiers than his predecessor, and of those that are here one-third are Italians."—*Legation alla Corte di Francia.* The word majesty was first applied to monarchs by the Italians. Ludovic Sforza seems to have been the first to use it, when writing to Charles the Eighth. See his Letters, MS. No. 8457-9, of Bib. Impérial.

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nences in law, and also a large share in ecclesiastical dignities. To the church and parlement Louis insured the privilege of electing their own chiefs, proofs of fitness being given. The existing judges of parlement prized this probably less than the right of selling the reversion of their places. But the free election, maintained by Louis, far more enhanced the merit and the dignity of the judicial class. The restoration and observance of the Pragmatic Sanction went at the same time to secure the independence of the French prelature, and had not this free system been destroyed by his successors, the history of the French church during the great trial of the Reformation would have been other than it will be found.

To the people, and indeed to all classes, Louis might have proved a more useful monarch, had he not been so equitable, considerate, and economic. His virtues, like those of St. Louis, came in aid of the French national tendencies of that day to worship monarchical power and trust in a ruler's single will. A rapacious sovereign, like Henry the Seventh, threatened by periodical rebellion, and insecure of his title, did much in the way of maintaining and respecting the parliamentary liberties of England, while the virtues of Louis the Twelfth contributed mainly to obliterate the desire of any such institution from the French mind. Thus was despotism fostered in France by popular love, whilst under its shade grew up that, which it has received so much praise for being supposed to humble, a rampant aristocracy. The noble class hitherto had been poor*, nor had the possessors of land acquired the means or skill of extracting large prices from the non-agricultural population. This came later when peace and industry

* St. Gelais blames the class of gentlemen who have a thousand francs revenue for keeping hawks, and aspiring to royal pleasures. De Seyssel, who wrote in Louis the Twelfth's reign, says that a gentleman then got as much annual rent from his estate as he would have sold it for altogether in the time of Louis the Eleventh.

had filled up the ranks of life. The nobles made a plea of their poverty to monopolise all place, and at the same time to be exempt from all tax. To guard such privileges, and limit the class entitled to them, the nobles exaggerated the virtues and the value of mere birth, and closed up the portals which allowed the more eminent or wealthy of the inferior classes to rise amongst them. They also succeeded in making a religion of servility, and a point of honour to look down upon the rest of the world.

One result of Louis's good government was that history ceases to speak of the French people. Their domestic progress offers nothing to discuss or to record. Even the great series of ordonnances is necessarily suspended.* The policy of Louis and his minister was exclusively directed towards the extension of the French empire beyond the Alps. An important novelty was the existence of a prime minister. The increase of political business, the extension of foreign relations, and the necessity of keeping up a large correspondence, rendered indispensable the existence of a functionary charged with such onerous duties. Active monarchs like Ferdinand of Aragon, Louis the Eleventh, and Henry the Seventh, met such business requirements in their own person. Their successors were unable to perform such duties. One cause of the failure of Charles the Eighth's expedition to Italy was, that he left each important question undecided and suspended, — that of Pisa for example. The Duke of Orleans, even while but a prince, found the necessity of reposing upon the care and counsel of a friend and follower, George D'Amboise, who to the duties of counsellor to the heir presumptive added those of the archbishopric of Rouen. The great ministers of these and subsequent times will be found to be churchmen. It was not that they were chosen from the ecclesiastical body, but that

* See, however, in Fontaine, the ordonnance of 1498.

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being capable men of the middle class, or of the gentry, they had no means of assuming a title or rank corresponding to their power, save that which the Church confers. Thus Briconnet, in Charles the Eighth's reign, a financial officer, no sooner won the favour and became the minister of Charles than he acquired a bishopric and a cardinal's hat. Had Amboise, or Richelieu, or Mazarin entered the lists directly with the nobles of the day, acquired domains and produced children to inherit them, they could never have resisted the mass of envy that would have been excited, and the fears which insidious malcontents might have awakened even in the breast of the king. But a churchman who had but a life and not a family interest in ambition, resembled the eunuch of the oriental palace, and was permitted to enjoy power without exciting fear in the monarch or envy in the courtier.

But although the ecclesiastical profession of Amboise and Wolsey rendered them less dangerous as wielders of the monarchical authority, the means and the prospects which opened to them for obtaining the first dignity of the church biased their minds, incited them to turn their own efforts and the resources of their respective countries to foreign policy, and implicated them especially in interminable intrigues with the court of Rome. To do him justice, the first years of the administration of Amboise were not marked with this spirit. The maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction is a proof that his early cares were not those of subservience to Rome. But indeed had the French court been ever so averse to Italian politics, Italian princes and states with their restless intrigues and diplomacy could never have allowed a French monarch to remain a stranger to their struggles.

It was not now Ludovic Sforza, nor any of the exiles of Naples, who came to intreat the interference and descent of the French king into Italy. It was the Venetians themselves, the power which chiefly repre-

sented the Peninsula, and had maintained its independence in the field against Charles the Eighth. That prince, compelled to evacuate Italy by the hostility of the Italian States, left them at his departure a bone of contention in Pisa, which set them almost immediately at war. Pisa, emancipated by the French and reclaimed by Florence, was coveted by the Duke of Milan, whilst the Venetians came to the succour of its citizens. This embroiled all the powers and princes of North Italy; Milan and Venice, which had fought against France at Fornova, becoming open enemies.

Whilst Louis the Twelfth inherited as king his predecessor's claim upon Naples, as Duke of Orleans he considered himself entitled to the duchy of Milan by right of his grandmother Valentine Visconti. The Sforza could only plead, in addition to conquest, the marriage of the first of the family with a natural daughter of Visconti. In the last campaign Ludovic Sforza and the Duke of Orleans had been personal enemies, and the latter, on ascending the throne, determined to achieve the conquest of Milan ere he attempted the recovery of Naples. Louis therefore entered into a treaty with Venice for the conquest of the Milanese, stipulating that the republic should have Cremona and the frontier of the Adda as the price of its co-operation. The house of Savoy at the same time agreed to give its support on the promise of high subsidies and pensions.

The aim of Louis seemed much more attainable than that of Charles had been. The Alps, in the possession of the Duke of Savoy, who had become so closely connected with the crown of France, were no longer obstacles. And Dauphiné indeed then extended over the Mont Ginevra as far as Susa, whilst the marquisate of Saluzzo and the duchy of Asti gave the French a high road to the Milanese, even without the subservience of Savoy. Genoa and its littoral was more French than

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independent. When it is considered that the Milanese was finally conquered and held by a power even more remote from it than France, the wonder is that the latter did not succeed in forming a kingdom astride of the Alps, or on both sides of them. It was the tendency and the desire of the French to extend their empire over Italian races, rather than drive it north against more German provinces. With this view the royal residences had been fixed on the Loire instead of upon the Seine. But the chivalrous tastes of their monarchs, the increasing absolutism of their government and fastidiousness of their court, rendered French ideas more and more foreign to the civic habits of the Italians. French empire and conquest were indeed a tide which rolled of itself over rustic populations, but which found in those accustomed to civic privileges and autonomy, a barrier permanently insurmountable.

Louis seemed to have considered his own power, aided by Venice and by Savoy, not sufficient to crush the Duke of Milan. From comparative isolation the European powers had rushed into the contrary extreme, and thought no enterprise feasible or well conducted towards which a host of alliances had not been secured. Hence Louis's league with Alexander the Sixth, and his obsequiousness towards his son Cæsar Borgia, who married, not indeed Charlotte of Naples, at first promised to him, but a daughter of the house of D'Albret*, and who, in return for active assistance against Milan, was to be allowed to seize the towns of the Romagna, whilst the Venetians obtained Cremona.

Louis mustered 1600 men at arms at Lyons, which implied five times that number of mounted French gentlemen, 8000 French infantry, for Louis had from the first the idea of making use of native soldiers, and 5000 Swiss. D'Aubigny being ill, the command was

* Against the wish of D'Albret, and some add, as a punishment. Ferronius.

given to the Grand Master, Charles D'Amboise, and Giovanni Giacobo Trivulzio. This army marched from Lyons to Asti in August 1499. Its first conquest was the fortress of La Roque, the French guns battering down its walls in four hours. Its garrison, as well as that of Anon, was put to the sword; Valenza, Tortona, and Alexandria likewise fell. Galeaz de San Severino, general of Ludovico, first escaped from Alexandria, and then abandoned all care of defence. Ludovico Sforza was obliged to seek safety in flight, and the French entered Milan in mid September, a month after they had opened the campaign at Asti. The Venetians had meanwhile conquered Cremona; Genoa of itself hoisted French colours, and Louis the Twelfth crossed the Alps to take possession of his new conquest in October.*

The French king instituted in his conquest what his countrymen style a parlement, that is, a tribunal of learned clerks †, to interfere with the free judicial institutions of the city, rather than a council which would admit a remonstrance of the citizens or their partici-

* Guicciardini and Jean D'Auton are the chief authorities for the campaign. D'Auton followed it as historiographer of Louis. Amboise, however powerful at the time, must have been a stranger to the appointment of so ignorant and incapable a monk as D'Auton to the charge of historiographer. He tried to remedy it by the appointment of Claud de Seyssel to similar duties, an improvement certainly. And Louis brought Paulus Æmilius from Italy, as the recorder of his exploits in the Latin tongue. But all the official historians are poor simpletons by the side of such writers as Comines. Although Lacroix, the bibliophile Jacob, took such pains to edit D'Auton, it is impossible to find a more empty chronicle, from which nothing is to be gleaned save dates, dress, and notes of admiration. The fullest light, however, begins now to be thrown upon history by the numerous letters, especially diplomatic ones, which have been preserved. The most famed are those of Machiavelli; the most useful are those of the envoys of Margaret of Austria who governed the Low Countries, and who became the moving spring of politics. The collection published under the name of the letters of Louis the Twelfth chiefly consists of those of her envoys.

Concerning the events of the war there is an MSS. account of the conquest of Milan, supposed to be written by D'Auton, in the *Bibliothèque Impériale.* But, indeed, all the information that French MSS. contain respecting the reign of Louis XII. has been reproduced by the Bibliophile Jacob.

† St. Gelais.

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pation in the government. He treated the clergy better than Ludovic had done; and granted the Milanese nobles the rights of the chace, which had been denied them. The *dazi* or taxes he reduced one third*; but the chief authority was left to Trivulzio, who, of the Guelphic party and long exiled, came to satisfy vengeance rather than establish an equal and conciliatory administration. Louis however deemed himself strong in his alliances. The Venetians were secured by the acquisition of Cremona. Cæsar Borgia, the Pope's son, now obtained a French division to enable him to reduce Imola, Forli, and the other small towns of the Romagna. With Florence too Louis entered into a league, promising to reconquer Pisa for it, on condition of the alliance of the Tuscans for the conquest of Naples.

All these extraneous combinations were rendered useless by the disaffection of the Milanese, who were accustomed to their prince residing amongst them, and who were wont indeed to be defended by mercenary troops in time of war, but not to be oppressed by them in peace. The manners of the French gentry who composed the army, moreover, often offended the citizens, and when tidings reached Milan that Ludovic Sforza and his brother the Cardinal Ascanius had re-occupied Como with 8000 Swiss and a number of Burgundians, the people rose in insurrection. (Jan. 1500.) Trivulzio and De Ligny, who had no force save the mounted men at arms withdrew first to the castle, and from thence over the Tessin to Novara and Mortara, where they were joined by Ives D'Allégre, whom they had hastily recalled from aiding Cæsar Borgia in the reduction of the towns of the Romagna.†

The French Court at this news became anxious and active to repair its omissions. A large loan was raised in Paris, more troops were levied, and the Bailli of Dijon despatched to Switzerland to enrol a body of

* St. Gelais.. † Guicciardini.

infantry. Ludovic Sforza had lost no time in advancing against the French in Novara, from which, being straitened for provisions, they were at first driven. But those in Mortara were soon reinforced by La Tremouille, and the two armies under French and Milanese colours, but both chiefly composed of Swiss, faced each other. The result was what might have been expected. The authorities of the Helvetic Confederation sent to forbid their compatriots from slaughtering each other, an injunction they were already prepared to obey. In vain did the French knights, with Bayard and La Tremouille, give the signal and example of combat. Equally vain was Ludovic's preparations for vigorous defence. The Swiss determined to award the victory to whatever side paid them best. The French were the best paymasters. Their treasury was just filled, whilst that of Ludovic was exhausted. After a mock skirmish, the Swiss retreated to Novara, leaving the French masters of the field. Ludovic Sforza did all in his power to persuade them; he adjured them with eloquence, and made large promises of gold. All that he could obtain from them was a promise to save him if he would disguise himself as a soldier in their ranks. There was nothing left for Ludovic than to follow the suggestion. The Swiss army, which had stipulated to withdraw, marched forth with the duke who had so lately hired and commanded them in their ranks, his hair under a coif, with the military gorgerette and *pourpoint*, a halberd in his hand.* (April.) To complete their treachery, two of the Swiss pointed out Ludovic in his disguise to De Ligny. Ludovic Sforza had shown generosity as well as spirit in the war, and had released Bayard who had become his prisoner. But he himself experienced no mercy, and notwithstanding the solicitations of the emperor in his behalf, the unfortunate Duke of Milan was transferred from one French

* D'Auton.

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prison to another, till he died. The young son of Galeas Sforza, who might be considered the rightful heir, was at the same time compelled to become a monk; and all of the family whom Louis could lay hold on were confined to prison.

However generous Louis had shown himself to his French enemies, to his Italian rivals he displayed great rigour and severity. A similar remark may be made upon his policy, and a similar contrast observed between his conduct at home and that abroad. In France, Louis displayed the best qualities of the citizen as of the knight. He was magnanimous, forgiving, patient of injury, economical, forbearing to tax or oppress his people, and never allowing any to be put to death by "sudden justice." In his dealings with the Italians, Louis was quite other. He was not only inexorable to Ludovic Sforza, the prince who had invited the French into Italy, but he was ungrateful to Florence, insidious to Venice, and would have sacrificed Pisa, could his soldiers have consented to the treachery. The only Italians to whom he was true were the Borgias, and that in the very midst of their career of infamy and murder. Louis had one measure for his French policy and conduct and another for his Italian. If in the one he was the follower of Froissart, in the other he was the disciple of Machiavelli.

It is pleasing to record that the generous and considerate policy of Louis in his domestic affairs, resulted in ensuring peace and prosperity to his people with a deep feeling of gratitude and love for himself; whereas the crooked selfishness of French policy in Italy overreached and completely defeated its aim. The political mania of the day, as has been observed, was ultra-diplomacy, over negotiation, the more far-fetched and the more intricate the more prized. The soldier-like spirit of Louis in this succumbed to the ecclesiastical timidity of his minister Amboise, who seemed to think

that nothing could be achieved but by a league which comprised all powers. Instead of founding a French empire in Milan upon good government and military strength, Amboise looked rather to secure it by conciliating the Emperor Maximilian, and procuring from him formal investiture of the duchy. The sword of the French monarch might well have cut through such pretended supremacy, for Maximilian, feeble and impoverished, could never bring an efficient army into the field. There were, in fact, but two military powers —France and Spain. The French were formidable from the superior spirit of the mounted gentlemen and the excellence of their artillery; but they wanted, what the Spaniards already possessed, a native infantry which would withstand the shock of horse, and which, less expensive, less arrogant, and more applicable to the service of guard and defence than the cavalry, were better fitted to keep a conquered province.*

A great and sagacious statesman on the throne of France would have seen that the military rival to be dreaded was one beyond the Pyrenees, not the Rhine; and that it was necessary to cope with this rival by sea as well as in the formation of a national infantry. Louis the Twelfth, at a later period of his reign, began to discern this when it was too late. But in the first years of the century he allowed his naturally martial spirit to be lulled by Amboise, who preferred making friends of all the world by negotiations, and by queen Anne, who preferred marriage treaties to battles.

The minister had another motive for conciliating rather than combating the influential potentates of his time. He aspired to mount the papal chair after Alexander the Sixth, and although, no doubt, he thereby hoped to establish French predominance in Italy, he still flattered himself that he could induce German,

* The French seem to have lost both Milan and Naples from the inability of the mounted gens d'armes unaided, to do garrison duty.

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Spaniard, and Italian to support his candidature. The policy of France, unbiased by the ecclesiastical ambition of its minister, might have been directed to protect the native princes and minor powers of Italy, most of whom would have done homage and accepted suzerainty, as Frederic of Naples indeed offered, whilst to the independent cities, with the exception perhaps of Venice, the nominal supremacy and real protectorate of France would not have been irksome. But the small Italian powers could lend no aid to Amboise in his scheme. The great monarchs of Spain and Germany, together with the existing pope, were alone able to do this, and Amboise applied himself to gain them by the sacrifice of the remaining independence of Italy.

When, after the reduction of Milan, it became imperative to vindicate the French right to Naples, Amboise's first care was, by securing the co-operation to preclude the enmity of Ferdinand of Aragon. This prince had insinuated rather than proposed, so far back as 1497, the conditions of an accord with France. They were no less than that both kings should conquer Italy by a common effort, and share its empire.* But Charles the Eighth would not listen to such a proposal, nor would he even consent to cede Calabria to the Spanish monarch, as the price of his allowing the French to reduce and retain the rest.† Amboise was not so intractable. He deemed the friendship of Ferdinand as cheaply purchased by those provinces of the kingdom of Naples adjoining Sicily, and consisting of sterile mountains. A treaty was accordingly concluded on November 9, 1500, by which Ferdinand was to conquer and keep Calabria and Apulia, Louis to reduce the rest of the kingdom.

The next object was to secure the neutrality or alliance of Maximilian, who had been much mortified by the substitution of a powerful prince like Louis in

* Comines, liv. viii., chap. 23. † Machiavelli, Frammente Istorici.

Milan for the Sforza. Philip, however, who reigned in Flanders, and who was an ardent, though a more disinterested lover of peace and alliance than Amboise, proposed a scheme well calculated to knit together the Imperial and Spanish Court with the French. This was a treaty of marriage between his son Charles and Claude daughter of Louis the Twelfth. The match was zealously supported by Queen Anne of Brittany, and hopes were probably held out, even thus early, by her and by Amboise, that in case of the birth of a Dauphin, the Italian possessions of the French crown were to be settled on Claude and her husband. If no Dauphin should be forthcoming, then Madame Claude would bring Brittany to her husband, an eventuality which much alarmed both Bretons and French, but which weighed little with the sanguine Louis, who never lost hope and even confidence in having a male heir.

In the meantime the French army, which, since the second reduction of Milan, had been engaged under De Beaumont in the inglorious task of forcing the Pisans to submit to the Florentines, an enterprize which the Pisan populace, men and women, successfully resisted, partly by force, and partly by blandishments, was now directed towards Naples (1501). Cæsar Borgia, who also by French aid had become master of all the towns of Romagna, and who was threatening Bologna and even Florence, marched under the standard of Louis. But the chief command was entrusted to D'Aubigny. Passing Rome in June, where the Pope accorded the investiture of Naples to Louis and Ferdinand conjointly, the French entered the kingdom of Naples, and met the first resistance at Capua. Eager for the indulgence of rapine and licentiousness, the invaders carried the town at once by storm, and wreaked to the full all the horrors that the licence of war sanctioned in those days. Forty of the most beautiful

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women were delivered and despatched by Cæsar Borgia to his father the pope, that he might participate in the fruits of his son's victory. Frederic, on the tidings of this disaster, abandoned all resistance, made terms, and withdrew to Ischia, surrendering Naples in exchange for the duchy of Anjou, and an honourable captivity in France.

Gonsalvo di Cordova had at the same time seized the provinces which fell to the lot of his master. Immediately after the conquest of Naples, which was a necessary preliminary, a treaty was solemnly concluded at Lyons, between the envoys of the Archduke Philip and the French Court, in which the Princess Claude was affianced to Charles of Luxemburg. (Aug. 1501.)*

This great bond being formed between the houses of Austria and France, Amboise proceeded himself to Trent, in order to procure from Maximilian the investiture of the Milanese. The emperor, as King of the Romans, generously and rightly insisted, as a preliminary, on the better treatment of Ludovic Sforza and his brother the Cardinal, as well as freedom for the Lombard exiles. Amboise obtained the liberation of the Cardinal Ascanius Sforza, but his solicitations in favour of Ludovic were in vain. The emperor also promised the investiture. (Oct. 1501.) Ashamed of engaging in such solemn negotiations for the mere completion of intermarriage and investiture, Amboise and Maximilian discussed the expediency of reforming the Church, by summoning a council, and proceeding to the deposition of Alexander the Sixth. Maximilian, who hated Venice, also sought to draw Amboise into a hostile league against that republic. Another enterprise equally arduous and desirable was to repress the military encroachments of the Turks. The emperor, the King of Aragon, and the Venetians promised to

* Négociations diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche; Documens Inédits.

join in an expedition. Louis dovoted to it the fleet which had operated against Naples, and many of the French nobles, who had taken part in this expedition, embarked with Ravenstein. The Spaniards would give no assistance. The French, by the advice of the Grand Master of Rhodes, attacked Metelin, the ancient Lesbos. The French crusaders of the sixteenth century valiantly supported the reputation of their predecessors. But the Turks were then at the highest pitch of their power and pride, and repelled the Christians from their walls. Janizaries came to succour the besieged, six Venetian galleys reinforced the besiegers, but Ravenstein was not able to gain possession of Metelin. He abandoned the enterprise, and through shipwreck and disaster he and his followers sought their home, few of the French nobles who composed the expedition returning in safety.

More negotiations seemed necessary in order to complete that universal peace which Amboise craved. The Archduke Philip, proceeding from the Netherlands to Spain, passed by Paris and Blois at the commencement of 1502, and concluded more treaties, by which unborn princes and princesses were betrothed, so as to multiply the links between the families. The investiture of Milan was still promised, not performed, when hostilities broke out between the co-partners of Naples. French and Spaniards both pretended that the Capitanata belonged to them. The flocks which wandered thence to the Abruzzi mountains in summer, descended thither in winter, and formed its only wealth. Both sides appealed to arms, Gonsalvo di Cordova at the head of the Spaniards, being opposed to Louis d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours, whom Louis had appointed his viceroy.

At the opening of the campaign the French had the advantage of superior numbers. Gonsalvo was obliged to shut himself in Barletta, where he was instantly besieged, and had not the Venetians supplied him with

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ammunition and provisions, and had not the French been lax in pressing the siege, he must have surrendered. When the news of the quarrel and the war reached the two courts, Ferdinand instantly exerted himself to transmit reinforcements and supplies, whilst Louis, confident in his superiority, merely looked to a renewal of negotiations. For this Ferdinand humoured him by the despatch of the Archduke Philip once more to propose an arrangement, by which Naples was to be settled upon Charles and Madame Claude, the French and Spanish kings merely governing those provinces for the future sovereign. But whilst the Archduke Philip was thus lulling the vigilance of Louis, Ferdinand was reinforcing Gonsalvo and defeating the French fleet. Gonsalvo at the same time amused his chivalrous enemies by a kind of tournament or combat of thirteen Italian knights against thirteen French, in which, it is recorded, the Italians were triumphant. What was more important, this pastime stayed the Duke of Nemours from pressing the siege, and at length Gonsalvo, reinforced, was able to march out and take the field.

Late in March 1503, the Archduke Philip met the French court at Lyons, and in the midst of festivities, formally concluded the treaty for conferring Naples upon Charles and Claude. But ere tidings of this could reach the armies, a battle was fought on the 21st of April at Seminara, the scene of D'Aubigny's former victory.* The French gens d'armes attacked and drove in the foremost line of Spanish foot, but the second line rallying under Antonio de Leva, attacked in turn and routed the French horse, in disorder from their very success. D'Aubigny and his lieutenants were made prisoners.†

On the 28th of the same month, Gonsalvo having

* Guicciardini; Paul Giov. Life of Gonsalvo.

† Guicciardini; D'Auton. The Scotch all fell in the action, not without two Spaniards, says D'Auton, falling for each of them.

received large reinforcements, raising his army to 600 men at arms, 800 light cavalry, and 700 foot, marched out of Barletta. The French viceroy had just learned the treaty concluded at Lyons, and sent to acquaint Gonsalvo of it. But the latter, superior in force, and encouraged by the late victory at Seminara, would take no account of what was told him. Gonsalvo took post at Cerignola, amongst vineyards, and covered his front with a deep trench to protect him against the enemy's horse. The French came up in the evening. The king's orders were not to engage till reinforcements reached them. This was also the opinion of Nemours. But Ives D'Allégre and others reproached his backwardness, such taunts being always sufficient to draw a French commander into action. Nemours accordingly led his gens d'armes to the attack, not perceiving the trench, which broke the formidable impulse of this charge. The ammunition of the Spaniards exploded by some chance, which Gonsalvo construed into a declaration from heaven of the uselessness of cannon. The combustion frighted off many of the French horse, Nemours himself falling by the shot of an arquebuss, and Bayard in vain trying to rally the fugitives. The Spaniards soon converted their retreat into complete discomfiture and slaughter. This victory and the death of the French viceroy opened to Gonsalvo the gates of Naples.*

Tidings of this disaster reached the French court at Lyons ere the Archduke Philip had left it. He had been detained by illness. Louis the Twelfth himself could not be more mortified. Both sent to remonstrate with Ferdinand, whom the king accused of having deceived him now for the second time. "Ay, it is the tenth time that I have tricked him," quoth the Spanish monarch, in answer to the reproach.

The sarcasms of Ferdinand were not the only manifestation of the value of diplomatic engagements. At

* D'Auton; Duhaillant; Guicciardini; Gestes du bon Chevalier.

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the news of the French being driven from Naples and confined to the solitary fortress of Gaeta, Maximilian openly evinced his determination not to grant the investiture of Milan. The Venetians had not waited for Gonsalvo's triumph to show their enmity to France. They had contributed largely to this triumph by the succours they had furnished to the Spaniards. Even the Borgias meditated a similar defection.

Louis the Twelfth had visited Italy in the previous autumn, chiefly for the sake of inquiring into, and putting some check upon, the ambitious schemes of Cæsar Borgia. This chief, however, at once repaired to the king's presence at Milan, and so won upon the easy nature of Louis as to recover all his favour. He accompanied the French monarch in his visit to Genoa, where their reception was most splendid. Louis had not long crossed the Alps before Cæsar Borgia, menaced by almost all the celebrated leaders of the mercenary troops, enticed them to an interview at Sinigaglia, and caused them to be strangled. The French blushed to have such an ally. But as a fresh army under La Tremouille marched to Naples against Gonsalvo, it had again need of the assistance of the pope, and passage through his territory. The French were indeed strong enough to dictate terms, and the pope was about to grant them, when an unlucky mistake came to revolutionise at once the politics of Rome. The pope and his son Cæsar had agreed to administer poison to certain rich and powerful cardinals at a banquet. It was duly prepared, but by some mischance the pope and his son drank of it instead of the intended victims. (August, 1503.)

The news of Pope Alexander's death, joyfully received by all Christendom, and especially by Italy, filled the French court with trouble and anxiety. George D'Amboise found himself at enmity or at war with all the potentates on whose aid he had reckoned for at-

taining the papal chair. Still he had an army at the gates of Rome, and he deemed himself strong in the support of Cæsar Borgia, though in truth that was his chief weakness. Amboise hastened in person to the imperial city. It was only to perceive how hopeless was his ambition. Parties in the conclave were so evenly balanced that they could merely come to the usual compromise of adjourning the struggle, by the election of a very aged and infirm cardinal. During the short pontificate of this pope, Pius the Third, Rome was occupied by the armed factions of the Orsini, of Cæsar Borgia, of Spaniards and of French; which made the necessity be felt of a thoroughly Italian, and at the same time of a thoroughly energetic pope. The consequence was the election of Julius the Second.

The French army had already marched to Naples. A letter written by Amboise*, after witnessing its passage, proves, that however accountable for the policy of Louis, the cardinal had nothing to do with the management of his armies. He saw indeed that the mounted gentlemen or gens-d'armes were complete to the number of 1200 lances, whilst of infantry there were but 2000 Swiss; but money had been sent for engaging twice that number. Amboise who knew the great strength of the Spaniards in foot, tried to induce the Venetians to come to his succour with their infantry, but they turned a deaf ear to his request. The French under the Marquis of Mantua, reached the Garigliano, and found Gonsalvo posted on the opposite side of the stream, ready to dispute the passage; and this for many months he effectually did. The Spanish general had intrenched his position, and commanded with his guns the passage of the river so completely, that the French were unable to force it. The Marquis of Mantua was succeeded in command by the Marquis

* MSS. Béthune, No. 8469, Bib. Impériale.

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of Saluzzo, but with no better advantage. The winter season advanced, and the French encamped in a marsh without even shelter, and also straitened for provisions, grew ill and disheartened. At last Gonsalvo felt strong enough to pass the river himself to attack them, when the French at once retreated. Again attacked at Mola, they were put to the rout, the general escaping to the fortress of Gaeta. Such was now their discouragement and want of supplies, that they surrendered themselves and the fortress on the 1st of January 1504, thus at once putting an end to French domination in South Italy.

Whilst the French army was baffled and defeated in the south, the troops of Louis failed equally in attempts to take Fontarabia and reduce Roussillon. The truth was, the Spanish military system, especially for the defence of the native soil, was more perfect than the French.* Their infantry was far superior, whilst in artillery and military engineering, skill had passed to the Spaniards. The funds of the French too were largely embezzled by contractors who left the army on the Garigliano completely destitute. The Spaniards indeed were often as ill supplied, but Gonsalvo organised a regular system for his soldiers to live on the country which they occupied.

The effect of these signal reverses to his policy and his arms was to undermine the health of Louis the Twelfth. His person fell away, his spirits left him, and led both his queen and his minister to contemplate the consequences of his demise. Louis had prosecuted his claims upon Italy more as an individual prince than

* See Prescott for the military legislation and system of Ferdinand. He seems to attribute the Spanish king's military supremacy to his light horse rather than to his foot. This is not the opinion of Machiavelli, who says, the strength of the Spaniards lay in their foot. The Spanish soldier lived on the people, says Guicciardini. When he robbed and plundered, says Machiavelli, he did so to hoard, whereas the French took in order merely to spend.—*Ritratte di Francia.*

as the monarch of France. He from an early period consented to settle his conquest and his claim upon his daughter Claude, and at the same time betroth her to the heir of the House of Austria. And as this prince was also the presumptive heir of the Spanish monarchy, he could not conceive why either Maximilian or Ferdinand should object to the arrangement. Soon after the loss of Naples he concluded a three years' truce with Ferdinand (February 1504), and did not cease to press him to sanction the treaty of Lyons, and settle Naples upon Charles and Claude. But the Spanish monarch in the midst of his victories was visited by the same mortifying reflections which assailed his French rival. Both were exhausting military and political resources upon conquests destined for strange and ungrateful heirs. Philip of Austria, who had married Joan, only child and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, treated her with neglect, and thereby added to that alienation of intellect which disturbed her. Queen Isabella's health was already declining. At her death Philip must assume the government of Castille. Should Ferdinand consent to an arrangement with the French king for handing over Naples also to this same Philip? Ferdinand refused, and showed his discontent towards his son-in-law by declaring he would give back Naples to Frederic its rightful sovereign.* Disgusted by this unaccountable waywardness and apparent enmity of Ferdinand, Louis turned to the House of Austria, to Philip and Maximilian.

To this complete adoption of the Austrian alliance, Louis was strongly persuaded by the queen. Anne of Brittany regarded Louise of Savoy, mother of the young Count D'Angoulême, the future Francis the First, with feelings of aversion. Louise was of dissolute life, whereas the conduct of Anne had ever been most

* Lettres de Louis XII. et Card. D'Amboise, Sept. 1804.

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exemplary. In case of Louis's demise his queen would have found herself at the mercy of Louise, who was known to have the greatest influence over her son. Anne determined to retire to her native Brittany, and at the same time procure herself support from the House of Austria by the marriage of her daughter Claude with Charles, Philip's son. She had proof how great would be the unscrupulousness of her enemies. On an occasion when the king's illness seemed to promise his speedy dissolution, a quantity of her private valuables were sent down the Loire to Brittany. Marshal Gié, the governor of the heir presumptive François, had the insolence to seize this baggage, which he no doubt would have kept had the king expired. Whatever were the wrongs of Anne's policy, at least her jewels were her own. To seize these in the very lifetime of the king was a monstrous piece of impertinence, which the queen justly resented by causing De Gié to be removed from his functions of guardian of the young prince, and to undergo imprisonment and trial. Partly no doubt under Anne's influence treaties were completed at Blois, by which Maximilian promised the investiture of the Milanese to Louis, the duchy, in case of the king having no heirs male, descending to Charles of Luxemburg and Louis's daughter Claude, who was moreover to bring Brittany and Burgundy with her to the heir of the House of Austria. In case there were no heirs to the marriage, the duchy was to go to the king's male successors. These stipulations, all except the last, so revolting to every French mind, were indeed conveyed in a treaty, which Anne herself, having obtained power from the king, negotiated with the ambassador of Austria. (Sept. 1504.)*

Another concession, couched in a separate treaty, that

* Dumont, Corps Diplomatique; Léonard. See also the Histoire du 16e Siècle, par le Bibliophile Jacob.

Louis made to Maximilian, was to join him in a league for crushing and despoiling Venice. This close union and alliance between the Houses of France and Austria was interrupted and defeated by a concurrence of causes. The principal one was the universal objection felt by all French statesmen and nobles for the marriage of the king's only daughter with the heir of Spain and Austria. There was the chance of her abstracting Brittany and even Burgundy from the crown of France. And Louis himself had allowed treaties to be concluded sanctioning such a dismemberment of the kingdom, solely because his sanguine temperament made him entertain the confidence of defeating such results by his yet having a male heir. A severe access of illness dispelled such a dream. And at the same time Amboise arrived from the emperor's court, far from satisfied with the conduct of that potentate. Maximilian had promised in the treaty of Blois to grant the investiture of the duchy of Milan to Louis, to Charles and Claude; and, in default of heirs of this or other family marriage, to the heir of the French crown. But at Haguenau (April 7, 1505), whilst he gave Amboise the investiture for Louis, he at the same time drew up a deed entrusting the duchy, in case of Louis's death, to Philip as guardian of his son Charles, and setting aside all rights of the future heirs of the French crown who were not also the issue of the family of Austria.* When Louis, therefore, on his sick couch expressed his repentance for having consented to the Austrian match, Amboise transcribed at once for the monarch a testament ordaining that the marriage between Claude and Charles was not to take place, but that his daughter was to be affianced to François Count d'Angoulême, presumptive heir to the

* Négociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche, p. 78.

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crown. This testament, signed without the knowledge of Queen Anne, afterwards received her assent, however reluctantly given.

The death of Isabella and the succession of her son Philip to the crown of Castille, converted the latter from an obsequious friend of the French king into his importunate rival. Differences arose between them about Gueldres, and the French lawyers, learning the coolness between Philip and Louis, awoke a host of pretensions, jurisdictions, and claims on Flanders, its magistrates and prelates—such as the Paris parlement had always in store. Ferdinand of Aragon too, threatened by his son-in-law, as well as by foolish fears of the fidelity of his great Captain, sent an embassy to the French court, craving alliance and demanding the hand of Germaine de Foix, the king's niece, in marriage. He offered to consider as the dowry of this princess that portion of the kingdom of Naples which had been allotted to France in former partitions, and promised moreover to pay large sums to the French court. Louis and Amboise allowed themselves to be duped by such illusory offers made by one who had so often deceived them. They redoubled their enmity to Philip, and made use of every artifice to prevent his proceeding to Spain to claim the government of Castille.

Still neither Louis nor his minister would undertake to announce to Maximilian their breach of the treaties of Blois and of the marriage with Charles, as the result of their own waywardness or prudence. They represented this, and no doubt with some truth, as the decision of the national wish. To express this solemnly, deputies from the towns of the kingdom were summoned to meet at Tours, in March 1506. Their orator, Bricot, lost no time in performing his behest, by publicly entreating the "father of his people," Louis, to grant his daughter in marriage, not to an Austrian

prince, but to the young Count of Valois, who was "all French."* After some formal delay, the king acceded to this desire of his commons. His decision was made known to the imperial and Flemish envoys†, and the betrothal of Claude and Francis took place almost immediately.

What with illness, disgust, and the all-absorbing diplomacy of Amboise, Louis had for many years limited his efforts in Italy to negotiations, knitting and unravelling alternately schemes of alliance and invasion. But his competitors in that country had grown more active. Pope Julius the Second had taken the field in person against Bologna, and in securing possession of it had defeated the French as much as the Bolognese. King Ferdinand the Catholic had gone in person to Naples, and Maximilian also manifested intentions of crossing the Alps. The revolt of Genoa gave Louis at once the pretext and the occasion to march at the head of an army into the country. That republic was torn by dissensions between the classes of the nobly born and the commercially rich. If in Florence the latter had triumphed by the aid of the people, in Genoa the nobles maintained their ground by the support of the French. These feuds led, in 1506, to a popular rising and consequent expulsion of the nobles, to the leaders of the insurrection defying the French king and tearing down his ensigns. The hostility of Louis the Twelfth to the liberty and independence of Italian cities is not easily accounted for. Beloved by the French middle class, who had become dead to politics, he could not comprehend its frowardness in Italy; and although the only remaining sparks of life in that country lurked in its municipal liberties, parties, and republics, Louis exerted himself to crush and obliterate them with an aim as senseless as it was criminal. For

* Lettres de Louis XII. t. i. p. 43. † Négoc. Diplom.

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French interests were really bound up with the popular party and free institutions of Italy, the princely and aristocratic factions of which leaned universally to the empire or to Spain. The Genoese, however, on the present occasion offered the King of France every incitement to march against them. They behaved most cruelly to the prisoners whom they took in the fortresses of the city. They marched forth as far as Monaco to reduce the whole littoral, and entered into a league with both pope and emperor to resist the French. The Doria and the Fieschi offered at the same time to pay the expenses of the expedition; and Louis approached towards the end of March 1507, at the head of 50,000 men. The gentlemen who chiefly composed his force were as eager to crush the villains of Genoa as their ancestors had been to subdue the townsfolk of Flanders. When Chaumont, who commanded, ordered a reconnoissance rather than an attack to be made upon the heights which overlook and defend the city, the French knights, with Bayard at their head, flocked into the ranks, and soon made the attack a serious one. The general then ordered all his foot to take part in it. La Palisse being struck with an arrow, John Stuart succeeded in the command, and by dint of valour the French were soon masters of the fortified heights. The Genoese, both then and on the following morning, made a gallant resistance. They had elected Paul de Novi, a dyer, to be their leader and their doge, and he bravely performed the duties assigned him. But resistance was vain, and a timely surrender alone saved the city from being taken by assault. Louis, at the head of his troops, made his victorious entrance on the 29th. Paul de Novi and sixty of his officers were delivered to the executioner. Genoa, condemned at first to lose its liberties and charters, was allowed to retain them nominally under the guns of a new French fortress. But Louis restored the old compromise, that the noble

and ignoble class should have each an equal share in the public employ.*

The reduction of Genoa in so short a time, filled with alarm all those who looked with envy upon French intrusion into Italy. Amongst these, the principal were the pope and Maximilian. The former, in addition to a deep-rooted desire to drive all foreigners from Italy, knew that Amboise aimed at the Pope's tiara, and that, no longer resigned to wait for the demise of its present wearer, he meditated calling a council for the reform of the church and the deposition of the warlike Julius. Maximilian saw in Louis the Twelfth not only a monarch who had betrayed and broken his engagements with Austria, but one who sought to substitute his own power in Italy for the hereditary prerogative of the German emperor. So impressed was Maximilian with this idea that he summoned a diet of German princes to meet at Constance, and craved from them the support of an army to maintain German rights in Italy against French ambition. It was not the policy of Amboise to respond to this by warring upon the Germans. The Archduke Philip had died. He saw the hopes and prospects of the House of Austria centred in an infant. Amboise thought it feasible to take advantage of this helpless state of the Austrian family to deprive it of the empire. His own acquisition of the papacy would have been a step towards it. But war, at least with the Germans, was not the way to attain either of these ends. Amboise, therefore, induced Louis to appease jealousy by quitting Italy with his army. Previous to recrossing the Alps, however, the French king had an interview with Ferdinand the Catholic at Savona, in which they vowed a lasting friendship; the Spaniard flattering Amboise with hopes of seconding his views, the French politician as insin-

* D'Auton; Bayard; Fleuranges; St. Gelais.

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cerely promising to respect the rights of Ferdinand's grandson Charles.

Maximilian had determined to force his entrance into Italy and re-establish his influence there at the head of an army. The Venetians, masters of all the towns and territories from the Adriatic to Bergamo, stood firm to resist both his aims, although they acquainted him that if he came unarmed to proceed to Rome to receive the imperial crown, he should personally meet with no obstacle from them. The German prince mustered an army in the Tyrol, and during the first months of 1508 sought to penetrate into Italy by a variety of directions. The Venetians not only repelled all these attempts, but seized the opportunity to attack and capture Trieste, Fiume, and other strongholds on the Adriatic. Baffled and inconstant, Maximilian sought for peace, which the Venetians granted, without sufficiently consulting or showing respect to the King of France, their ally in the war.

The powers and princes of Italy, of which the French king had become one, then lived, notwithstanding their boasted advance in civilisation, much after the nature of wild beasts, with no thought save that of preying upon one another. The Venetians had of late years been the most successful robbers. They had conquered Lombardy to the Adda, and thus cut off the emperor from Italy. They had deprived the pope of the chief towns of the Romagna, and persisted in occupying the Adriatic seaports of the kingdom of Naples. Their successful ambition suggested a common league against them, which they were not prudent enough to foresee or humble enough to deprecate. They knew it to be the interest of the King of France, threatened in the Milanese by the heirs of Sforza and the emperor, to keep them for allies, and they could not believe that Louis the Twelfth would so far forget that interest as to sacrifice them to the emperor.

Venice, moreover, especially since the reduction of

Genoa, was the only naval power of Italy, one might say, of Europe, and its foremost bulwark against the Turks. All such high considerations the French monarch and ministers merged in the rapacious aim of extending the duchy of Milan from the Adda to the Mincio. For this they did not shrink from augmenting the power of both emperor and pope, from crushing the almost only independent Italian state, or from setting the dangerous example of a coalition amongst the strong to despoil and divide the territories of the weak. The republican institutions of the Venetians too, which rendered them far more deaf to papal pretensions and dictation than monarchs, had also their weight with Julius as well as the French, and Maximilian in one of his missives reproaches them as the "enemies of all aristocracy."* The mainspring of the League of Cambray was, however, the desire of its originator, Margaret of Austria, to open to her father, the German emperor, the road to Italy and Rome. Amboise did not consent without difficulty. Margaret writes in one of her letters that she and the cardinal nearly took each other by the hair. She promised, on the part of Maximilian, a full and fair investiture of the duchy of Milan, which was to extend to the Mincio; the emperor was to have Verona and the towns of Venetia, the pope was to re-occupy the towns of the Romagna to the Po. The King of England was enticed by Margaret to take part in the negotiations, the proposed marriage of the Princess Mary with Charles of Luxemburg rendering Henry favourable to schemes of Austrian ambition. As to Ferdinand the Catholic, he joined in the League evidently with the sole view of defeating it. He furnished Spanish troops to Maximilian, but, even when garrisoning Verona, they were found more an obstacle than a support to the emperor. It was agreed that Louis and Maximilian should both take the field against Venice in the spring.

* Négociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche, t. i. p. 301.

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Condolmieri, the Venetian envoy, taxed the French monarch with hostile intentions, which Amboise no longer denied. The Venetians expostulated with the king on the danger of attacking a state so wise as that of Venice. "Wise they may be," responded Louis, "but often perversely so; I, however, shall bring such an army of madmen against your wiseacres, that they shall find it difficult to protect their lives."*

The French army in the spring of 1509 mustered in the Milanese to the number of more than 2000 lances, 6000 Swiss, and a greater number of French archers.† Instead of raising money in France to pay these troops, Louis and Amboise taxed the Florentines and his subjects of Milan.‡ The Venetian army was somewhat inferior in numbers§, and distracted by double command. Alviano, the general, was for taking the offensive and advancing into the Milanese; Petigliano, the *proveditor*, for defending the towns on the Adige. The Senate overruled the latter, and bade the army advance to the Adda, in the vicinity of which they retook Treviglio. Louis hastened from Milan at the news, and, finding the passage of the Adda undefended, soon came in sight of the Venetians encamped near Treviglio. Their position was too strong to be forced, and the French king manœuvred so as to try and cut them off from Crema and Cremona, whence they derived their provisions. This induced them to move from their advantageous position, and the two armies on the 14th of May met, when on the march, near the village of Agnadello, the Venetian rearguard under Alviano encountering the French van under Chaumont. The latter began the attack, and was repulsed by the Venetian general, who skilfully placed and plied his cannon, and who was protected by the bushy nature

* Sala, MS. quoted by Bernier, Histoire de Blois.

† *Les Gascons, tous gens de trait,* says Fleuranges.

‡ Guicciardini.

§ 20,000, writes De Burgo, the French being more numerous.

of the ground. But when the French, retreating a little, were succoured by the gens d'armes under the command of the king himself, who fought and led as a brave soldier, and when the Venetians advancing, were not only unsustained by Petigliano, but issuing from the thicket upon the plain were more exposed to the attacks of the French gens d'armes, they had soon the worst of the encounter. The Italian gens d'armes were driven from the field. The infantry, thus abandoned, made nevertheless a gallant and stubborn resistance, but not being able to keep their ranks against the charges of the French cavaliers, were finally broken and destroyed. Alviano, who had lost an eye in the engagement, was captured.* The surrender of all the towns between the Adda and the Mincio was the result of the victory. Not only Bergamo, and Brescia, and Cremona surrendered, but Peschiera was carried by assault. Louis caused its commander to be hanged. Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, submitted. Treviso alone held out, a shoemaker exciting the people to remain true to the banner of St. Marc.† The pope was no less active than Louis; his armies captured Faenza and Ravenna. The Venetians themselves declined to defend the Romagna, and ordered the seaports of the kingdom of Naples to be surrendered to Ferdinand. Courage had well nigh failed the gallant old republic. But the backwardness of Maximilian, and his prolonged absence in Germany, whilst no fitting commander or army appeared even to garrison the towns that he surrendered to the French, revived the hopes of the Venetians. The provincial noblesse had shown no disinclination to pass under the dominion of the emperor; but it speaks well for Venice and the nature of its rule that the populace

* Guicciardini, who calls the battle that of the Ghiaradadda; Bayard; Fleuranges; De Seyssel; St. Gelais; Lettres de Louis XII. De Burgo writes that there were 4000 dead on the field of Agnadel.

† Guicciardini.

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of all the towns were enthusiastic for the republic. Towards the end of July Padua followed the example of Treviso, and through "the ill will of the common people" to the conquerors * once more received a Venetian garrison. This was the most important fortress of the republic on the mainland; its loss would have confined their empire on the side of Italy to the lagunes, whilst their success in maintaining possession of it against the League would prove that the day of Agnadello had not totally prostrated their strength. The Venetians accordingly flung their whole efforts into the defence of Padua. Their young nobles flocked to it. Petigliano took the command therein, with 3000 horse, 12,000 Italians, and almost as many Slavonic and Albanian foot. Maximilian, who also felt the importance of the reduction of Padua, brought to it a still more formidable army of French, Germans, and Italians. They were enabled to provision the city by the aid and connivance of Ferdinand. Maximilian, who had the advantage of the French artillery, soon battered down the walls of Padua in many places, and then ordered successive attacks. But the resistance was so determined and heroic that, after a fortnight's siege, Maximilian, finding "his troops by no means willing to renew assaults," ordered a retreat, and thus gave the signal of reaction in favour of Venice.† Vicenza was the next recovered, the Bressan and Friuli were re-occupied, and even Verona was not considered safe.

An apparent foe but secret ally was, in the meantime, exerting himself to save the Venetians. This was Ferdinand the Catholic. "If the emperor," said he to Gattinara, "is able to conquer those towns of Venetia by the League of Cambray allotted to him, let him do so, but let him not call in the aid of the French, who want

* Lettres de Maximilian à Marguerite, vol. i. p. 162.

† Lettres de Louis XII., Decembre 1509.

to take Vercelli and all other places, separating Italy from Germany, and preventing Naples and Germany from helping each other. Let the emperor agree with the pope, keep what he has, grant the Venetians in fief what they have; then let emperor, pope, and England join in defensive leagues to repel French ambition."

Thus spoke Ferdinand the Catholic, nor did there seem many obstacles to the completion of his design. The pope, who had recovered his sovereignty over the Romagna, was appeased by the proffered submission of the Venetians, whilst he was angered by what he considered the wilfulness of Louis in appointing bishops, and by the great ecclesiastic authority which Amboise arrogated as legate. Maximilian himself being offered the first place in a league against France, hesitated in consequence of the ill success of his own arms against Padua, and of the insufficient succour which France had afforded him. Maximilian, however, remained true for the present to the League of Cambray. But Julius the Second bent all his energies in concert with the Venetians to defeat the purposes of the French, to deprive them of the sovereignty of Genoa and the alliance of Florence. Ferdinand of Aragon had also influenced Henry the Eighth to threaten France; and the Pope excited a still more powerful enemy in the Swiss. The French king, whose repeated expression was, "there was no use negotiating, except with lance on thigh," tried to redeem the loss of these allies by the despatch of an army to Lombardy. Chaumont at its head recovered Vicenza and the Polesine. He was opposed by the pope's army under his nephew, the Duke of Urbino, and by 10,000 Swiss, whom Julius induced to invade the Milanese. Chaumont succeeded in baffling both. But French generals and soldiers shrunk from prosecuting an offensive war upon his holiness. To remove their scruples as well as his own, Louis summoned a council of Gallican prelates at Tours,

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who declared that a warlike pontiff might be met by war. Chaumont accordingly marched in 1511 to wrest Bologna from Julius. It was the pontiff's most important conquest, and his resistance was stubborn. He summoned the Venetians to his aid, and for the moment defeated the design of the French general. Julius followed up his success by marching in person at the head of his troops to Mirandola, which, owing to the waters of its fosses being frozen, he carried by assault, thus avenging himself on its countess, the sister of Gian Giacob Trivulzio. Chaumont, the French general, soon after expired of fever, sorely tormented by the consciousness of having made war upon the Holy See, and being consequently under excommunication. His successor, Trivulzio, was not restrained by the same qualms, and he had his sister's loss to avenge.

In the spring of 1511 Ferdinand the Catholic exerted himself to conclude peace, or at least to substitute negotiations for war. But it was found impossible to bring the emperor and the Venetians to an accord, whilst Louis would not consent to what Julius imperatively insisted upon, the sacrifice of the House of Ferrara. Trivulzio therefore, by the king's order, led the French army once more to Bologna. Although the better class of citizens entrusted with power by the pope preferred his rule to that of Bentivoglio, the people were not in the same sentiments, and rose in insurrection, which so terrified the Cardinal of Pavia, who acted as governor, that he fled, and his panic being communicated to the pope's army and the Duke of Urbino, its chief, Bologna fell into the hands of Trivulzio.

Julius, on learning the rout and capture of Bologna, did not think himself safe even at Ravenna, but fled to Rome. The Cardinal Legate of Pavia, who had so precipitately evacuated Bologna, and was the cause of the panic, was met by the Duke of Urbino and poniarded

The disarray of the papal partisans was such that, had Trivulzio advanced, Rome itself could not have resisted. But Louis, no longer urged by Amboise, and entreated by Anne of Brittany not to press the pontiff too severely, shrunk from following up the success of his arms. He ordered Trivulzio to withdraw to Milan, leaving Bologna to its old masters, the Bentivoglio, and caused a council to be summoned at Pisa to intimidate Julius. Louis's forbearance in arms had the contrary effect to that intended. It encouraged the Pope's enmity, and gave scope to its exertions. Ferdinand of Aragon and Maximilian seemed more and more jealous of French military success.* The former concluded the League which he had so long meditated against France, in unison with Rome and the Venetians. And young Henry the Eighth, also jealous of Louis's victories, and feeling or affecting a horror of violence exercised towards the Pope, adhered to the League, and promised to invade Gascony.† At the commencement of 1512 a Spanish army under Cardona, the viceroy of Naples, assumed the defence of the Roman territories, whilst the Swiss were again induced to invade the Milanese with their pikemen.

Against this combination of foes the French king was able to oppose merely the spirit of his own troops. He had made a singularly happy choice for the government of Milan, and the conduct of the armies entrusted with its defence. This was young Gaston de Foix, whose sister had married Ferdinand, and who, created Duke of Nemours by Louis, aspired to the kingdom of Navarre. The latter sought probably to give him the opportunity of strengthening his claim by heroism, and Gaston answered well the confidence reposed in him. His first exploit was to baffle the Swiss invasion, which

* Maximilian about this time, as his letters attest, began to entertain the project of becoming Pope.

† Maximilian says, from Wolsey's desire to obtain a cardinal's hat.

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he accomplished, not in the field, but by prudently buying off the invaders. A task more consonant to his brave nature, was to succour Bologna, besieged by the Spaniards. The celebrated engineer, Peter Navarro, had blown up a portion of its wall, which almost miraculously fell into its old place, and still served as a bulwark. Gaston de Foix, by the celerity and secrecy of his movements, entered Bologna in the night, and the Spaniards, on learning his arrival, at once raised the siege. But Gaston's satisfaction was disturbed by the news that the Venetians had taken advantage of his absence to surprise and capture Brescia, as well as Bergamo. He could only hope to repair this disaster by celerity, and by attacking Brescia ere the Venetians could make good their capture and fortify themselves in its castles. He marched at once from Bologna, surprised the Venetian general Baglione, at La Scala on the Adige, and presenting himself before Brescia, summoned the recent conquerors of it to surrender. The French still held the castle, whence they descended to attack the Venetians intrenched in the town. The ground was so slippery, that the young general set the example of marching barefooted to the attack. Notwithstanding the gallantry of the defence, the French carried Brescia, wreaking their vengeance less on its defenders than on its unfortunate townspeople (Feb. 1512), who too often in that age, as in this, have been the victims of war. The town was completely sacked; its chief family, the Avogara, which favoured the Venetians, sent to the scaffold. The French exercised the utmost barbarism and cruelty, and yet Bayard fought in their ranks, displaying all the virtues of chivalry. War was in a great measure saved from degenerating into mere butchery by the efforts and example of Bayard. Elated by his success, and aware that Maximilian was hesitating and only seeking pretexts to join the league of Spain, the Pope, Venice,

and England against him, Louis ordered Gaston to enter the Roman territories with his army, and force the troops of Julius and Ferdinand to battle. He accordingly passed the Po with 1600 horse and 10,000 foot; half of them German, half Tyrolean lansquenets. From Bologna he marched to Ravenna, which he cannonaded and assaulted in vain. His attempts brought the Spanish viceroy, Cardona, with his own and the papal forces, to protect the city. They were about equal to the French, but being ordered not to risk a battle, they took post, and intrenched themselves at some short distance. The commander of the German troops in the service of Louis received an order from Maximilian to cease combating for the French king. The Emperor was decided to break the alliance, and this was the first step. But Empser, the commander of the lansquenets, assented to Gaston de Foix's entreaties that he would keep the order secret, and join in the action.

The commencement of the battle of Ravenna, fought on the 11th of May, 1512, was a cannonade well directed and fatal on both sides. Navarro was an expert master of artillery, and the Duke of Ferrara was no less distinguished in the management of that arm. The French cavalry, as well as infantry, suffered much, as neither found it convenient or consonant with dignity to imitate the Spaniards in lying down. Thirty-eight of the forty leaders of infantry in Gaston's army thus perished. At length both sides grew weary of being shot down without the power of dealing a blow. According to Guicciardini, it was Fabrizio Colonna who first lost patience and marched out of the intrenchments, in despite of the dissuasions of Navarro. According to Fleuranges, it was the French infantry which first rushed to the attack of Navarro's guns, defended by a line of carts. They were beaten back, adds he, with the loss of 1200 men; the Spaniards following them to complete their discomfiture. They thought the

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victory won, when some of the French foot rallied and compelled them to retire behind their carts. A single combat took place on this occasion between the German and Spanish captains, Empser and Zamudio, in which the former fell. Whilst the foot of both armies thus engaged with nearly equal success, the French gens d'armes under Allegre and La Palisse had beaten the Italian câvalry under Fabrizio Colonna, and had taken that general prisoner. Allegre then marched to the attack of the Spanish infantry, bringing the archers of the guard with hatchets to destroy the intrenchments of earth. But the first charge in flank was decisive, and broke in amongst the Spaniards, the greater number of whom were put to the sword. Ives d'Allegre perished, as well as his son. In addition to Fabrizio Colonna, Pietro Navarro was taken as well as the Cardinal de Medici, the future Leo the Tenth. The battle was already won, when Gaston de Foix, perceiving about 2000 Spanish foot retreating regularly and in good order towards Ravenna, rushed almost unaccompanied to charge and arrest them. Before he could be supported, the young commander was overwhelmed by the pikes of the Spaniards, and left lifeless with innumerable wounds.*

The death of the hero reversed the victory. There was no commander left to execute the orders of Louis, the authority of La Palisse being disputed by the Cardinal San Severin. The Romans, ready to submit on the first news of their defeat, regained their courage on seeing the hesitation of the French army deprived of its leader. Julius made certain that the Swiss were marching to his aid, and, encouraged by the Aragonese, rejected peace, and opened with all solemnity the great

* Guicciardini; Lettres de Louis XII.; Bayard; and Recueil de Godefroi. The Spanish account will be found in Navarrete, t. viii. Its writer, Padilla, says that the Spanish infantry at first routed the lansquenets; but that the French cavalry, having beaten that of the league, recovered the day.

council of the Lateran in opposition to that of Pisa. The mountaineers had indeed descended to the number of 20,000, not from Bellinzona, but through the Tyrol, with the connivance of Maximilian, in order that they might be joined by the Venetian artillery and horse at Villafranca. La Palisse had withdrawn from the Romagna and was then at Valeggio, so weakened by the defection of his German auxiliaries, and by the necessity of reinforcing the garrisons of the Milanese, that he could offer no resistance. An English army of 8000 men, under the Marquis of Dorset, had landed at Fuenterabia, and Louis, who expected a joint attack from it and the Spaniards, recalled in haste a portion of his cavalry. La Palisse was compelled to withdraw, first to Pavia, and from thence into Piedmont, whilst the Venetians recovering their towns to the Adda, the Pope took possession of Parma and Piacenza, which he declared to belong to the Exarchate. He soon after regained Bologna, and his greed growing with his success, Julius not only took Reggio from the Duke of Ferrara, but meditated the destruction of the house of Este altogether. The Swiss seized Locarno, as well as Chiavenna and the Valteline. Maximilian Sforza was without opposition proclaimed Duke of Milan. The French faction in Genoa at the same time gave way to its rivals; and Florence, which had maintained its liberties under French protection, was now compelled to readmit the Medici, and bow to their yoke. Louis's loss beyond the Pyrenees was as signal as his reverses beyond the Alps. Ferdinand took advantage of the presence of an English army, not indeed to invade France, but to conquer Navarre, to which the French house of Albret was now the true heir, but which Ferdinand definitively united to the Spanish crown.*

* For the conquest of Navarre, and the English expedition, see Navarrete, tom. viii.; also Ellis's *Letters*, series 2, vol. i. p. 188.

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The policy of Pope Julius could not have been more successful. The French were driven beyond the Alps. The Venetians were humbled, the emperor prevented from obtaining any footing in Italy, whilst the territories of the church were extended to the Po. Julius lived to see the fulness but not the vanity of pontifical triumphs. He expired in February of 1513, and was succeeded by a pontiff, Leo the Tenth, who betook himself to spend in splendour the power and renown which his predecessor had acquired, and who gladly would have made terms with France. But nothing less than the recovery of the Milanese could satisfy Louis. He concluded a truce with Ferdinand, and with the Venetians, whose towns the emperor still coveted, that old agreement for the partition of north Italy which had existed previous to the League of Cambray: so often does policy progress like the hands of a clock, to reach the very point from which it started. To realise the aim of this alliance 1200 French lances once more crossed the Alps in May, 1513, with 8000 French foot, and 6000 lansquenets of the Low Countries.* Maximilian Sforza and the Swiss took post at Novara, on the ramparts and castle of which they had mounted the guns left behind by the French in their late retreat. When the army, therefore, under La Tremouille and Trivulzio came before it, they suffered much from the fire of the place. A breach, however, was made, and an assault in preparation, when an almost fresh army of Swiss entered the town. The French in consequence withdrew to Trecate, on the road to Milan. Instead of encamping within it, Trivulzio, to save the town, posted his army in the neighbourhood. A straggling wood extended from Novara to where the lansquenets and the artillery lay. The Swiss instantly conceived the project of advancing unperceived through this wood, in

* Memoirs de Du Bellay, commencement; Fleuranges.

which the French gens d'armes could not molest them, to attack the lansquenets, and perhaps carry off the French artillery. On the morning of the 4th of June they put this scheme into execution. Their foremost assailants were gallantly repulsed by the lansquenets, who still could not hold their ground against numbers, nor prevent their guns from being taken. And the Swiss no sooner took than they turned these against the French. The gendarmerie, which ought to have come to the succour of the lansquenets, was prevented doing so by the deep canal and ditches which ran between their quarters and the point of attack, so that the horses sank to their knees. De la Marck, anxious for the fate of his two sons, who commanded the lansquenets, forced his way with a body of horse to their rescue. He found them amongst heaps of slain, one of them, Fleuranges, pierced with forty-six wounds. He survived, however, to leave the most graphic account of the war. The Swiss put the whole French army to the rout, and captured all their artillery. La Tremouille fled to Suza, leaving the Venetians to make what resistance they could to the united forces of the empire and of Spain. The Milanese and Genoa were again, and to all appearance irrevocably, lost.

The year 1513 was a threatening one for France. It was the first in which a coalition of all its neighbours pressed invasion from every side. Maximilian, angered by the alliance of Louis with Venice, encouraged the Swiss to enter Burgundy. La Tremouille, who was opposed to them, shut himself up in Dijon. Henry the Eighth, sending his army before him, joined it soon after it had laid siege to Théroüanne. The Emperor, with a German force, also came and assumed with his officers the cross of St. George, receiving pay from the English king. Théroüanne being sore pressed, the French commander, De Pi-

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ennes, sent his Albanian light horse, borrowed from the Venetians, to throw a provision of bacon and powder into the town. They were supported by some 1400 gens d'armes under De Piennes, who ordered them to retire as soon as the light horse had performed their task. The mounted gentry, instead of retiring at once, delayed, some for refreshment,—it was an August day,—some to take a look at the enemies' camp, so that the English had time to despatch a force to the Lys, where the French must necessarily pass. These descried the enemy descending from a hill, while they themselves were in disarray, some dismounted, others without their helmets. A panic instantly seized them, and, mounting their horses, they plied, not their lances against the foe, but their spurs to escape them. They made such good speed that the main body escaped; but such of the generals as tried to stop and rally them were taken prisoner, amongst whom were Bayard and the Duke of Longueville. Such was the battle of Spurs (1513). Thérouanne immediately surrendered.

The English next besieged Tournay, which was ill garrisoned, and it also surrendered in September. The important town of Dijon, but ill fortified, was at the same time hard pressed by the Swiss, and La Tremouille had no means of saving it but by granting the Swiss all they asked. This amounted to the surrender of whatever strongholds the French had in Italy, the cession of Milan to Sforza, and 400,000 crowns to the Swiss themselves. The king was shocked, and at first angry at such concessions, but La Tremouille pointed out at once the necessity under which he treated, and the facility of the monarch's disowning them.

This brief war between France and England led to some naval engagements. The principal one was in the Bay of Brest, in which the two powerful ves-

sels, the Carrick, of Brest, and the Regent, commanded by Sir Thomas Knyvet, grappled and fought with desperation. But the English gaining ground on the deck of the French vessel, its captain set fire to his ammunition, blew up and destroyed both vessels together. In another attempt made in the Bay of Conquêt to capture some French vessels, the English commander, Sir Edward Howard, was forced overboard and lost.*

It was chance, however, and the inconstancy of his foes which delivered Louis, as the same causes had lately rescued Venice, from the coalition of powers against him. The mainspring of both these coalitions was the same—Margaret of Austria, who was strongly prepossessed by the dangers likely to accrue to her nephew Charles, in Flanders, from the enmity and ambition of the King of France. She never ceased to impress this upon her father Maximilian, and to repeat—"There are mountains between France and Spain, seas between France and England, but no defence whatever between France and Flanders," and that a close alliance between Germany, England, and Spain could alone protect the Low Countries, as well as Italy, from French ambition. The alliance between Aragon and England being knitted by the marriage of Henry with Catherine, that between England and Germany would be completed by the marriage of Mary, Henry's sister, with young Charles of Austria. This marriage had been negotiated by Henry the Seventh, and was considered by him the very acmé of wise policy.† Henry resolved on the completion of the marriage, and Margaret proposed it. But Ferdinand the Catholic, contented with the expulsion of the French from Italy and his own acquisition of Navarre, was anxious to maintain and consolidate both by an alliance with France. It was sought at first

* Belcarius. † Bacon.

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to base this on a marriage between the second son of Maximilian, and brother of Charles, with Renée, second daughter of Louis the Twelfth, who was to give his Italian claims as a dowry. But in the first days of 1514 Anne of Brittany died, and Louis, though sorely regretting the companion of his reign and crown, still entertained hopes of leaving a male heir, and listened, not reluctantly, to proposals for his own marriage with Eleonora, sister of Charles and of Ferdinand. A truce was accordingly concluded between France and the King of Aragon*, and Maximilian, alarmed at being left out of the accord, deriving no advantage from it, and moreover having conceived no great affection for Henry since their joint campaign before Thérouanne and Tournay, afterwards joined it.† This at once broke the political dream of Margaret, alienated Henry the Eighth, and, cancelling the alliance between England and Austria, led to the most serious results in the political and religious history of Europe.

So nettled was Henry the Eighth with the breach of the marriage and the abandonment of his alliance by the King of Aragon and the Emperor, that when the Duke of Longueville, one of the prisoners of Guinegate, put forward the proposal of a marriage between the Princess Mary and the French king, Henry expressed at once his willingness to assent. Wolsey also forwarded it, and treaties were soon concluded of alliance and of marriage. Henry gave 400,000 crowns dowry to his sister, and Louis agreed to revive that old pension which Louis the Eleventh

* Machiavelli has expatiated at length upon this truce, and discusses at length, *apropos* of it, the character of Ferdinand as a politician, declaring him to be one more endowed with craft, and favoured by good fortune, than possessed of prudence or wisdom.

† Knight writes from Valladolid that Ferdinand was more annoyed than pleased at the English naval victories over the French.—*Ellis's Letters.*

had paid, of 100,000 crowns a year, to cease, however, in ten years.

Mary was forthwith married at Greenwich, the Duke de Longueville acting as proxy, and soon after espoused by Louis in person at Paris, in October, 1514. The event was celebrated and followed by sumptuous festivities, by balls, by banquets, and tournays. The king, much enamoured of his fair young spouse, changed his habits of life to please her, and dismissed the Countess of Guilford, who disputed the society and friendship of Mary with her husband. Never of strong health, especially since his great malady, Louis soon felt the change; he gradually declined, and expired three months after his marriage, on the 1st of January 1515, at his palace of the Tournelles in Paris.

The great and happy change which befel France towards the close of the fifteenth century, the total cessation from civil and domestic strife, is to be attributed less to the force or peculiarities of individual character, whether in king or aristocracy, than to the great fact of social and political progress. The breaking up of feudalism and of personal service, and the providing for the defence of the country by an army regularly maintained and paid, placed the monarch and his people in altogether new relations. The former became the dispenser of dignities and emoluments, the sole master of the forces of the state as well as of its pecuniary resources.* Before such authority the power of prince and noble, as well as the privilege of towns and middle class, shrunk into insignificance. There was this difference in the position of the former kings of England and that of the French monarchs, that the English princes generally went to

* Catharine of Medicis, in her letter of advice to her son on attaining his majority, states it to have been the habit of Louis the Twelfth to keep in his pocket two lists, one of places as they became vacant, another of the fittest candidates, never giving anything to those who asked, but taking care to content and attach to him a dozen of the most important persons in each province.—*MS. Dupuy*, No. 218.

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the parliament for subsidies to invade France and support their rights there. Such an enterprise was not vital to English defence, and required to be sanctioned and supported each time by a fresh act and declaration of the national will. In France the efforts of successive French sovereigns were mainly and manifestly directed towards the defence and pacification of the kingdom. Charles the Seventh and Louis the Eleventh levied their permanent tallage so evidently for the support of an indispensable army, and for the protection of the state, that no citizen thought of questioning the right to levy such contributions or employ them. The regular army and the gens d'armes of Louis the Eleventh crushed the princes, enlisted and absorbed the aristocracy, silenced the town classes, and when the task of domestic pacification was completed, Charles the Eighth transferred beyond the frontiers of France its political ambition as a state and its efforts as a military power. The French provinces enjoyed uninterrupted repose, Louis the Twelfth avoiding carefully to let them ever feel the pecuniary burden of war. The French therefore adored the king as "the father of his people," the industrious classes augmenting their numbers and their wealth, and not as yet troubling themselves with social wants or political ideas.

Louis the Twelfth and his minister Amboise deserve the credit of having fostered this national repose and aided this great progress. Their policy at home was unexceptionable, and if the same cannot be said of their conduct abroad, it should be remembered that they were the first king and statesman who embarked upon the hitherto unfathomed sea of foreign politics. They were evidently dazzled by the great prizes to be grasped, and the various and shifting paths by which they were to be pursued. The Italians were considered to be the wisest and wariest in dealing with their fellow men, and unfortunately the French king and his minister demeaned

themselves by sinking into that school, where a Ferdinand the Catholic surpassed them in craft, and a Julius the Second in energy.

The French invasion of Italy accomplished the very contrary of what it aimed at. First undertaken to transfer Naples to a French prince, that kingdom was irrevocably made over to Spain. Amboise's great idea, of rendering France and its dynasty the successful competitor of Germany and of its emperor in Italy, proved an utter failure. The foreign rivals and foes of France in the peninsula thus gained, instead of being defeated, by its military and diplomatic efforts. Of the Italian powers, those whom France honoured by its enmity, reaped signal advantages; all whom it cursed with its friendship, suffered as of a necessity, in freedom, in territory, and in power. Venice was the state which chiefly incurred the hostility of France, yet Venice continued to extend, in consequence of French invasion, its frontiers from the Adige to the Adda. Florence, Pisa, Genoa, were the objects of French alliance and protection—all may be said to have perished. Had these maintained their independence and vigour, had Naples kept its Italian nationality, had Milan been secured to the Sforza, and the House of Savoy allowed to remain Italian, the peninsula might have formed a nation, instead of sinking into a province of the House of Austria. Italy, too, national and free, being the foremost of European powers in cultivation and learning, poetry and philosophy, might have continued so, and might have undertaken and originated those reforms in religion and intelligence which fell to the lot of ruder countries and less enlightened men.

But Louis the Twelfth, if overreached in policy, was on most occasions triumphant in war, earning for his crown and country that great military glory which begets respect. The campaigns of the French in Italy no doubt failed in the aim of achieving permanent conquest,

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but, like the English victories in France, those of the French in Italy kept war from the frontier, and enabled them to defy invasion. The want of infantry, in other words the neglect or inability to employ the peasant class in arms, was what chiefly marred French successes in Italy, as the same cause had facilitated English triumph. This, with the kindred feeling which the French court and officers evinced of preference for aristocracy and contempt for municipal freedom, weakened and undermined their hold of conquests, and rendered their prowess in the field vain.

The personal character of Louis, if we except his treatment of his Italian rivals and captives, was perhaps as amiable as that of any sovereign. In France he seems not to have made a personal enemy. Even when abetting the unpopular policy of Anne of Brittany in the Austrian match, unpopularity could not attach to himself. The classes who indulged in dramatic representation ventured to tax him with avarice. He laughed at their satire, and pardoned it, though he strictly forbade similar licence directed against his queen. He was an attached husband, affected neither gallantry, nor pomp, nor pride, and was in habits and manners "a child of nature." * But, however amiable in private life, however mild, generous, and economical in domestic policy, one cannot consider him with his admirer, Rœderer†, the founder of a constitutional monarchy, or the protector of the rights of the middle classes. The contrary judgment of Mably in this respect, however severe, is much nearer the truth.

* The Venetian ambassador's description of him in Ranke's History of France.

† Rœderer; Louis XII. et François Ier.

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FRANCIS THE FIRST, FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE TREATY OF CAMBRAY, — 1515 TO 1529.

THE tide of absolute power had set in strong during the latter half of the fifteenth century. By the sixteenth it had overflowed, even where it did not totally destroy, the great landmarks of liberty. These menaced to disappear, even in countries noted then and since for reverence towards them. In France all such boundaries between different classes, and between the crown and them, had never been firmly placed or popularly cherished. In Spain they were soon to be levelled by the sovereign at the head of his paid and standing army. In England the forms of liberty, and little more than the forms, were for the time preserved. In Italy freedom had lost credit; it had been found in most cases unable to protect the civic republic from internal strife and foreign domination. Throughout the great communities of Europe power was wielded by kings and dynasties, to which system smaller countries began to find it prudent to conform. A Medici could govern Florence, protect it by alliances, and provide for its interests better than a temporary *gonfalonière* like Soderini. Venice, assailed by the League of Cambray, and only saved by its lagunes, showed the danger of proving an exception to monarchic rule. In Germany the division of territory amongst princes, and the pru-

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dence of the civic classes in taking shelter under feudal forms and institutions instead of tearing them down, left them a considerable portion of freedom, which allowed the germs of religious liberty to spring up, although for political or warlike effort the empire was weak.

In France monarchic power was more developed, and more unrestricted than in any other land. It was, as has been previously remarked, a kind of lay and hereditary papacy, obeyed and worshipped with almost religious reverence. The nobility looked to emolument in military service, not to independence as landed proprietors, and considered the king as the abbot of their convent. The peasantry, unemployed in war, and not permitted to bear arms or to possess land, were thrust back to serfdom, and taught by ignorance to accept such a fate.* The middle classes and professions, though ground down with taxation and tyranny, seemed neither to feel nor to remember that they had rights. The king found himself an idol by universal consent. And not a voice suggested, much less clamoured, for the control or participation of any national body in the fate, councils, or taxation of the kingdom.

At this period of immoderate monarch-worship, three young men ascended the thrones of the three great nations of Europe. Francis the First and Henry the Eighth were endowed with all the qualities that attract popular worship. They were handsome, athletic, brave, generous, and gallant.† Their accession, greeted with a loud shout of gratulation and triumph, might well have turned their heads and made them believe that the possession of absolute power was their right, and the

* French infantry, such as it was, was only raised in the border provinces of Gascony and Picardy. The peasants of the Isle of France, the Orleannois, or the central provinces, were not to be trusted with arms. Francis issued atrocious edicts against their killing game.

† *La testa Cesarina et bella*, is Falier's description of Henry the Eighth. Relazione Venete.

maintenance of it their duty. Yet some historians take Francis the First to task, a youth of twenty when he ascended the throne, for not having at once revived those elements of representative freedom which lurked in the history of France, but of which he probably had never even heard. These, however respected by us, could be fraught with no heroism for him. And to expect that Francis would have called the States-General, which even the popular Louis the Twelfth had discontinued, and that he should submit his schemes of policy and of finance to classes and to men who really cared not to meddle with them, is indeed being too hard upon royalty and most unjust to Francis. He was perhaps the last of his nation to be arraigned for the crime. If his subjects had rights rejected or ignored in the previous reign, it was for some of them to declare it. Not a councillor, not a noble, not a judge, a thinker or a citizen, breathed such a doctrine, or perhaps harboured such a thought. They were all hugging the supreme power of the monarch as a boon. The country had not for some time felt the evils and inconveniences of such a system, and even if it had, was totally unconscious of a remedy. Far from despotic power in the monarch being considered a degradation for the people, all, even the educated classes, were proud of it. So that perhaps the best that could be expected from the reign of Francis, was that it should convey a lesson, manifesting the natural results of despotism, wielded by the rash, the passionate, the voluptuous, and the heroic.

The first acts of Francis displayed the generous and reckless prince. His predecessor, from economy and dislike of pomp, had left most of the great offices unfilled. Francis distributed amongst his nobles not only all the usual places of emolument and honours, but lavishly created new.* To his mother he gave the

* Du Bellay.

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duchies of Anjou and Maine. The Duke of Bourbon he appointed constable. The Duke of Alençon had Normandy.* Those on whom he had not governments to bestow received pensions or the profits of salt depôts. He gave his favourites the comptrollership of taxes in each town.† On Duprat, the creature of his mother, he bestowed the chancellorship. Gouffier, Sire De Boissy, who had been his preceptor, was created grand master and chief manager of affairs.‡ To him Francis owed his love of letters and the arts, and the ambition to illustrate his name and reign by the patronage of such pursuits, as well as by deeds of arms.

De Boissy was not a profound politician. What most menaced France was manifestly the union of the Spanish crowns with the lordship of Flanders, Austria, and Franche Comté in the person of young Charles. Ferdinand the Catholic was most inclined to break up this great inheritance, and to secure Aragon, if not Castile, to Ferdinand, Charles's younger brother. To have furthered and accomplished this ought to have been the chief aim of French policy. But instead of influencing Ferdinand, or ingratiating himself with the aged monarch, Francis was bent upon that which must most irritate and alarm him—the reconquest of Milan,

* Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous François Ier. Having once quoted authors like these, whose writings must form the groundwork of this history, I refrain from quoting them each time they furnish materials. The Memoirs of the Du Bellays go through the entire reign of Francis. The Journal of the Bourgeois comes down to 1535. Neither do I quote Guicciardini, or Paul Jove, Belcarius, or Ferroni, whose ample narratives must always be before the author. Garnier (Hist. of France) and Gaillard (Vie de François Ier) are useful, having both had access to important materials; these, generally indicated in Fontanieu's collection, are also to be found in the MSS. of Colbert and Bethune. The Documens Inédits, published by the French government; those of Belgium, published by M. Gachart; Charles the Fifth's Letters, collected by M. Lanz, the Monumenta Habsburgica, the Papiers D'Etat de Granvelle, and the Relazione of the Venetian Envoys, with a host of less important works, fling a flood of light upon that age.

† Des deniers communaux, says Registre en forme de Journal, fait par un domestique du Chancelier Duprat. MSS. Dupuy, 600; Bib. Impérial.

‡ The council was wont to assemble in his room." Registre.

for which, indeed, Louis the Twelfth had already assembled an army. To prevent the accomplishment of such a design, Ferdinand entered into a league immediately after the death of Louis with Maximilian, the Pope, the Duke of Milan, and the Swiss, nominally to resist the Turks, but really to oppose whatever prince should first break the peace of Europe.* Young Charles of Flanders, or of Luxemburg, did not join this league. He was no longer in the hands of his aunt, Margaret, and guided by her anti-French policy. His guardian was M. De Chièvres, of the family of Croy, whose principle was alliance and even subservience to France, in order to resist and defeat the jealous enmity of Ferdinand.† Chièvres' leaning to France was popular with the Flemings; on the first news of Louis's demise, he sent an embassy asking continuance of friendship, and offering the homage which as peer of France a count of Flanders should perform.‡ A treaty was in consequence drawn up, one of the conditions of which was that Charles should espouse Renée, daughter of Louis the Twelfth. The imperial negotiators strove eagerly, but in vain, to have the claims of France upon Milan and Naples resigned to Renée upon the marriage. Francis declined to settle aught upon her, save the duchy of Berry, and to this Charles consented.§

The King of England having also been alienated from Austria by the fickleness of Maximilian, a treaty of alliance was concluded between Henry and Francis, in which the desires of the former seemed to be to procure pecuniary advantages, that of the latter to gratify them.‖ *An event occurred which might have proved

* Feb. 3, 1515. See Monumenta Habsburgica, 2 Abtheil. 1 Band.

† Belcarius, Comment. Re. Gal.

‡ Négociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche, Documens Inédits.

§ Ibid.

‖ See Rymer, in whose pages is also to be found, though without a date, the record of 10,000 ducats promised by the secretary of the Duke of Milan to Wolsey, as the price of the latter's procuring a peace with France.

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a source of division between the monarchs had Henry been a keen politician. Mary, his sister, the widow of Louis the Twelfth, contracted secretly and suddenly in Paris a marriage with Brandon, Earl of Suffolk. Some say, and Henry might have believed, that Francis favoured the match to prevent Mary being the bond of alliance between the English crown and any other prince, Charles especially, to whom she had been affianced. According to Fleuranges, Francis extracted a promise from the lovers not to marry till Henry's consent was obtained, which promise they did not keep. Henry, however, began already to contemplate the marriage of his own infant daughter with a foreign prince, and did not take umbrage at the love-match of his sister.

In July, 1515, Francis mustered his court and his troops at Grenoble. There were 2500 lances and 1500 light horse, 10,000 French infantry, principally Basques, flingers of missiles, commanded by Navarro, who had taken service with Francis, owing to Ferdinand's refusal to pay his ransom, and 26,000 lansquenets. The artillery consisted of 70 guns, besides those which mules could carry, and 2500 pioneers to clear the way for them. The difficulty was how to pass the Alps, the Swiss to the number of 35,000 being posted at Susa, and guarding the passages of Mont Cenis and Monte Ginevra. Trivulzio insisted on the possibility of passing, and communicated his conviction to Francis.* Both, however, were so ignorant of the Alpine territory, that the most superhuman efforts were spent in getting from the valley of Embrun to that of Barcelonetta by

* Paul Giov. Hist. sui Temporis L. XV. Besides Du Bellay and Guicciardini, for the campaign of Marignan, see Fleuranges, the two Memoires du Bayard, Letters of François I. and Gaillard, Maximilian's account of it in his letter to his daughter Margaret. See also the Registre en forme de Journal par un domestique du Chancélier Duprat, MSS. Dupuy, No. 600. Bib. Imper. This *domestique* is considered to be Barillon, Duprat's secretary.

St. Paul, both being French, and both accessible through the valleys of their rivers. The main body then took its course by the Argentiera pass into the valley of the Stura and down to Cuneo, both artillery and horses being dragged up and let down precipices by ropes, the difficulties that could not be so surmounted being removed by the powder blast and by human labour. A smaller and less encumbered body of troops, under La Palisse and Bayard, clambered over the Col del Agnello to Saluzzo. They learned there that Prospero Colonna, general of Sforza, lay at Villafranca with his Italian gens d'armes, "boasting," says Brantome, "that he held the French like pigeons in a cage." The French crossed the Po, and when the gates were sought to be closed against the foremost horseman, he thrust in his spear and held it there till his companions arrived and forced a passage. Colonna was made prisoner whilst sitting down to dinner. No one believed that the French could have passed the Alps south of the Monte Viso by paths then and still dangerous even to the traveller. The Swiss no sooner heard that the French army had reached the plains of Piedmont than they abandoned Susa, and fell back upon Novarra and Milan, Francis pursuing less with the view of forcing them to combat than of purchasing their neutrality. In this design he almost succeeded. They were to be paid 700,000 crowns besides a yearly pension.* Duke Sforza, of Milan, was also to have a pension, and the Swiss were to give up the valleys they had taken from the Milanese. This accord, already agreed to by the Captain of Bern, was resisted by the Cardinal of Sion and by a fresh army of Swiss, which at his call descended from the mountains. The partisans of France were thus obliged to withdraw,

* They had already seized and plundered some 60,000 livres worth of silk sent by the manufacturers of Florence and Genoa to the fair of Lyons. Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous Francis I. The negotiations with the Swiss are given at length in the Registre.

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and there remained with the cardinal some four-and-twenty thousand determined to do battle and uphold Sforza. They first tried to seize the instalment of the money which the French had deposited, but Lautrec, warned, withdrew it. They occupied Milan, south of which lay the French army at Marignano, its advanced posts within sight of the city. The Spanish and pontifical army were at the same time beyond the Po, at Piacenza, and had they combined their attack with the Swiss, the French, even with the aid of the Venetians, who were not distant, could scarcely have escaped. But the Swiss, guided by choler, and influenced by the harangues of the Cardinal of Sion, rushed forth in obedience to some sudden impulse from Milan on the afternoon of the 13th of September.*

The king was sitting down to supper, two hours before sunset, when it was told him that the Swiss had driven in the advanced guard under Bourbon, and with a cloud of dust approached the camp. Francis armed and put himself at the head of his knights. Like all Lombard battles, that of Marignano was fought principally on the high road, on which alone troops, and especially horse, could manœuvre. The mounted gentlemen charged several times, but without effect, the Swiss driving them back upon the foot and capturing many of their guns. The king took advantage of the disorder caused amongst the Swiss by their success, and attacked them with his infantry, both German lansquenets and Gascons. Moonlight enabled the combat to be continued, but after some hours of mixed and bloody encounter the battle was necessarily suspended, to be renewed at day-break.

The king passed the night on one of his gun car-

* One person did his utmost to dissuade the Swiss on this occasion from attacking the French. It was Zuingle, who, a curate of Glaris, had accompanied that year, as in 1512, his flock to war. See D'Aubigne, Hist. de la Reformation.

riages, with nothing but water to drink, and that mingled with blood. He was obliged to have no light on account of the proximity of the enemy. But during the hours of darkness, the different corps of his army rallied round his person as a banner, and were posted so as to defend each other as well as the artillery. When the Swiss renewed the battle in the morning, they found the position in which the king was, too strongly defended, and they in consequence directed their efforts on either side. At one time they attacked the rear where the baggage was, in order to force the king to dislodge, but they were soon repelled by the Dukes of Alençon and Navarro. The battle had already lasted four hours of the morning, when Alviano with the Venetian force made his appearance, and the Swiss at once considered it prudent to withdraw. They did so, however, in good order, and "with countenances as fierce as if they marched to the assault." Nor did the French, who were well satisfied with such an issue of the battle, attempt to molest their retreat. The Swiss lost from 8000 to 12,000 men, and all their captains.* The French loss was inferior, but there fell of them two princes of the house of Bourbon, the only son of La Tremouille, with a brother of the Duke of Lorraine, and several nobles. The custom was to receive knighthood on the day of one's first battle. Francis insisted on receiving that honour from De Bayard, who as usual had distinguished himself in the combat.

The victory of Marignano restored the duchy of Milan to the French, and at the same time its security by the alliance, to which the greater part of the Swiss cantons consented. But Francis seemed little grateful to the Venetians, through whose alliance and timely aid he owed the completion of the victory. The relations of Francis were eminently personal. Indeed the

* The Registre says that 16,500 of the Swiss were buried after the battle.

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age was so, and lasting or strong alliances were formed between princes and families, rather than between states or political interests. The Venetian republic, with its ever fluctuating body of magistrates, presented nothing upon which Francis thought he could rely, or to which he could become attached; and although Venice had mainly helped to the reconquest of the Milanese, whilst the Medici, both on the papal throne and as masters of Florence, opposed it, nevertheless the French king treated the Venetians with coolness, and concluded an intimate alliance with the Medici.* At the desire of the Venetians, indeed, a body of French troops were sent to contribute to the recovery of Verona and other towns; reconquests which the republic afterwards owed, not so much to this insufficient aid, as to their own energy, good fortune, and good conduct.

The French king had not neglected to sound the pope and seek his alliance previous to crossing the Alps. Having nothing very solid to offer, he despatched a man of learning and letters, Budæus, as likely to be welcome to Leo. The latter professed his willingness to support Francis, provided the crown of Naples or the ducal bonnet of Parma and Piacenza, and the towns of the Po, were secured to his brother Julian. Francis merely offered Tarentum, and marched to Marignano. On learning the victory, the pope was alarmed. "There is nothing left," exclaimed he, "but to cry *misericordia* of the victor."† He came to Bologna for the purpose, having previously ascertained through the nuncio Tricarico, the terms that Francis insisted on. These were the cession by the pope of Parma and Piacenza to the Milanese, and of Modena and Reggio to the Duke of Ferrara, Francis agreeing not to interfere in behalf of any other Romagnese prince, as well as to respect the ascendency of the Medici in Florence. The latter

* Paul Giove attributes this to the influence of De Boissy.

† Report of Venetian envoy in Ranke's Popes, appendix.

was an important stipulation, for the republicans of Florence looked to France as their mainstay, and as Genoa had again recognised French sovereignty, the power of the Medicis might easily have been uprooted by the French king. He was far more bent on vindicating his right to Naples. But Leo represented its conquest as facile, as soon as Ferdinand of Aragon had departed this life. Francis therefore adjourned his proposed invasion of that kingdom.

Mulcted in territory, Leo sought to indemnify himself by acquisition of revenue. He stipulated that the Milanese should provide themselves with salt from the pontifical works at Cervia. And he proposed making over to the French king the full right of appointing to all benefices within his dominions, provided the annates or one year's revenue of each on every fresh appointment were paid to him. The Pragmatic Sanction had abolished this, and considerably impoverished the papal revenue, whilst it had confirmed the right of the clergy or chapters to elect their prelates, and monastic fraternities their abbots. No other king had parted with this right. For when the pope nominally possessed it, he was in the habit of making over the use of it to the sovereign by an indult. Francis was a monarch easily persuaded of the inexpediency and iniquity of subjects enjoying such lucrative privileges. And he eagerly grasped the power which the pope offered to confer by means of a solemn concordat. Louis the Eleventh had exercised this authority by abrogating the Pragmatic Sanction, which the energetic remonstrance of the parlement had since restored. But the great principles of civic, of cleric, and of popular liberties guarded by each class retaining the right of electing magistrates, prelates, and judges, were bound up together, nor was it possible to preserve one without the other. When the country had lost all national representation, when the munici-

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palties had been deprived of all autonomy or judicial independence, it was not probable that the clergy would be allowed to preserve an *imperium in imperio*. When the lay classes of noble and of citizen had been both compelled to bow before the despotic and uncontrolled power of the crown, the clergy could not hope to escape. The concordat of Francis and Leo sealed their doom.*

This bold act of authority, which transferred to the king all the high ecclesiastical nominations, was not completed till the autumn of 1516, and then the crown found a difficulty in promulgating it as law. The parlement refused to do so. In order to overcome its resistance the chancellor summoned two deputies from each great town, whom he addressed with vast promises of amelioration and of reform, and with ingenious excuses for the conclusion of the *concordat*.† The depu-

* By this Concordat the French king obtained the right of nominating to ten archbishoprics, eighty bishoprics, five hundred and twenty-seven abbeys. In return for which he conferred on the pope the right to levy the annates or yearly revenue of each benefice. By the estimates which the clergy gave in, his holiness barely obtained about one-half of this sum. The nomination to lesser benefices was not changed. It remained with the archbishops and other collators, but they were bound to give one-third of the promotions to the graduates of the university, whilst at the same time the higher dignities of a cathedral church were limited to the canons. These regulations had been made by the Council of Bale. The orders of the same council by which the pope retained one nomination in fifty, as well as the right of filling up all vacancies caused by the death of ecclesiastics who died at Rome, were also preserved. Concordata Par. 1534; Dupuy, Hist. des Concordats; Fontanieu, Laws concerning the Collation des Benefices.

† When the delegates were assembled at Paris, Duprat spoke to them at length upon many points, which he summed up in chapters. He sought to show that the pope wishing to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction, the king's ministers, to avoid the restoration of the system which prevailed before it, by which the pope could appoint to benefices during eight months of the year[1], concluded the *concordat*. The bad points the chancellor described "as sacrifices to the *malice du temps*, which might afterwards be amended." He spoke on the subject of the coin, to consider which delegates from each town in France had met in the previous September. He proposed divers

[1] By means of reversions, which the concordat abolished.

ties of the commons, absorbed by views and grievances of their own, did not lend the chancellor the support which he sought, and he at once got rid of them. Duprat was obliged to face alone the hostility of the parlement and of the clergy; the former demanded time, the latter appealed to a general council. The king at length became exasperated, and threatened to send the recalcitrant to Rome. But the parlement continued its resistance, refused to admit to its sitting the Bastard of Savoy, then in great favour at court, who was sent to influence and persuade them, and persisted in demanding a council of the clergy. A deputation of judges, sent to remonstrate with the king at Amboise, was threatened with being committed to prison. Nor was it till 1518 that the parlement consented to register the concordat under the threat of being declared rebel, and its members expelled from their seats.*

The successful confiscation of the elective privileges of the French church was accompanied by the abrogation of the same privileges hitherto enjoyed by the judges. The Chancellor Duprat, that most pernicious of bipeds, as Belcarius calls him, and whose mission seemed to be to corrupt and destroy the worth and independence of the learned professions in France, ap-

prohibitions, such as that of the importation of spices except through the sea-ports; of the use of any save native wool; of the import of foreign cloth, and the necessity of making the Flemish and other merchants export in French manufactures, not in coin, at least two thirds of what they got for their commodities. The French delegates, instead of discussing these proposals of the chancellor, brought forth their own *cahiers* of grievances, which so annoyed him that he dismissed them in order that they might consult in their respective towns an assembly of the more sane and respectable of their fellow citizens. The delegates departed, and did consult their constituents, their opinions being duly drawn up, sealed, and despatched to the chancellor in Paris. When these precious documents arrived, however, instead of being opened and read, they were thrust, with the seals still unbroken, into a leathern bag, *et depuis n'en fut parlé.* (MS. Registre.)

* Dupuy, Histoire des Concordats; Gaillard, Histoire de François Ier, who cites a MS. account of the dispute; Pasquier, Recherches, &c.; and Isambert. See also Portfeuilles de Fontanieu.

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plied to the parlement or judicial body that principle of sale which Louis the Twelfth had unfortunately introduced with respect to minor offices. Not content with filling up vacancies as they occurred for money, he created new courts and chambers of justice, thus swamping parlement by a crowd of venal and corrupt men. This enslavement and degradation of the dignities of the church and law, thus placed at the mercy of the crown and its minister, extended its influence over the lower ranks of these professions, who had henceforth to look, not to learning or to reputation for advancement, but to the practice of servility and the use of money. The same loss of privileges, of independence, and of spirit, also manifested itself in the university, from whence these professions were supplied, a degree being necessary for both legal and clerical appointments. The teaching of theology fell into the hands of the monks; that of the civil law was carefully prohibited in the capital, so that its university, completely ecclesiasticised, its Faculty of the Arts dwindling to nothing, produced that formidable and impenetrable body of bigots which issued its absurd and sanguinary decrees from the Sorbonne, which prohibited the Bible, denounced the Colloquies of Erasmus, and made open war upon common sense and common humanity.

But whilst the old university thus shrunk into a mere theological school, the talented and learned professors for whom Francis had endowed chairs in his new College de France quietly but effectually instilled into the minds of the rising generation of French that love of learning, knowledge of the classics, taste for the humanities, and for their high morality, which at a later period produced its fruits in a regeneration of the profession of the law, as well as of the sentiments and principles of the French gentleman. If Francis, by the instrumentality of such men as Duprat, was extinguishing the independence and learning of the pro-

fessional classes of his epoch, he was, at the same time, by Budæus, and his more liberal counsellors, sowing the seed and raising the materials for rekindling freedom of intelligence and great moral convictions in future generations.

The same eagerness for negotiation, for alliances, and for betrothal of royal children, which marked the policy of Cardinal Amboise, was observable as long as M. de Boissy remained influential in the court of France. Ferdinand the Catholic expired at the commencement of 1516. Alarmed, probably, at the power acquired by the French king on the field of Marignano, he abandoned on his deathbed the idea of dividing his heritage between his two sons, and left all to Charles, the better to enable him to cope with a puissant rival. No sooner, however, did Charles succeed, than the first words between the sovereigns were those of congratulation and peace. But war still continued. Henry the Eighth, who had sent an embassy to Francis to dissuade him from his expedition to Italy, was subsequently mortified by that monarch's success. He thought he saw proofs of French intrigues against him, in the circumstance of the Duke of Albany's having arrived from France in Scotland, and assumed the regency of the kingdom in opposition to his sister Margaret. The emperor at the same time despatched the Cardinal of Sion to England with large and exaggerated proffers ; one of them was no less than to resign the empire in his favour. Henry so far entertained them as to furnish a large sum to Maximilian, who raised an army and invaded Italy. The Swiss once more served in both armies, and the French, having no other infantry, were obliged to abandon the siege of Brescia and retire to Milan. Maximilian approached, and threatened it with the vengeance of Barbarossa, but a timely reinforcement of mercenaries enabled the city to defy him. His own Swiss

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and Spanish soldiers at the same time mutinied for want of pay, and he was compelled to withdraw to Trent. The result, as was ever the case with the projects of Maximilian, was an abortive campaign. De Chievres and De Boissy took advantage of it to bring about a meeting between Charles and Francis at Noyon.* A new treaty was there concluded (August 1516), by which Charles was hereafter to espouse a daughter that had not long been born to Francis, and to receive the French claims upon Naples as her dowry. In the following year Maximilian, wearied and deserted, acceded to this treaty, and abandoned his long-cherished projects of keeping Verona, and by this a free passage into Italy. The town was once more ceded to Venice. To complete the work of general pacification, there remained but to win over Henry the Eighth; and this Francis accomplished by abandoning the Duke of Albany, and by sending over Bonnivet, the gay and accomplished brother of De Boissy, to captivate Wolsey and Henry. They consented to sell Tournay to the French for 600,000 crowns. It was accompanied by the usual appendage to such a treaty, the betrothal of the infant daughter of Henry to the Dauphin.

Never did universal, and to all appearance carefully framed peace, cover such powerful germs of dissension and of war. The magnanimity and affected absence of ambition displayed by Francis in Italy, in Spain, and in Flanders, together with the anxiety shown for conciliating England, covered in reality a project more vast, and an aim more serious, than even that of rendering Italy subject. It was no less than the union of the crowns of France and Germany upon the same head. Cardinal D'Amboise had already conceived the plan, which his own attainment of the papal tiara was to have aided in accomplishing. Francis, indeed, had scarcely ascended

* Papiers D'Etat de Granvelle.

the throne, when his mother despatched an emissary in disguise to her cousin, the Count Palatine, to obtain his co-operation in elevating Francis to the empire.* The Archbishop of Treves, that elector who was most inimical to Austria, sent in November, 1516, to offer his interest and his vote to Francis.† Such an adhesion was calculated to encourage the ambition of the French king. The days of Maximilian were drawing to a close. The inconstancy of his policy, the makeshift character of his life and reign, which, having frittered away the empire in Germany, allowed it to be obliterated in Italy, and which thus left Europe exposed to the conquests of the Turk, had, it was thought, considerably alienated the Germans from the House of Austria.

Charles, the new head of the family, did not seem of a temper or a character likely to do better than Maximilian. Under the influence of De Chievres he assumed the attitude rather of a Flemish count, subservient to Francis, than of a rival monarch. He showed small predilection for arms, no adventurous or chivalrous tastes, and at a time when the modern gentleman affected to revive the qualities of the ancient knight, Charles had been bred as a closet politician, sedulously attending council, considering and concocting despatches. He wanted the robust frame and ruddy aspect of either Henry or Francis, and did not as yet promise to compensate for physical inferiority by more commanding intellect. The King of France considered himself so much better fitted to be emperor, and to lead Europe against the Turk, that he scarcely seemed to think that he wronged Charles by coming forward as a candidate. Still he kept it secret, and what appears to have first awakened the suspicions of the latter was an interview which the Marquis of Brandenburg, one of the German electors, had with the

* MS. Registre, fol. 31.

† Archives quoted by Mignet in his Election à l'Empire.

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French chancellor Duprat at Abbeville, in 1517, in which it was agreed that the Princess Renée was to espouse the elector's son.*

Charles was about to proceed to Spain, when he was made aware of the intrigues of the French king. He immediately reversed his policy, withdrew his confidence from Chievres, the partisan of France, and restored his aunt Margaret, who was Anglican and anti-Gallican, to her former influence.† She at once applied her energies to the great struggle. A messenger was despatched to Maximilian, who undertook, if well provided with money, to carry in the approaching Diet the election of Charles to be King of the Romans, preliminary to becoming emperor. One hundred thousand crowns was borrowed from Henry the Eighth; similar sums procured elsewhere, and they were lodged with Fugger, the banker of Augsburg, to be ready for payment.‡

Francis was not behindhand in the despatch of agents and funds. But Maximilian outbade them. To the Marquis of Brandenburg, who had adopted the cause of Francis on obtaining the Princess Renée for his son, Maximilian offered the Infanta Catherine with a larger dowry. It was a perfect auction, princesses and millions being proffered on either side, in order to carry away the prize. Charles had well nigh succeeded, when the death of Maximilian took place in January 1519. It thus became necessary to elect, not a king of the Romans, but an Emperor, and the

* Mignet, Election à l'Empire.

† Margaret was, however, not appointed Stadtholderin of the Netherlands till after the election in 1519. The emperor's instructions to her on this occasion throw a curious light on the administration of that country, and its mode of military defence. Towns were made to provide artillery, and citizens to have arquebuses. They were to provide three men-at-arms for every five hundred livres revenue. The Flemish towns and townsfolk were thus trained and armed to self-defence, which was by no means the case with those under French jurisdiction. For instructions see Monumenta Habsburgica.

‡ Monumenta Habsburgica, 2 Ab. 1 B. p. 52.

greedy electors declared that this being a new case, required fresh bribes and stipulations.

The choice of an Emperor rested with seven electors. The king of Hungary, a mere youth, was one, and being affianced to Charles's sister, of course gave him his vote. Of the remaining six, two were honourable men, the Archbishop of Treves, leaning to France from conviction, and the Duke of Saxony, who would give no promise and listen to no emissary. But the Marquis of Brandenburg, and his brother the Archbishop of Mayence, with the Elector Palatine, were merely bent on getting the most for their votes, and they drew the Archbishop elector of Cologne along with them. Francis had already paid or promised half a million of gold florins. He was compelled to increase the sum largely. Pope Leo also came to his aid, and promised cardinals' hats for two of the ecclesiastical electors, and his legatine authority in Germany to a third. As a bribe to the more patriotic, the French king promised, in case of his election, to carry war into Turkey, and be either dead or at Constantinople within three years. The prospects of Charles seemed at one time so weak, that Margaret proposed to substitute Ferdinand, in the candidature, nor was Charles unwilling, if it appeared that his brother had a greater chance of success. His ambition was for his house, as much as for himself, but the proposal was distasteful to the electors. A powerful influence was in the meantime exerting itself—the public opinion of the Germans. And this was backed by the army of the Suabian League of cities, which under Francis of Sickinghen had just expelled Duke Ulrich of Wurtemburg, the ally of Francis, from his dominions, because of his ruthless treatment of the imperial town of Reutlingen. More than one of the venal electors feared they might be exposed to similar treatment, and all at the last moment displayed an evident wish to elect the Austrian candidate, as a more patriotic

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choice than the French one. The Pope, awed by Charles, made known through his agents similar inclinations. Under these circumstances the diet opened.

The Archbishop of Mayence, who had been promised the legatine authority, but who felt that it was no longer to be secured by supporting France, pointed out most eloquently the disadvantage of electing a French prince. Were Francis chosen, he said, he would take advantage of his power to aggrandise his native kingdom, annex the free cities of Germany, as well as Flanders, and subdue Austria. If successful in these enterprises, he might change the constitution of Germany and put down the electors. Frenchmen would for ever after rule there, and French principles prevail. Every independent and powerful prince, and every free city had been destroyed in France. Did Germany wish to be assimilated to it ?* To such powerful arguments the elector of Treves rejoined, rather than replied. The presence near Frankfort of Sickinghen's troops in the pay of Charles, gave the Count Palatine an excuse for going back of his promise to France. The Marquis of Brandenburg followed his example, and the imperial crown was offered to the Duke of Saxony. But Frederic the Sage saw clearly in the events of his time how unable a small prince then was to contend with great ones. And he preferred giving his vote and influence to the grandson of Maximilian. The election of Charles the Fifth took place at the close of June, 1519.†

* See account of Imperial elections given in a letter of Cajetan's to Leo the Tenth; Lettere di Principi, l. 1, p. 60.

For instructions to French ambassadors, see MSS. Fontanieu, 169-170; MS. Brienne, 10329; and MS. La Marc, 10382-3. The principal argument of the French was the enumeration of all that Christendom had lost, and the Turk won, since the House of Austria was in possession of the Imperial crown.

† The documents relative to the election are numerous. In addition to the former already mentioned, see the published extracts from the Granvelle Papers, Gachart the Belgian Archivist's "Rapport," Ellis's Letters; and, especially, the "Négociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche."

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Although mortified by his defeat, Francis was of a sufficiently noble nature not to allow his feelings to degenerate into spite. And had Charles observed his promise in the treaty of Noyon to make reparation to the dispossessed king of Navarre, and at the same time to respect the rights of Francis in Milan, the enmity of the rival monarchs might have been appeased for the time. But Charles would give no satisfaction for his conquest of Navarre. Chievres and De Boissy had a meeting at Montpellier in May, 1519. The French proposed that D'Albret the king of Navarre should espouse Charles's sister Catherine, and that the kingdom should be settled upon the marriage. Chievres had no power to conclude such an arrangement*, and the sudden death of De Boissy abruptly broke off the negotiation.

The year 1520 was one of suspense to Charles, who, hastening from Spain to receive the imperial crown, left that kingdom in a state of insurrection ; Germany he found no less agitated by the words of Luther. Nevertheless both princes directed their efforts to securing allies in a future war. Francis had gained Henry of England and his minister Wolsey in 1518 by the promise of marrying the Dauphin to the princess Mary, in consideration of which, and of certain sums of money, Henry had given up Tournay. An interview between the kings was fixed for the April following. The death of Maximilian, and the struggle for the empire intervened, in which Henry first coming forward as a candidate, finally threw whatever influence he might have had into the cause, not of Francis, but of Charles.† A fierce and warlike struggle was now inevitable between the houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg,

* Memoirs of what passed at Montpellier; Nég. Diplomatiques.

† Charles formally thanked Henry for the aid which Pace, the king's envoy, gave to his election. (Mon. Hab. Aug. 1519.) Pace himself declared that he remained neutral.

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and England it was manifest might derive great advantages from siding with the emperor. Hence, as well as from traditional rivalry, the inclination of the English courtiers and public were for the alliance with Charles and against that with Francis. Queen Catherine of course favoured this, and she had still considerable influence over her husband. However Wolsey might have been won by the largesses and flattery of Francis, he soon found similar motives for preferring Charles. This prince had promised to visit England on his return from Germany to Spain, towards the close of 1519.* Learning that Francis now pressed for an interview with Henry, Charles wrote to express his regrets, and to request a previous meeting with him at Southampton.† The English court was most desirous it should take place, and even tried to adjourn the meeting with Francis ‡, to afford time for the emperor's coming. The vanity of the English king was flattered by having two powerful monarchs suitors for his friendship; the greed of Wolsey was gratified by the pensions he received from both. The emperor managed to forestal his rival, to land at Dover, have an interview with Henry at Canterbury, and there conclude a treaty with him before he sailed for the continent. Although the plenipotentiary of France had insisted that Henry should come a mile upon French ground to meet their king, the ceremonial was arranged with perfect equality (1520).§ Henry had erected a palace, most sumptuously adorned, at Guines.‖ Francis had done no less at Ardres, and the tents in which they met halfway, were so embroidered and tapestried and carpeted with gold, that the name remains to the

* Monumenta Habsburgica, 2 Ab. 1 B. Charles's letter of Dec. 12th 1519.

† Ib. p. 116.

‡ Ib. Letter of Imperial Envoy.

§ Mon. Hab., same vol. p. 123.

‖ The lower part of brick, says the Registre, the upper part of painted cloth.

place of meeting, as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The kings, however, were eight days in each other's neighbourhood before they met, and when they did so, it was with restraints so annoying, that Francis set off with two followers one morning for the English quarters, *unhouzed*, and with a Spanish cap. His presence startled the English archers of the guard, but finding his way in, Francis surprised his brother sovereign in bed, and helped him to dress, whilst Henry pledged to him his troth as to one who had taken him prisoner.* Henry was not behind his brother monarch in generosity. Whilst reading the treaty that had been prepared, he paused at the words of the preamble, which styled him king of France, as well as of England, and dropped the obnoxious title. On another occasion Henry seized Francis by the collar, and said they must wrestle. When Henry was thrown, he wanted to renew the trial, but Francis remarked that they had better go to supper. In these festivities the ladies of both courts took part, as was the growing custom of the day, the English dames adopting French fashions, "by which," says Polydore Virgil, "they lost in modesty more than they gained in grace."

Never had royal meetings been so pompous or so costly, never had one been so idle in purpose and null in result. The treaty which was read and concluded, was but a repetition of that of 1518†, the payment of money by Francis being chiefly laid stress upon. The marriage of the Dauphin with the Princess Mary was again stipulated: yet in a few weeks the English king and minister met Charles and promised to proceed no further with the French marriage.‡ The frank and chivalrous nature of Francis might be more fascinating than the cautious and taciturn demeanour of Charles;

* Mémoires de Fleuranges.
† Rymer.
‡ Mon. Hab.

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still the imperial alliance suited better the interests and prejudices of the English king and nation.* The same motives that prevailed with Henry the Eighth also came to sway Leo the Tenth. That pontiff had certainly contributed to the election of Charles; yet no sooner was it carried, than he leagued with Francis, to prevent Charles from entering Italy to disturb the settlement of Florence or of Lombardy. He afterwards promised to aid Francis in the conquest of Naples. But as the time advanced for action, and Leo had the opportunity of observing the laxity of French efforts and resolves, he turned to Charles as the most advantageous and probably the most triumphant ally, and agreed to join him in an expedition for the conquest of Milan.†

The year 1520 passed without hostilities. The spring of 1521 was marked by an accident that befel Francis. The court passed the festivity of the Epiphany at Romorantin. The Count of St. Pol being elected King of the Bean, Francis challenged him and his party to a combat with snowballs. Amidst them a brand was flung, which struck the king on the head, and for some days placed his life in danger. The treaty of Noyon had left the French king free to aid his relative of Navarre to recover his kingdom, in case Charles ultimately refused to do him justice. Henry d'Albret now invaded Navarre with a small army led by Lesparre, the brother of Lautrec, with 300 horse and some 6000 Gascons; their chief overran the province, laid siege to Pampeluna, the only fortified place that Ximenes had left in it, and gained possession of the town. Had Lesparre been content with his con-

* Mon. Hab., 2 Abth. 1 B. p. 170.

† Guicciardini. The Registre states Leo to have made a secret treaty with France, in 1520, by which the young Duke of Orleans was to have Naples; whilst, in 1521, he began to vacillate and war against the king.

quest he might have preserved it, but he advanced to the Ebro, laid siege to Logrono, provoked the Castilians, who marched to his encounter, defeated, slew him, and recovered possession of Navarre.*

There exists a report or protocol of the sitting of Charles's council, and the opinion of each of its members on the question of whether the onslaught of the French was to be borne in peace or resented in war? The general opinion was to avoid war, unless the King of England could be induced to come forward as an ally. Henry had given hopes to both parties. At Canterbury he had led Charles to believe that were he attacked by France he should receive succour from England. Charles demanded the execution of this † promise, which the English court evaded, and even denied the allegation. Wolsey, according to Charles's councillors, was determined not to disclose his occult hostility to Francis, until he had received his half-year's pension in October.‡ Wolsey, therefore, to save appearances, proffered to proceed to Calais, in order to listen to both parties, and act as arbiter between them. From Calais the emperor enticed the cardinal to meet him at Bruges, where he made formal promises to assist Wolsey in obtaining the Papal tiara.§ A solemn though secret treaty was at the same time concluded between England and the emperor, by which Charles, in lieu of Francis, was to become the husband of the Princess Mary. Both monarchs were to attack France, and recover all its conquests from England and from the

* Letters of Francis were said to have been found in Lesparre's baggage, approving not only of his expedition to Navarre, but entrance into Castille. Gaillard sufficiently disproves this in his account of 1521. See the Hist. de François Ier.

† MSS. Dupuy, 549.

‡ Monumenta Habsburgica, 2 Ab. 1 B. p. 237. Ranke (Hist. of Reform.) lays stress on a letter of Francis to his envoy Carpi, which was intercepted, and exposed his intention and plans to invade Italy. But Wolsey well knew the hostile purposes of both monarchs, and his promise to declare against the aggressor was a mere subterfuge. See Papiers d'Etat de Granvelle, t. i.

§ Mon. Hab.

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empire. But as Charles had first to settle the affairs of Spain, that declaration of hostility and commencement of it were deferred for more than a year and a half, until the spring of 1523. After having thus betrayed France, and become its secret and sworn enemy, Wolsey returned to Calais to renew his mock character of arbiter, and endeavour to conclude a truce between the belligerents.* Hostilities had broken out not only in Navarre, but in the North. The turbulent De la Marck, Lord of Sedan, who had quitted the pay of France for that of Charles at the time of the imperial election, feeling himself wronged, not rewarded, resumed service and favour with Francis. He even sent to challenge Charles in full diet at Worms. The emperor replied by despatching another turbulent soldier, Francis of Sickinghen, to invade De la Marck's lands with an army. Francis, on his part, mustered his forces, appointed the Dukes of Vendôme and Alençon to command in the North, ordered Bonnivet to defend Navarre, and despatched Lautrec to Milan with the promise of 400,000 crowns, indispensable to keep to their fidelity his only troops in that duchy, the Swiss. The imperialists, at first more numerous in the North, captured Mouzon and laid siege at once to Mezières and Tournay. But in a short time the French mustering in numbers drove back the imperialists, and even the emperor in person.

The only serious military events, however, took place in Italy. There Lautrec's brother Lescun provoked the Pope by an attack on Reggio, and gave the Pontiff a pretext to unite with the Spaniards. When Lautrec arrived to take the command, he found at his disposal a force of 20,000 Swiss, quite sufficient to repel an attack, but the money to pay and preserve them faithful

* Reports of the Conference at Calais, are given in the Granvelle Papers, and in the Négociations Diplomatiques.

was not forthcoming. Even for the daily necessities of his garrison the French commander was obliged to mulct and confiscate, so that of the better and wealthy Milanese there were as many exiles as quiet inhabitants. The execution of a wealthy noble of Parma, named Pallavicini, and the gift of his property to Lescun, completed the unpopularity of the governor. When the Swiss, therefore, began to desert for want of pay and go over to the enemy's camp, the townspeople of Milan, opened their gates to the Spaniards. Lautrec withdrew into the Venetian territory, dispersed his army, and awaited succours. The death of Pope Leo disorganised or dispersed the military force of Rome, and left merely Spaniards in the field to oppose the French and the Venetians. In the spring of 1522 reinforcements reached the general of Francis, with which he recrossed the Adda, and advanced to drive Frederic Sforza and Prosper Colonna from Milan. Although he entered the suburbs of that city, of which the castle still held to the French, an assault was found impracticable, from the fortifications that had been thrown up. But having received further succours, and marching back to Milan, Lautrec found his road obstructed by the enemy posted at the Bicocca, not many leagues from the city. It was a gentleman's chateau, the park of which was surrounded with ample walls, and defended by a ditch. The assault of the chateau seemed as inexpedient as that of Milan. But his Swiss troops were impatient and insisted on fighting. Lautrec, unable to resist their demand, allowed them to march to scale the wall of the park, whilst he directed the gens d'armes to find their way across a bridge into it. The charge of these troops succeeded, but the Swiss, stopped by a deep fosse and shattered by the enemy's artillery, lost great numbers, amongst them their chief, and retreated, whereupon the enemy assailed the French gens d'armes and drove them out of the Bicocca. The Venetians gave

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but slight assistance. The Swiss were so mortified by this repulse, that the greater number of them withdrew to their own country, and the French general, thus left without infantry, could do nothing save follow their example. He hastened himself to the court of France, leaving his brother Lescun to capitulate to Prosper Colonna, and save the remains of his army by the surrender of all the fortresses, with the exception of those of Milan, Novara, and Cremona.

The discomfited general was at first not received by Francis, and when he did see the king, through the influence of Bourbon, met a cold reception. Conscious of having used his utmost efforts, Lautrec expostulated, and represented the desertion of the Swiss in the previous year as the consequence of their receiving no pay. Hereupon the king summoned Semblançay, the treasurer, a man whom from his years and long service Francis was wont to call his father. Semblançay explained that when the 400,000 crowns were ready to be despatched, Madame d'Angoulême, Francis's mother, had taken them. She was in the habit of exercising the chief authority in the state, and was always regent during the king's absence. Francis reproached her with an act which had caused him the loss of the duchy. She excused herself by alleging that the 400,000 crowns she took was an old deposit, placed by her in the hands of Semblançay. An inquiry was instituted, but as Francis neither quarrelled with his mother, nor disgraced the treasurer, his own inadvertence and prodigality had something to do probably with the diversion of the funds.* Subsequent historians accuse Louise, the mother of Francis, of having intercepted the money in order to ruin Lautrec. His

* A letter of Semblançay is preserved in Fontanieu's Portef. 169-170. It is addressed to Margaret d'Alençon at Blois, where the court was. Semblançay proposes to go there, to exculpate himself. Margaret dissuades him from going, promises her own support as well as the good will of the king's mother.

sister, the Countess of Chateaubriand, the favourite and mistress of Francis, was Madame d'Angoulême's rival for power. At a later period, when the king's temper was embittered with captivity, and when his necessities made him more and more unjust, finding himself poor, whilst the financiers whom he employed demanded payment of the money they had lent him, Francis put Semblançay on his trial and had him condemned and executed.*

Were what the chroniclers of the following age say to be implicitly believed, Louise of Savoy was a dissolute and vindictive woman, who sacrificed all to her passions. She became enamoured, it is alleged of the constable Bourbon, and hoped to become his wife,—a preposterous wish for a woman so much his superior in years, whilst Bourbon's anxiety must naturally have been to leave an heir to his race. Such, however, is the reason assigned for her quarrel with him. The constable was cold and haughty, not of that flexible disposition and gay nature which won the favour of Francis. The king, although he at first promoted and favoured him, soon seized every opportunity to humble the constable's pride. On one occasion he gave the command of the advance-guard of his army, which was Bourbon's right, to the Duke of Alençon. Later, Madame d'Angoulême brought a suit before the parlement, in which she claimed a large portion of the heritage of the House of Bourbon. She was a nearer descendant of the late duke's than the constable, who derived his possession from his wife, recently dead, or rather from a gift or conveyance which she had made

* This took place in 1527. There is a letter of the Chancellor Duprat, dated in Aug. of that year, expressing indignation that the body of Semblançay had been cut down and buried. He proposed offering a reward for the discovery of the perpetrators. MSS. Bethune, 8573. See P. Clement's Essay on Semblançay, as well as his *Plainte* in Chronique du F. Ier. The poet Marot has left some beautiful verses on his fate.

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to him.* Madame d'Angoulême disputed the validity of this gift, and the king's law-officers joined her by making a simultaneous claim to the fiefs which had been alienated from the crown. When some of these fiefs were declared to belong not to Bourbon but to the crown, Francis gave them to his mother. The constable saw himself the object of vengeance and spoliation; it was not in human nature to remain acquiescent and loyal under such injustice. Feudal principles enjoined fidelity to the sovereign, but only on the condition that the sovereign inflicted no wrong upon the vassal. Another principle, indeed, was growing up, different from that of feudalism, greatly strengthened at this time by the revived study of the classics. This was patriotism, a love for the soil of one's country and devotion to its interests. Against this Bourbon flagrantly sinned when he leagued with the enemies of France, and invaded it at the head of their troops. Nor can he be acquitted of the crime, except by saying that the sentiment, so universally acknowledged at a later date, was but a growing one at the commencement of the sixteenth century. The constable was encouraged in his projects of rebellion and vengeance by his mother-in-law, the Duchess of Bourbon of Beaujeu, Louis the Eleventh's sister, who still lived, and keenly felt the ruin of her house. The sequestration of the property in 1522 by decree of parlement hastened her end; and she is said first to have urged her injured son-in-law to seek redress by an alliance with the emperor.† Bourbon demanded in marriage either Leonora the emperor's sister, the widowed Queen of Portugal, or Madame Catherine. And he proffered to lend his power and efforts to deprive France of Provence and the Bourbonnais, which might be erected

* Testament of Suzanne de Bourbon, in Col. Fontanieu, Portf. 169-170.

† The Bishop of Autun, interrogated on the trial, bore witness to this.

into an independent kingdom for himself.* Charles proposed to interest England in the league, by inciting its monarch to invade at the same time the northern and western provinces of France, which had once been in the hands of his predecessors.

From the period of Wolsey's agreement with the emperor at Bruges, and his subsequent pretence of acting the part of arbiter at Calais, the friendship between the French and English monarchs had gradually cooled. Francis again renewed his alliance and practices with Scotland, and sent thither the Duke of Albany to oppose the English, who, in turn, despatched their cruisers to intercept the communications between France and Scotland. A desultory naval war ensuing, Francis arrested all the English merchants in Bordeaux, and they retaliated by exercising the same rigour on all French vessels in their ports. The English monarch then finally sent his herald Clarencieux to denounce war to Francis at Lyons, to which the latter coolly replied, that since the cardinal's visit to Bruges, he looked for nothing but this.† Henry therefore heard the proffers of Bourbon with no little pleasure, and sent an envoy to Bourges to arrange a joint expedition, and to demand that Bourbon should acknowledge his title to the throne of France.‡

Francis regarded with little anxiety the attempt of his enemies to invade his kingdom. Instead of sending an army to oppose them, he ordered his generals to divide their men amongst the different towns, and stand altogether on the defensive. Nor had he reason to repent of such tactics, the English who advanced from Calais merely burning Ardres, and failing even to take Hesdin. Francis resolved to lead himself

* For Bourbon's negotiations with the Emperor and England see Négociations Diplomatiques. See Mignet's full and circumstantial History of Bourbon's defection, just published, 1860.

† Hall.

‡ State Papers, vol. vi. p. 32, and following.

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a powerful army into Italy in the summer of 1523. He had already collected 12,000 Swiss under Montmorency in the valley of Suza, and was proceeding to join them, when disclosures were made to him of the secret project of the constable. Francis paused in his march, and repaired in person to Bourbon's capital, Moulins, accompanied by a body of German soldiers. The king sought to win back his offended vassal by the promise that the prosecutions against him should cease, and his property be restored. The constable did not think it prudent to trust to the king's word. He feigned illness and promised, when convalescent, to rejoin him at Lyons. Somewhat later, Bourbon sent the Bishop of Autun to offer to serve Francis faithfully, if the king would give guarantees to restore to him the property of his house. Francis answered by despatching officers to arrest so bold and dangerous a subject. But the constable being warned, escaped in time by St. Claude to Besançon, and thence by Trent to the imperial armies in Italy.* Most of the constable's adherents escaped. One of them, Saint Vallier, was arrested, but his daughter, the beautiful Diana of Poictiers, made such interest with the king, as to save his life.†

The treason of Bourbon, its discovery being marked by the simultaneous invasion of a German army into Lorraine, a Spanish over the Pyrenees, and an English into Picardy, deterred Francis from heading the expedition against the Milanese. He entrusted it to Bonnivet, and remained himself in France to watch events. The Germans, unsupported by Bourbon, soon retreated. The Spaniards achieved no feat, save the reduction of Fonterabia. The English, under the

* See the relation of Mignet, who makes Bourbon in his flight approach the Pyrenees with the hope of getting into Spain ere he finally betook himself to Franche Comté. All the facts came out in the subsequent trial of Bourbon and his accomplices, a report of which is preserved in the MSS. Dupuy, No. 481.

† She became his mistress, as seventeen letters of hers to him attest. MSS. Bib. Imp. Suppl. No. 2722. Mignet seems not to accept their authenticity.

Duke of Suffolk to the number of 13,000, marched from Calais, much too late in the year. They were joined at Esquerdes on the 20th of September, by 3000 men of the imperial army of Flanders, and advanced to Bray sur Somme. La Tremouille flung such force as he could collect into whatever towns the English approached, notwithstanding which, they took Roye and Montdidier, their cavalry advancing to the banks of the Oise. This alarmed the Parisians, who raised 2000 men for their defence*, and Francis hastily despatched the Count of Vendôme to their succour; but it was no longer needed. The English and Flemish soldiers complained of the bad weather, and the general of the want of that co-operation which the constable Bourbon had promised. The Duke of Suffolk therefore withdrew by Pont Remy into Flanders.

The admiral, Bonnivet, had led into Italy the army which Francis had mustered, consisting of 800 lances, and 25,000 foot.† His purpose was to give battle to Prosper Colonna, the imperial general, who seemed prepared to dispute the passage of the Tessino. But the dryness of the season, which rendered the stream every where fordable, and an illness which befel the imperial general, induced him to shut up his army within the walls of Milan, Cremona, and Pavia. Bonnivet sat down before Milan, whilst Bayard endeavoured to carry Cremona by assault. The severity of the winter enabled both towns to defy their besiegers. These wasted away from the effects of the season, whilst the activity of the new pope, Clement, supplied the besieged with men and money. The French withdrew in the direction of the Lake Maggiore, whilst the Viceroy Lannoy and Bourbon, who successively took the command of the imperialists, reinforced by the Venetians, followed

* Chronique du Roi François Ier. MSS. Gagnières, 288.

† Du Bellay. Bonnivet's letters to Rochefort, of May 26th, 1523, in Fontanieu, p. 193-4. A number of Bonnivet's letters, as well as those of Francis to Montmorency, are to be found in the same volume.

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upon his traces. Defeated in attempting to take Arona, Bonnivet continued his retreat towards Ivrea, where he expected to be joined by a fresh army of Swiss, as well as the cavalry from France. In this retreat, Bayard commanded the rear guard, and sustained the repeated attacks of the imperialists with his usual valour. Whilst thus engaged, he received the shot of an arquebuss through the body, which broke the spine. He ordered himself to be placed under a tree with his sword, of which the hilt was fashioned in the shape of a cross, stuck in the ground before him. Bourbon came up as he lay, and expressed his commiseration. "Pity not me," said Bayard, "who die a loyal and honest soldier. I pity you, who serve against your country, your prince, and your oath." The imperialists erected a tent over Bayard, who expired in a few hours. Bonnivet broke up his army, sent his artillery with the Swiss up the valley of Aosta, and escaped with the French soldiers to Suza.

The constable Bourbon was much elated by this discomfiture of the French army, and he besought the emperor to allow him to lead his victorious troops into the south of France. The imperial generals were averse to such a project, but Charles could not but accede to the entreaties of the duke. Instead of allowing him, however, to march into the provinces, where he had influence, and thus co-operate, as had been promised, with the English, the invasion was confined to Provence, where the emperor desired to get possession of the seaports. Here Bourbon met at first with slight resistance, several towns submitted instantly to him, and no French army appearing on the field, he laid siege to Marseilles, August 1524. What, however, the men-at-arms of France failed to perform, the citizens of the town accomplished. Animated by an hereditary hatred of the Spaniards*, they manned the walls, and were aided by a band of

* Guicciardini.

Italian refugees attached to France, and execrating the emperor. These, when a breach was made, raised a wall behind, and presented so bold an aspect of resistance, that neither the Spanish nor the German soldiers of Bourbon would march to the assault. They were encouraged in this want of spirit and contempt of discipline by the imperialist generals, who were jealous of Bourbon. And the latter had nothing left but to raise the siege late in September. Bourbon chose to throw the blame upon the want of English co-operation. Both Henry the Eighth and Wolsey saw from the first that their aid had been sought against France merely to serve the small and private views of Bourbon and of the emperor. They promised, indeed, to aid in conquering France for England, and Bourbon reluctantly and late consented to swear allegiance to Henry. But if the emperor and his general had been sincere or serious, the latter would have marched upon Lyons and through his own duchy of the Bourbonnais, instead of confining his efforts to conquer a French seaport for Spain in the Mediterranean. Wolsey was, moreover, disgusted with Charles's duplicity in carrying the election of Clement the Seventh, whilst affecting to favour that of the English cardinal.* And although the English agents made large payments to Bourbon, they withheld the last, perceiving that their master's interests were in no wise consulted.†

Whilst Bourbon was retreating by way of Nice‡, Francis, who arrived at Avignon too late to intercept him, resolved to enter Italy upon the traces of his foe. So bent was he upon the enterprise, that not even the news of the death of his Queen Claude could de-

* See Mignet, Connétable de Bourbon.

† Wolsey sent 10,000*l.* in Oct. 1524, which were not paid at the raising of the siege of Marseilles. Letters of English agents, State Papers, vol. vi.

‡ His retreat was so precipitate, that of the sixteen guns he brought away, he was obliged to abandon ten on the road. Letter of Francis to Montmorency from Aix, Oct. 24th, 1524. MSS. Bethune, 8577.

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lay him. He took measures for being joined there by 14,000 Swiss. Sending such infantry as he had by one route, his cavalry by another, whilst he himself crossed the Mont Ginevra, and, descending by the Pragela to Pignerol, Francis entered Lombardy in eleven days from the time of his departure, and directed his march straight to Milan.* Duke Sforza, finding it impossible to defend the city, of which the inhabitants had been decimated and disheartened by the plague, flung a garrison into the castle, and allowed Francis to occupy once more the capital of the duchy. Leaving Tremouille to invest and reduce the castle of Milan, Francis himself hastened to lay siege to Pavia, the possession of which might have allowed him to defy his enemies, and await the return of spring for operations in the field. The Pope and the Medici, alarmed, already sought for alliance, and sent envoys for peace.† For the purpose of conciliating or intimidating them, Francis despatched a portion of his force, under the Duke of Albany, to march south, and threaten to invade Naples. The imperialist army, badly paid and provided, seemed too small to molest the French. But if Charles was remiss, Bourbon could not afford to be so. He persuaded the Duke of Savoy to let him have his jewels. He hurried to Germany to convert them into money‡, and with it he raised a body of lansquenets. The Archduke Ferdinand gave him 2000§ of these soldiers, to which he was able to add double the number. With these he returned, burning with resentment at the jeers and sarcasms which his retreat from Provence had occasioned in France.‖ "If God puts the King of France and me near each other," he wrote from Trent to Wolsey, "we shall not part without a battle."¶ In

* MS. letters of Francis, in Bibl. Impérial; and in Champollion's Captivité de François Ier.

† Guicciardini. Pope's Brief in Fontanieu, 195, 196.

‡ Du Bellay.

§ Bourbon's letter to Wolsey, in Captivité de François Ier.

‖ Idem.

¶ Idem.

this mood Bourbon returned to the imperialist generals, and communicated to them his own zeal. Money was chiefly wanting, but pay was promised to the troops after victory, with the rich plunder of the royal camp.*

Pavia was garrisoned by 500 German lansquenets, and some hundred men-at-arms, commanded by De Leyva, one of the ablest of the Spanish generals. He baffled the attempts of Francis to carry the town by assault or by mine. A project for turning the course of the Tessin was defeated by great rains. As winter advanced, privations were felt in the French camp. The Grison auxiliaries abandoned La Tremouille in Milan. And as Bourbon, returning with 10,000 lansquenets, which he had raised in Germany, rallied the Spanish troops under the viceroy, and advanced with them towards Pavia, the more experienced generals of Francis advised him to quit his position before the town, in order to take up a stronger one at the Certosa or elsewhere. The king was reluctant to raise the siege, and the favourite Bonnivet declared that however a general might do so, it would be disgraceful for a king. Francis accordingly remained in his camp, which extended from the Tessin to the chateau of Mirabel.

Bourbon determined to force his way into the park of this chateau, and thus open the communication with the garrison of Pavia. By way of trial, the Marquis of Pescara penetrated into the camp on the night of the 18th of February, beat up its quarters, and carried off several pieces of artillery.† Before daybreak on the morning of the 24th (1525), Bourbon and the Marquis, having thrown down the park wall during the night, brought forward their whole army, the Germans

* Guicciardini.

† Navarrete Documentos, tom. xxix. p. 446.

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in one body, the Italians and Spaniards in another. The French artillery opened upon them at first with murderous effect. In what followed, the writers of the two sides differ. According to the French, Francis, seeing the enemy run in a scattered manner to gain shelter, advanced against them with his cavalry, and so rendered his guns useless. According to the Spaniards, they marched to take up a position amidst some trees, near the fosse of the chateau, in order to be protected from the French guns, and to make use of the little artillery they had. Whilst thus advancing, the Duke of Alençon, with 500 lances and 5000 infantry, charged upon their rear to cut them off from the breach by which they had entered the park, and falling upon the Italians, dispersed them. The viceroy, Lannoy, alarmed, was then for withdrawing, and assuming the defensive, Pescara and Bourbon for continuing the attack. The latter order prevailed, and Francis exclaimed, "Since they are coming to meet us, let us go to meet them." The imperialist and the French cavalry then charged each other; Bourbon distinguishing himself on one side, "striking and slaying through the squadrons to reach the king;" Francis himself running the Marquis of St. Angelo through the body with a great lance. The French at first had the advantage, until the Spanish arquebusiers poured havock amongst the ranks of the cavaliers opposed to them. Bonnivet was shot; La Palisse had surrendered, when he was also shot. Pole, Duke of Suffolk, of the White Rose, who led the lansquenets in French pay, fell likewise. The Germans on both sides fought with desperation. Francis made a gallant effort to restore the day by a final charge, which the Swiss were to support on one side, and the Duke of Alençon on the other. Both failed in showing the alacrity and lending the aid that was expected of them; and Francis was thus exposed to the victorious imperialists, the Duke of Alençon flagging, and the Swiss being over-

whelmed by Pescara, as well as by a sortie of De Leyva from Pavia.*

His remaining followers, La Tremouille, Chabannes, Bussy d'Amboise, and others, had fallen around Francis, whose horse was at last shot under him. In this fallen position he was assailed by several, to one of whom he gave, as pledge of surrender, his *estoque bien sangriente.* But whilst one helped him from under the horse, another tore the collar of St. Michel from around his neck. Pomperant, a follower of Bourbon, at last came up, recognised and defended him. Lannoy was sent for. Bourbon afterwards came, and observed that had Francis listened to him, the blood of his house and the noblest of his country would not have been wasted on this plain. "Patience," exclaimed the indignant Francis, "since fortune has failed us." Besides the numbers who perished on the field, the Marechal de Foix and the Bastard of Savoy died of their wounds. The King of Navarre, Montmorenci, St. Pol, De Brion, De Nevers, Fleurange, and many more remained prisoners. All, indeed, of any note, says Lannoy in his despatch, were either killed or taken prisoners, with the exception of the Duke of Alençon. Bourbon, on beholding the dead body of Bonnivet upon the field, exclaimed, "There lies the cause of my ruin and that of France." The king gave a safe conduct to the messenger, who was to pass through France to the emperor in Spain with the news of the victory. By the same messenger Francis wrote to his mother, informing her "that all was lost, save

* Beside Du Bellay, see Prinse et Delivrance du Roy, par S. Moreau, published in Archives Curieuses, Ire Sér. vol. ii.

The most circumstantial account of the battle is that by Osnayo, a follower of the Marquis of Guasto, who was present at the action. It is published in Navarete, Collecion de Documentos, &c., vol. ix. There are also accounts by Freundsberg, commander of the lansquenets, and Pescara. See Lannoy's letters in Lanz, and the verses of Francis himself in "La Captivité," &c.

Boucher, Panégyrique de la Tremouille, says, that of fifteen or sixteen persons, present at the battle of Pavia, whom he consulted, not two agreed.

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honour and life." From the camp before Pavia, he was removed by Lannoy to the strong fortress of Pizzighettone.

Louise, Countess of Angoulême, is generally stigmatised for giving her son bad counsel, and especially for having caused the defection of Bourbon; but when the weight and responsibility of government fell upon her by the captivity of Francis, she showed energy fully equal to her new and critical position. No scruple, indeed, arrested her. One of her first acts was to despatch an envoy with rich presents, and a costly ring, which the king had probably sent from Pavia*, to Sultan Solyman, craving his aid. With the same breath she sought to interest the Pope, and promised what she thought most welcome to Rome, strenuous and severe edicts against the imitators or favourers of Luther. She despatched Andrew Doria with his galleys to bring back from Naples the army of the Duke of Albany. The Marquis of Saluzzo was sent into Burgundy with what troops could be saved from Italy. Money was distributed amongst the soldiers to satisfy them. She summoned to Lyons the military governors of the north, the Dukes of Vendome and Guise.†

The former, as he passed through Paris, was waited upon by some of the notables of the capital, who were full of mistrust of the Duchess of Angoulême, and of hatred of her creature, Duprat. According to Du Bellay, they besought Vendome to claim and assume the post of regent, to which they considered him entitled, and offered to support him in that assumption. Vendome declined the honour, and prayed the Parisians to avoid any divisions of the kind, which would only encourage the enemies of the country.

Notwithstanding the abrogation of municipal liber-

* Charrière, Négociations de la France dans le Levant, tom. i. Hammer; Journal Asiatique, t. x.

† Du Bellay.

ties in France, one is surprised to find both Paris and Rouen display, on the news of the king's captivity, complete organisation. The *quarteniers* or chiefs of quarters, to the number of sixteen, took each of them charge of a gate. Twenty-four personages appear with the acknowledged rank of municipal councillor, presided by the provost of the merchants. They met regularly throughout the year of the king's captivity, and there exists a report of their discussions.* The disinterestedness of the Duke of Vendome and the conciliating conduct of the regent prevented these town councillors from any rash assumption of authority. She sought to make use of what they assumed. In her subsequent treaty of reconciliation with Henry the Eighth, by which large payments were stipulated, that monarch required the guarantees of the chief towns of France. And the regent was compelled to ask Paris to grant this. The council, instead of complying, called a large assembly of 400 citizens, and these refused to guarantee any peace or any treaty of which the terms were not communicated to them.† They were at last persuaded that what was demanded was but a form, and indeed they were more anxious to escape payments than to vindicate rights or claim authority.

However prudent might be the regent, and staunch the nobles, towns, and judicial bodies of the kingdom, they would have been sorely embarrassed had the victorious enemies crossed the Alps, and, according to the old scheme of Bourbon, advanced upon Lyons. The viceroy Lannoy wrote from the field to remind the emperor, that God gives every man "a good harvest once in his life, which, if he failed to gather in, the proffered

* Published by Leroux de Lincy, in tom. v. of Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes. See further Extracts from the Registres du Parlement, in Champollion's "Captivité."

† "Vous savez," said the Provost Morin to the Duchess-Regent, "quant on s'oblige l'on veut bien, savoir à quoi."

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harvest never came again."* Envoys with far more pressing exhortations were sent from England. The instructions drawn out by Wolsey do credit to that minister's sagacity, but not to his generosity or heart. His advice was to crush Francis altogether, for, he remarks truly, "that whatever conditions the French king may subscribe to get loose, he will surely break when loose;" besides, observes Wolsey prophetically, "there can be no peace as long as there is a ruler in France anxious to extend his dominions."† The English minister, therefore, proposed that Henry should be declared king of France, which was manifestly in the imperial interests, since Charles, by espousing Henry's daughter, might inherit France and England with the rest of Europe! If Charles would not close with these gigantic proposals, the English envoys were to demand Normandy and Guienne, or at least Picardy and Brittany.

Charles set aside these barefaced proposals of spoliation, and observed that "the French would never part with a scrap of their land." He did not consider Burgundy or Provence in this category. Charles asked for one as his own right, and demanded the other for Bourbon, in full sovereignty, on his marriage with Eleonora the emperor's sister; Francis himself espousing his niece Mary of Portugal.‡ Harsh as these conditions were—so harsh as to draw from Francis, at first, a peremptory refusal—still the king, anxious for liberation, proposed terms not very remote from them.§ He proffered to abandon all his claims and possessions in Italy, to consider Burgundy as the dower of Eleonora, whom he proposed to marry, the dowry to descend

* Lanz, Correspondenz de Karl V.

† State Papers, vol. vi. p. 417.

‡ Such were the proposals that Bourbon himself was empowered to make. But it is evident that in proffers made by some one else, Lannoy perhaps, Eleonora was offered to Francis.

§ Captivité du Roi Francois Ier, par Champollion, p. 170. Documens inédits.

to his own son by her, or to a second son of the emperor. He consented to waive his suzerainty in Flanders and Artois, together with his possession of Hesdin and Tournay. He offered Bourbon a French princess, —the Duchess of Alençon no doubt,—with full restitution, but said nothing of Provence. In his proposal to marry Eleonora himself, and set aside Bourbon, who pretended to her hand, Francis was probably encouraged by Lannoy. The latter proposed that Francis should proceed to Spain without the knowledge of the constable and the king accepted the proposal. He at one time conceived the hope of getting himself rescued during the voyage. But this was defeated by the French furnishing their own vessels for his transport. The king arrived at Barcelona on the 22nd of June, and was conducted to the castle of Venyssollo, near Valencia, where he remained a month, the plenipotentiaries of the monarchs labouring at Toledo to bring about an accommodation. But Charles would not forego his demand of Burgundy, nor Francis cede it, except in the manner previously offered. In August, Francis was brought to Madrid, and his sister Margaret, duchess of Alençon, was allowed to proceed thither, to console and negotiate for him. In September, the king was attacked by fever, which reduced him so low, that he was unable to speak, hear, or recognise any one.* Charles, alarmed lest the precious pledge should escape him, wrote a letter of some kindness, and afterwards visited his captive, using words which gave him hope of better terms. Yet when Francis recovered, Charles showed no intention of receding from that demand of Burgundy, which the king afterwards declared to be "inexecutable, as much from impossibility as dishonour."† Charles was encouraged to persist by the

* Letters of President De Selves, in Champollion.

† Francis's instruction to Dayez, whom he sent to Lannoy after his liberation. Fontanieu, 201-202.

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knowledge he acquired, through his envoy at Lyons, that the mother of Francis was resigned to the loss of Burgundy, and preferred it to the prolonged captivity of her son. But the king himself blushed to return to France and to meet his people after such a concession. He therefore made known to the emperor his determination to remain a captive, and he prepared an act of abdication in favour of his son, who was to be crowned with all solemnity, and proclaimed king under the guardianship of his grandmother, with the provision that he was to resign when Francis himself should be at liberty. This document Francis forwarded to France by Montmorency.

The regent was not prepared to carry out this manly resolution of her son. She knew her own unpopularity, and feared she might not preserve tranquillity. The cession of Burgundy, however disgraceful, she deemed preferable to Francis's abdication, and she pressed this advice. The king saw the necessity of yielding, but determined to do so only in seeming. In December, he ordered his plenipotentiary to accept the conditions of Charles and sign the treaty, ceding Burgundy. But on the eve of the final signature, in January, he summoned all his friends and envoys, and protested before them, that he yielded to violence in signing the treaty, and was determined not to observe it. It is difficult to imagine any act more dishonourable, or more destructive of all public faith. With this tacit reserve the treaty of Madrid was signed on the 14th of January, 1526.

Although the terms of this agreement were extorted from a captive monarch, predetermined not to respect them, nevertheless there are few treaties of which the great conditions have proved more permanent or decisive. With respect to Burgundy indeed, which Francis ceded to Charles, it was from the first null. But in the waiving of French claims upon Italian pos-

sessions, or French suzerainty over Flanders, the treaty of Madrid was attended with lasting and important results, sanctioned, after a renewal of the warlike struggle between the monarchs, by the subsequent treaty of 1529. The king ceded Tournay and ceased to abet the King of Navarre in his designs beyond the Pyrenees, or De le Marck and the Duke of Gueldres in their hostility to the sovereign of the Low Countries. Francis promised to aid the emperor with a fleet and land force, whenever he should proceed to attack the infidels; another insincere and unworthy stipulation, for Francis had from his prison besought aid of Solyman, and obtained a promise of it. He was also to attend Charles in his assumption of the imperial crown at Rome. The treaty was sealed with the betrothal of Francis to Eleonora, the emperor's sister.

Although Charles visited Francis, and travelled with him in his journey from Madrid to the frontier, there were still manifest proofs that he suspected the king's sincerity.* He was to be exchanged upon the Bidassoa for his two sons, and every precaution was taken to prevent his escape before the delivery of these precious pledges. He was allowed to visit his betrothed bride Eleonora, in the emperor's presence, but the marriage was not completed, and Eleonora remained behind with her brother, while Francis was conducted to the frontier by Lannoy. At last, on the 18th of March, the Spanish viceroy brought Francis across the Bidassoa from Fonterabia, and received in exchange the two French princes. Francis shed tears, and sought to communicate some comfort to his sons, as they passed into captivity. He no sooner touched the French soil, than he mounted a Turkish horse, and rode with exultation to St. Jean de Luz, and from thence to Bayonne, where his mother and friends awaited him.

* Relation of the monarch's journey in Collections Fontanieu, portefeuille 201-2.

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It is difficult to understand the absorption of Charles in his negotiation with Francis, as if every object was to be obtained by the king's submission. When Henry the Eighth asked for Normandy and Picardy, Charles could tell him that the French would not consent to the dismemberment of their kingdom. When Charles told Henry that he was master of all by the captivity of Francis, the English king was sagacious enough to tell him that Francis might promise much, but would perform nothing. Neither prince could see in his own case, what the other could discern so clearly. Charles persisted in wringing from his captive the empty promise to restore Burgundy, not only suspending war, but neglecting his alliances, throwing away that of England, as well as of almost all the Italian powers, and even disgusting and alienating some of his own tried and valuable officers. His general, the Marquis of Pescara, was amongst these. Whilst Charles was forcing Francis to vain concessions, the marquis was knitting a league with the Pope, the Venetians, Duke Sforza himself, and the French, for the ejection of the emperor and his troops from Italy. The plot of Pescara failed, indeed, he himself becoming an agent to defeat it, and perishing most opportunely soon after. But nevertheless, as soon as Francis was free, he found an Italian league ready formed against the emperor, and he had nothing to do but place himself at the head of it.

The king had no sooner reached Bayonne, than Charles summoned him to surrender Burgundy. Francis replied that he had begged his concession on this point to be kept secret, but it having been divulged, the estates of Burgundy protested, and the matter thus required time.* Charles sent Lannoy to make the same demand at Cognac in May. He soon informed his master that the cession of Burgundy was

* King's explanations, dated Mont-Marsan, 1st April; Négociations Diplomatiques.

not to be hoped, though he might have 2000 crowns instead. But if he refused such offer, he had better look to Italy, where a hostile league was preparing.* To another summons to return to captivity, Francis answered by publishing this league, which was in fact a declaration of war by France, England, and the Italian States against the emperor. As one of the conditions of this league, Francis accepted the most important of the stipulations of Madrid, his waiving the French right to Milan, in favour of Sforza.† The Italian powers consented to leave Naples to Charles, if he would be contented with this portion of Italy alone. But as there was little prospect of this, the Pope undertook to find another sovereign for Naples, in case the emperor refused his conditions.

Henry the Eighth's defection from the emperor was the natural result of the latter's coldness after the success of Pavia.‡ Charles had enticed him to join in the league or plot with Bourbon, by the prospect of recovering his French provinces. To this neither Charles nor Bourbon lent the least co-operation. After Pavia he treated such hopes as illusory. One may suppose too, without attributing any very profound policy to Wolsey or to Henry, that both were alarmed by the great power which must necessarily accrue to the emperor from holding Francis a captive, and that they instantly proffered their aid to the government of his mother, in order to restore the balance.§

* For offer of Francis to Charles see MSS. Bethune, 8471. Most of the correspondence of the period may be found in Fontanieu, portf. 201–2.

† It was not only the Pope that insisted on the restoration of Sforza, but England also protected the family. Correspondence in Fontanieu, p. 205-6,

‡ Mendoza repeats the reasons which Henry gave for his breach with Francis. Henry said, that the French king "avait fait si peu de cas de lui, et empêchait à Rome, ce à quoi il travaillait pour décharger sa conscience." Lanz, Jun. 17th, 1529.

§ Lingard accumulates reasons for the emperor's being alienated from Henry. They are small ones. Charles wrongly and fatuitously ima-

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The duchess-regent eagerly met the advance of Henry and Wolsey. She made large offers of money, 100,000 crowns yearly, as much in ready money to the cardinal, and great presents to the English courtiers.* The demands of the English king, that the French towns should, in default of a representative assembly, guarantee this payment, led to those protests and difficulties with the Parisians which have been noticed.

Nothing is more remarkable than the utter powerlessness of these three great sovereigns to strike or follow up a blow for want of money. Charles was the most indigent. The burden of his letters to his brother was his hopeless poverty, so much so that one is enabled to credit almost the saying attributed to the Bastard of Savoy by Bourbon, "that Charles's Indian

gined, that he had France in his power, because he held its king captive. The alliance of England was only useful for the purpose of keeping down France, and Charles being no longer in need of it, slighted Henry, and broke off the match with his daughter Mary, for a more lucrative one with Portugal. In order to conclude the latter marriage, it was necessary to be formally released fron that with Mary, and he therefore summoned Henry to send the princess to the Netherlands, when he knew that Henry had gone too far in his alliance with France, to admit of his compliance.

The alienation of England from the emperor has been also attributed to the latter's disappointing Wolsey in the two Pontifical elections. It is pleaded for Charles, that he did all in his power for Wolsey. This is much to be doubted. Charles, in letters both to Adrian and Clement, claims favour from them for having procured their election. To this assertion Clement in reply does not demur, and Mignet shows how completely Clement owed his election to Charles. Adrian does indeed hint that Charles lent his support to another, but this other may have been Clement, not Wolsey. On the death of Leo, the imperial envoys at Rome instantly sent for Clement. Charles himself in one of his letters, attributes England's enmity to his not having supported Wolsey's claim to the Papacy by the military force which he had then in Italy. It is indeed possible that it was not in Charles's power to have forced Wolsey upon the choice of the Italian and Spanish Cardinals in his interest. But his inability must have been pretty much the same, to a politician like Wolsey, as his insincerity.

See Lanz, Correspondance de Charles V.; also MSS. Fontanieu, p. 193-4; Letter of De Pius, Janv. 25th, 1522, as to Spanish envoys sending for Medicis. See also Charles Quint, par Amedée Pichot, who is a strong believer in Charles's sincerity.

* There is a letter from Lord Dorset, in Fontanieu, thanking Montmorency for his pension.

fleets cost him more money than they brought."* Although he despatched Bourbon to Italy, he left that general, pressed in Milan by the Venetians and Papalists, totally unsupplied with funds. And in the army which he himself collected at Barcelona, the lansquenets refused to embark unless they were paid.†

Francis was perhaps the richest sovereign.‡ But his lavish habits, and indeed his generous nature, gave him less command of money than his rival. Hitherto he had been animated by a great object, the recovery of Milan and Naples, and the establishment of his dominions beyond the Alps. He was now compelled to abandon these, in forming a league for the liberation of his sons. And his policy thus reduced to the defensive, had no longer charm or interest for him. On his return from Madrid, the king had become enamoured of a young lady of his mother's retinue, who was afterwards created Duchess of Etampes. For her he deserted the Countess of Chateaubriand, and made her restore the jewels he had presented her with. He sought to drown in pleasure the memory of his defeat, and frittered away the means by which he might recover it. Instead of the 33,000 men, whom he had engaged to send across the Alps, the Marquis of Saluzzo led but some 6000 (1526). The consequence was, that before the league had been proclaimed a month, Duke Sforza was compelled to surrender the castle of Milan to the imperialists.

Charles had never ceased to importune the Pope with embassies to abandon the league. He had at the time with him in Spain, a cardinal of the Colonna family, who offered to seize the Pope or eject him from Rome, if he had but the emperor's support.§ On the

* Brantome.

† MS. Collections Fontanieu, 201-202.

‡ The *Taille*, on his accession, amounted to 1,075,000 livres. Von Praet writes to the emperor that in 1525 the taille in France amounted to 5 millions of florins. Lanz, t. i.

§ Lanz, vol. i. Letter from Emperor to Monçada, 1526.

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pontiff's persisting in his enmity, Charles's envoys encouraged the Colonnas, and their faction surprising Rome, subjected it to pillage, and compelled Clement to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. The league had provided for such an event, which Francis was bound to prevent by troops and by funds.* Both failing, the Pope was obliged to ransom his capital, by concluding a four months' truce with the emperor. Francis had despatched Navarro with the Venetian and French fleets to blockade and reduce Genoa. But this too failed, as did an attempt to send the Count of Vaudemont, brother of the Duke of Lorraine, to claim and to conquer the kingdom of Naples. Lannoy defended it with a small body of Spanish infantry, and compelled Vaudemont to abandon his enterprise.

Such successes, though gained without éclat, were quite sufficient for Charles, whose anxiety was rather to compel the Pope and his Italian enemies to submit, than to crush them. He was distressed by the intelligence of the defeat of the Hungarians at Mohacz, and the death of their king, an event which promised to let loose the Turks upon Germany.† It was one of Charles's defects to take more care to conciliate his enemies than to preserve his friends. Bourbon was one of those to whom he never kept a promise. It was Bourbon's activity, perseverance, and zeal which had been the main cause of the victory of Pavia and the capture of Francis.‡ Yet after it, the constable found himself sacrificed to his enemy. He had been promised a kingdom and the hand of the emperor's sister Eleonora. She was given to Francis, whilst Bourbon was obliged to hurry back to command an army against the French. The emperor promised him the duchy of

* MS. Bethune, 8541.

† The Turkish historians, according to Hammer, attribute Solyman's invasion of Hungary, in part, to the embassies and entreaties sent from France, after the disasters of Pavia.

‡ See proof of this in the notes to Turner's Reign of Henry VIII.

Milan which Sforza had forfeited by his defeat. But Pope Clement was obstinate in maintaining the better rights of Sforza to that duchy. Charles in his negotiations with the pope at first insisted on giving the province to Bourbon, but he soon empowered his negotiators to yield that point to Clement, and content themselves with obtaining a good excuse to be offered to the constable. Bourbon knew this; he was aware that the pope prevented his getting Milan; he knew also that his old enemy, Lannoy, had come to Naples to treat with Clement, rather than reduce him. The emperor supplied his other generals with money: Bourbon received none. Thus reduced to act for himself, the constable succeeded in captivating and attaching to him the mercenary soldiers of Freundsberg, whose indisposition had left them without a leader. Whilst such an army rendered the constable more formidable, it placed him under the imperative necessity of finding for it provisions and pay. These, not only Charles himself withheld, but the imperial generals prevented the states and cities under their control from furnishing. And Bourbon with his troops were thus driven like famished wild beasts to seek for prey. He first thought of the plunder of Piacenza, then of Florence, but the Marquis of Saluzzo, anticipating his intentions, quickly garrisoned and saved that city. Langey hastened to warn the pope. Clement had been playing fast and loose with Charles's commanders,—now attacking them, in full reliance upon French and English aid, now terrified and deserted, consenting to a truce. Francis had promised money but sent none, and the pope, unable to pay his soldiers, concluded a peace with Langey, and on the strength of this, disbanded almost all his forces. In the midst of this ill-founded confidence and misplaced economy, Langey arrived with tidings of the march of Bourbon; Clement was warned to do one of two things, either send money to pacify and buy off the hostility of

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the constable's mercenaries, or else maintain a sufficient body of troops to resist them.* He did neither†, relying on the promise of Fieramosca, the imperial envoy, to stay the march of the advancing army. That personage repaired to the quarters of Bourbon, in order to forbid him attacking the pope or his territory. The camp was in great disorder, its general concealing himself from the fury of his soldiers, who were without pay or provisions. When it was known that Fieramosca had arrived with orders of peace, they were "furious as lions." At Bourbon's desire, the envoy himself informed the soldiers of his mission, which they received with bursts of rage: the constable also was indignant, and charged the imperial envoy with preventing the Duke of Ferrara from supplying his wants. He threatened to throw up the service of the emperor; and when the army marched off to Rome with two officers whom it had elected, Bourbon rode at its head. On the 5th of May, 1527, they encamped in the meadows under the walls of Rome. They had left their artillery behind, and it was necessary to carry the city by assault, ere it was succoured. The next morning, therefore, Bourbon took advantage of a fog, and led his soldiers to the wall, himself setting the example of mounting a ladder to the assault. He was struck down almost instantly by the shot of an arquebuss, but his soldiers, more irritated than depressed by his loss, rushed on with impetuosity, and in a short time were completely masters of Rome.‡

Pope Clement, shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence he could hear the cries of the Romans, and even of his cardinals, tortured for ransom, and of

* The English envoys at Rome encouraged the pope to make armed resistance, and advanced funds for the purpose. But Clement surely must have had other grounds of action than the interested counsel of these envoys of a distant monarch. See text and note of Turner's Henry VIII.

† Fieramosca's letter to Charles, &c. Lanz, vol. i. p. 230.

‡ Guicciardini, and Italian narratives of the sack of Rome; Freundberg's Kriegsthaten, &c. For the Spanish account by Salazar see Navarrete, tom. xiii.

women of the first rank subjected to the last indignities, hoped at first for succour from the commanders of French or Venetian armies. But whilst people in remote countries, such as England and Spain, were horrified at the sack of Rome, those in Italy were little moved by a castigation which the restless and faithless policy of the popes had brought upon themselves. Clement was therefore obliged to capitulate to the army that had sacked his capital, and which had elected the Prince of Orange to be its captain in lieu of Bourbon. Clement promised them 400,000 crowns, until the payment of a certain portion of which he was to remain captive. He was to surrender all his fortified towns; but his enemies did not wait for such formal acts. The Duke of Ferrara seized Modena, the Venetians Ravenna, the Malatestas Rimini, while the pope's nephews, who governed Florence, were without a struggle expelled from that city, and Niccolo Capponi proclaimed Gonfalonière of the republic.

The sack of Rome, with the brutal treatment inflicted upon the pope, the heads of the Church, and the population, came opportunely to Henry the Eighth and Wolsey, who, incensed with the emperor, still wanted excuses to raise money for active war against him. The French alliance, comprising a marriage between Francis and the lady Mary, only child of the king, was highly unpopular with the English.* And it was impossible to go to either parliament or the country with such a proposal. But the indignities put upon the pope offered a specious reason for leaguing against the emperor. Accordingly, Cardinal Wolsey was despatched to Amiens to conclude a full and cordial alliance between England and France, for the liberation of the pope, as well as of the French princes, and for the espousals of the Princess

* Hall. How strongly Henry urged this marriage upon France, is shown in extracts from the letters to English envoys, given in Turner's Henry VIII., b. i. ch. xv.

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Mary, no longer to Francis himself, but to his second son, the Duke of Orleans. Henry being unable to send an army into Italy, promised the payment of twenty or thirty thousand crowns a month till the end of October.*

Francis had hitherto since his captivity shrunk from facing the regards of the Parisians. He had come to St. Germains, but repaired to the capital only by night.† He now required money for the war, as well as the sanction of a national assembly in annulling the treaty of Madrid. He began by borrowing a large sum from the functionaries and magistrates, who were to repay themselves by a levy on their fellow-citizens. Later in the year he convoked an assembly of notables, consisting of the clergy, of deputies from the noblesse and from the judicial orders, together with the provost of the merchants. This functionary alone represented the citizens in the great assembly. He previously convoked a meeting of the *quaterniers* and two deputies from each quarter to consider the expected demands of the king, and receive their adhesion to it.‡ To the noble assembly, the king, on the 16th of December, made a statement of his policy and of the circumstances connected with the treaty of Madrid, and asked whether he should return to prison or resist the demands of the emperor to dismember his kingdom. The answer of the assembly was unanimous for resistance. The next question was how to raise money for the purpose. The clergy met the request by a grant of 1,300,000 livres. The nobles offered vaguely half their goods, but eventually paid what was called a decime.§

The emperor, on learning the probability of the alliance being formed against him, made fair and moderate

* See Wolsey's account of his interview with Francis in the State Papers.

† Bourgeois de Paris.

‡ MSS. Colbert, vol. cclii.

§ MSS. Coll. Fontanieu, p. 205-6.

offers to disarm it. He consented to give up the French princes to Henry, if Francis would in turn once more abandon his claims to Italy. To this wise concession Francis had made up his mind in the previous year, his prudent mother still abetting it. But he could not divest himself of his Italian ambition, now that he had England for an ally, and the new favourite, De Brion, giving him the same counsel that Bonnivet had done. Francis relapsed into hopes that Lautrec, whom he was despatching into Italy with an army, might not merely liberate the pope, but also recover some of his Italian possessions.

At the news of his march, and of Francis not only refusing Burgundy, but invading Italy, Charles felt the same indignation revive which he had experienced on first learning that his rival repudiated the treaty of Madrid. On that occasion Charles had told the French envoy, Calvimont, that "his master had behaved in a villanous and cowardly manner by not keeping his faith; and that if Francis said the contrary, he, Charles, would maintain it, person to person."* The envoy having thought it prudent not to report this ebullition of imperial choler, Charles now repeated it to the French herald. And the king bounded with indignation when it was told to him. The challenge to single combat, for it was no less, was warmly taken up by Francis, who felt sore in proportion to the truth of the allegation, and who replied that Charles had "lied in his throat." Granvelle, to whom that was said, refused to carry any such message. The king sent it by a herald. Charles responded by another, which the king would not hear. All he wanted was the "assurance of the field." Charles consulted the first of Spanish nobles, the Duke of Infantado, whose answer, dictated by all the good sense which prevails at the

* Papiers de Granvelle.

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present day on the subject, dissuaded the emperor from persisting in the project. "It would be odd, indeed," said the duke, "if such a debt as that due to you by Francis could be acquitted in a duel." *

Whilst the monarchs occupied their courts and exhaled their resentments in idle challenges and taunts, Lautrec, at the head of 900 lances and 26,000 foot (Du Bellay), after first taking Alexandria, crossed the Tessin, and carried Pavia by storm. Andrew Doria at the same time assuming the command of the French fleet, blockaded Genoa by sea; and its citizens being defeated by the French in a sortie, surrendered to them. Lautrec might easily have reduced Milan, but as the French were bound to hand it over immediately to Duke Sforza†, he cared not to incur risk in the enterprise. Instead of taking the short road to Rome, he proceeded by Piacenza and Parma to Bologna, where he lingered till the winter was passed.‡

The aim of Lautrec was not to embarrass himself with the affairs of Rome, or of the Milanese, but to direct his efforts to the conquest of Naples. He marched thither by the eastern coast, and entered the Abruzzi, whilst the Prince of Orange, with the army that had captured Rome, advanced by the western shore of the peninsula. In former invasions the French had easily mastered the capital, but, failing to reduce the provinces, lost it again. Lautrec, by the orders of Francis, was determined to reduce the provinces first. He spent the spring in this task, and only

* Papiers de Granvelle.

† Letter of De Tournon to Montmorency, Sept. 8th, 1527. MSS. Bethune, 8608.

‡ Lautrec's letters of the same date complain continually of want of money to pay his troops. Francis threatened to recall him, if the pope would not advance funds. MSS. Bethune, 8522.

And yet, at this very time, Francis had set about rebuilding the Louvre, commencing Fontainebleau, and completing the Château of Madrid.

arrived before Naples towards the commencement of May, 1528. He pitched his camp at Poggio Reale, and having reduced all the interior under his obedience, whilst Andrew Doria blockaded the port with his galleys, Lautrec had a fair prospect of reducing Naples by force. An attempt of the besieged against the galleys of Doria was attended by signal misfortune, the viceroy Moncada perishing in the attack, whilst the Marquis del Guasto and many nobles were taken prisoners.

Whilst the efforts of Francis to recover Naples were apparently crowned with success, he contrived to mar the enterprise altogether by estranging Andrew Doria. Wearied with the faithlessness and turbulence of the Genoese, the monarch determined to make Savona not only the French port in Italy, but the entrepôt of commerce. He ordered the import duty on salt to be levied there. Andrew Doria was peculiarly indignant at an attempt to deprive his native city of its commercial importance. He had another subject of discontent in being deprived of the ransom of the Prince of Orange, his prisoner, after the battle of Pavia. The Marquis of Guasto, taken in the naval combat off Naples, now worked upon the spirit of Andrew Doria. The latter, however, forwarded supplications to the court of France, representing the madness and injustice of seeking to supersede Genoa by Savona. The remonstrance of Andrew Doria, laid before the council, was scouted by the chancellor Duprat, interested in the salt duties, as well as by De Brion. A successor was sent to deprive the admiral of the command even of the Genoese galleys. Doria received the officer, and handed over to him the French vessels, but renounced the service of France, and with his own galleys hoisted once more the colours of the emperor. The immediate result was that, instead of Naples being blockaded by sea, it was the French army before it

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which had its communications and provisions cut off. This so aggravated the epidemic caused by the unhealthy state of their camp, that almost all the generals died, including Lautrec himself, and the 26,000 men dwindled into as many hundreds. Francis, warned of the state of things, made his usual desultory efforts to relieve his army, but, having lost the command of the sea, it was impossible. The Marquis of Saluzzo raised the siège and withdrew, but his rear-guard was cut off, and its commander, Navarro, taken.* There then remained for the French but to capitulate on the last day of August, 1528, at Aversa.

The loss of all which they possessed in North Italy was the consequence of the French defeat at Naples. The Genoese in 1529 took Savona and razed the fortifications. The Count of St. Pol, though supported by the Venetians and Sforza, unable to hold his ground, was defeated between Milan and Pavia, by Antonio di Leyva, St. Pol himself, with his principal officers, being carried prisoners to Milan.

Thus terminated the last serious attempt of the French to dispute the possession of Italy, and Francis became, at least for a time, convinced of the wisdom of that policy so strongly recommended by his mother, to consider the Alps the natural and definitive frontier of the monarchy. Pope Clement, indeed, without consulting the French king, hastened, after the defeat of St. Pol, to make peace with Charles, and to admit his right as sovereign of Naples. The settlement of Milan was left for future negotiations. Francis, by these defeats, found himself without anything to struggle for in Italy; Charles had more important interests to defend than visionary and bygone claims upon Burgundy. A variety of circumstances had brought both him and his brother Ferdinand to the conviction, that the Lutheran

* The emperor ordered him to be executed.

body, which now comprised almost the whole of North Germany, could only be repressed by arms. With half of his empire thus arrayed against him, with France and England hostile, Charles was at the same time threatened by the Turks, led by their greatest sultan and most able vizier.

Hitherto the military and conquering races, that had rallied on the borders of Asia and Europe under the standard of Mahomet, were separated from the Germans by the Slavons, the Roumans, or the Magyars. Had the Austrians respected the independence of those races, they might have continued to form an effectual barrier against the Turk. But as they pushed the German influence over Hungary, the native element resisted, and an intestine struggle ensued between classes and races, which left Hungary open and undefended to the invasion of the Turks. Solyman overran that country in 1526, impelled partly, it is alleged, by the French embassy despatched after the disaster of Pavia. The sultan's army numbered 100,000 soldiers. Louis, King of Hungary, encountered them on the field of Mohacz, with not more than 3000 horse. They perished with him, and the crescent floated on the walls of Buda.

In 1529 Solyman proceeded to complete his conquest by the reduction of Vienna. He left Constantinople in May, at the head of 280,000 men. It must have been an anxious time for the Austrian brothers, Charles and Ferdinand, who knew the French king to be leagued with the new competitor of the Hungarian throne, then under the vassalage of the Turks. When Francis, therefore, mortified by the ill success of his wars in Italy, and alarmed by tidings that the health of his sons was giving way in captivity, allowed his mother, the great partisan of peace at his court, to open negotiations with the emperor, Charles, though with some reluctance, gave the same authority to his sister, the Stadt-

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holderin of the Netherlands.* These ladies had been in correspondence since 1528, feeling their way to some terms of accommodation between the crowns. In May both Francis and his mother urged Margaret to fix a place and time of meeting which might preclude the presence and interference of Wolsey, who would endeavour to prevent an accommodation.† The meeting was fixed to take place on the 15th of June at Cambray, and in three weeks the princesses, without any aid in their negotiations, came to an agreement. Charles no longer insisted on Burgundy, and contented himself with two millions of crowns ransom for the princes, who were to be liberated on the payment of 1,200,000. A debt of the emperor to Henry, which the latter afterwards waived in favour of Francis, was to be considered part of this payment. Francis abandoned his claims in Italy, as well as the sovereignty over Flanders and Artois, the two chief stipulations of the treaty of Madrid. He was to give up Hesdin and Tournay, and to cease his support of the Dukes of Gueldres and Bouillon against the emperor. The marriage of Francis with the emperor's sister Eleonora was again stipulated. Such was the Lady's Peace, the *Paix des Dames*, in which Francis, after some years of open war, sacrificed to Charles all the objects which he aimed at, and, what was more disgraceful, all the allies that had trusted him.

The peace of Cambray was indeed but a corroboration of the main conditions of the treaty of Madrid,—the abandonment of Italy and of suzerainty over Flanders by Francis. In neither case was it the military power of the emperor which prevailed, so much as the in-

* Marguerite, in one of her letters to Charles, persuading him to make peace, tells him not to rely too much upon his resources in Italy, which, she says, may vanish as "the frost of a single night." Lanz, Correspondenz.

† Lanz. Letter of Margaret, May 26th, 1529.

dependent spirit of those distant regions. Neither Italian nor Fleming would submit to French suzerainty and modes of government. But Charles, whilst thus maintaining supremacy in countries of which the population repudiated France, could obtain no hold or make no impression upon provinces or frontiers decidedly French. The monarch of that people was as invulnerable at home as certain of failure abroad. It was difficult to make a high-spirited prince accept this conviction. But the death of Lautrec and the defeat of his army enforced it too strongly for resistance.

This persuasion, however salutary, took from the reign of Francis its consistency and spirit. The aim of the monarchy, conceived immediately after the liberation of the country from English enmity, had been pursued by three successive kings for half a century. It proved as bootless and idle as the English conquest of France, whilst the foreign policy which its failure necessitated, that of defence against a monarch whose territories everywhere surrounded France, required rather the crafty and patient prince like Charles, than the chivalrous and headlong Francis.

The policy of defence undertaken by a wise monarch like Charles the Fifth of France, would have proved much more conducive to the development of the country. It would have led to order in the finances and organisation of the military, by calling in the counsel and the aid of the people or their representatives to both. But Francis disdained such aims and spurned such duties. He gave himself up to his pleasures,—framed a court of which licentiousness was the habit, and from which justice, temperance, and every Christian as well as chivalric virtue was banished. During the first years of his reign, the king bestowed his affections upon the Countess de Chateaubriand, of the family of Foix, sister of Lautrec. The Duchess of Etampes, who succeeded her in the monarch's favour, was remarkable for

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her sedateness, her patronage of the lettered and of the reformers, and her anxiety to avoid the éclat of political influence or personal ascendency. While the king thus set an example of public immorality, for which the Church found no censure, he was an affectionate son and brother. Indeed the strong bond of affection which existed between Francis, his mother, and his sister, the Duchess of Alençon, formed one of the redeeming traits of the monarch's character, and makes one inclined to disbelieve many of the calumnies heaped upon Louise of Savoy*, and to scout with indignation the charges so greedily caught up even by grave French historians against the memory of Margaret.†

Too many proofs remain, however, of the libertine life of Francis and of his court. It is mortifying to think that the revival of ancient learning should have produced, as one of its results, this epicureanism amongst the great. Nor can it be said to have been sufficiently redeemed by that taste for letters and for the arts, which consoled the Italians for the loss of their liberties and independence. Francis, nurtured in these tastes, caught fresh enthusiasm for them in his expedition to Italy, and converse with its courts.

National literature is, indeed, not a thing to be imported; but learning and learned men may. Francis attracted and cherished both. Fond of building and of

* That she caused the loss of Milan by her avarice may be doubted. So also may it be questioned that she proposed herself as a wife to the constable Bourbon, whose chief object must have been to have had an heir to his house. The "Bourgeois de Paris" says, that her proposal was that Bourbon should marry her sister (p. 150). But the constable had bestowed his affections upon the Duchess of Alençon.

† M. Genin charges Margaret with a criminal passion for Francis, on the strength of one letter in which she entreats to see him, and which proves his wish to avoid her. It was possibly her solicitations in favour of the Huguenots that he wished to avoid. He might have promised his fanatic councillors not to see her. Margaret's language in the letter is no doubt hyperbolical, but such was the style of the age, as Bishop Briçonnet's letters show. See M. Genin's Lettres, and Nouvelles Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulème.

the ornamentation of palaces and cities, Francis displayed a devotion for the arts, and envied the Italian towns their genius and their glory. Primaticcio, Leonardo da Vinci, Titian, Cellini, and many artists of less merit, were enticed to Paris and to Blois, where, as well as at Chambord and Fontainebleau, they have left still during monuments of their genius. Their efforts and productions are celebrated by French historians and critics as the school and era of the *Renaissance.* But the new birth, which marked the times, went much deeper than visual forms, and led to more important than artistic results. In the reign of Francis began the regeneration of mind, of morals, of religion, and of reasoning, which threw the personal or territorial ambition of princes into the shade, and came to constitute the leading facts and chief interests of history.

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FROM THE TREATY OF CAMBRAY TO THE END OF THE KING'S REIGN. 1529—1547.

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THERE is no class of society that has not rebelled against the power and pretensions of the priesthood. But previous to the epoch on which we are entering, each made its protest and its effort apart. Sovereign princes wrestled with popes, and few, like Philip the Fair, came off victorious. The lay aristocracy fought a more successful battle. In Germany they allied with the Church against the emperor, and established the power of both upon his ruin. In France they joined with the legists and the crown against the priesthood, and maintained a large portion of rights. The complaints of the middle class were against the extortion of the clergy. Strange to say, it was the lower and uneducated which made the strongest and most permanent protest against impurity of doctrine and perversion of the Word of God. Such were the objections of the Waldenses and the *Pauvres de Lyon*, as well as Wickliffe, whose followers were recruited and perpetuated amongst the poor. The Church, however, had, on the whole, successfully defied monarch or aristocracy, civic or peasant enmity. It had baffled legists, and subdued the universities; the Concordat in France was a complete triumph over both. The most formidable of all antagonists to the priesthood was yet to rise up with the literary class, which originated the

two great anti-sacerdotal movements of the sixteenth century and of the nineteenth. The pens of Erasmus and Voltaire were the levers which loosened the mundane and traditional foundations of the Church.

Many of these kinds of opposition showed themselves in the fifteenth century; and none were more formidable than that of the national Church against Rome. But at the commencement of the sixteenth century all had sunk into harmlessness or slumber. The protest of the poorer classes on behalf of purity of doctrine, continued, indeed, to send, in France as in England, a small number of unnoticed victims to the scaffold; but the blood of such martyrs idly enriched the soil, until men of letters began to stir it, and the printing-press to sow the seed of truth and reason broad-cast.

The great literary reaction which commenced in Italy scarcely awakened the fears, and certainly not the antagonism, of the Church. The popes in general favoured it, and the new princely families of Italy sought popularity and renown in the patronage of learning. Indeed, the philosophic inferences drawn from the study of the classics, came to form a mild epicureanism, which allied perfectly with the indifference and voluptuousness then reigning at Rome. In the north, the ecclesiastics of the schools, and the men of the new learning, took the matter more seriously. Students acquired grammatical knowledge, and applied it, not to Cicero or Xenophon, but to the Fathers and the Scriptures. The monks were scared when professors, not merely of Greek, but of Hebrew, introduced into the cloister, and disclosed to the youth under their direction, depths of ecclesiastical learning long unfathomed. In this contest the University of Paris was no longer fitted to take a generous part. Since the gentry of France had exchanged feudal or semi-feudal independence for a royal livery; since mu-

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nicipal spirit was crushed, and absolutism predominant in all classes, the university shared the common fate. The study of the civil law being banished from Paris*, the university, even in its law, remained ecclesiastic; and, long as it had struggled against the predominance of monks, and especially of the Dominicans, both in teaching and confessing, the friars at length triumphed over opposition; and Paris, from being antagonistic to monkery, became its stronghold.†

Reuchlin had been an *alumnus* of the Paris University. In 1510 the Dominicans of Cologne induced the magistrates to expel this expounder of Hebrew learning, and to burn his books. This was the signal for the war between the Humanists, as the men of letters and learning were called, and the Monks. As the ambition of the French kings in invading Italy had given rise to a common European policy, so this quarrel between the champions of learning and those of ignorance formed a European public. The controversy being carried on in Latin, and being wafted on the wings of the press, came home to every scholar. Those who undertook the defence of Reuchlin were possessed of the genius of sarcasm; and Erasmus and Von Hutten set the reading public, whether on the Rhine, the Thames, the Seine, or the Tiber, laughing at the monks. This was the commencement of the Reformation; it got together and formed a public and an audience alive to the absurdities which the Church and the Sorbonne had unavoidably been uttering through the dark ages of ignorance and monopoly.

Soon after his accession, the attention of Francis the First was attracted to these disputes. He had returned

* In 1535, the professors of the canon law in the University of Paris, venturing to expound the civil law, were reprimanded and forbidden to continue. Bulæus.

† See description of the *niaiseries* of the Paris University by young Tschudi, writing to Glaris, in D'Aubigné's Hist. of the Reformation.

from the triumph of Marignan, and from converse with the taste and learning of the papal court at Bologna. The university was called to pronounce upon a work, the *Oculum Speculi* of Reuchlin.* The sentence was, of course, one of condemnation. Francis asked Cop, one of the new learned, his opinion on the subject, and both agreed that the monks of the Paris University sadly wanted to be enlightened. It was then that the king determined to found a Trilinguist College, for the teaching of Greek and Hebrew, as well as Latin; and which side the monarch took of the prevailing controversy was evident, when he proposed to Erasmus to become the head of this new college.

At the time when the King of France was thus lending his countenance to the regeneration of learning, and of its triumph over the monks, Luther was converting the movement from a literary into a popular reaction. The great Reformer was not, like Erasmus or Calvin, of the civic class, nor, like Hutten, a stray scion of gentility. Luther was a peasant, who had sprung from mother earth, and spent his hungry childhood on her hard bosom. Erasmus could speak to the learned, Calvin to the townsfolk; Luther's words were, even to coarseness, the rude and earnest speech of the peasant; and when he broke forth in his mother tongue, his voice was like a trumpet, which sounded alike in palace, in church, and in cottage. Luther's protest had the disinterestedness as well as energy of the class to which he belonged. However shocked at the corruption and voluptuousness of the court and clergy of Rome, which he visited, Luther had held his peace. He did not dispute dogmas for disputation sake; nor was he stirred to ire because the pontiff interfered with the authority of his prince, or levied a tax upon German poverty to feed Italian flagitiousness. Luther had a cure of souls, and

* Bulæus. Hist. de l'Université de Paris, tom. vi.

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he perceived intruders come under the papal sanction to destroy his efforts and exhortations to render them pious, by promising not merely indulgences, but free salvation for a few pence. He denounced indulgences; offered to support what he had said by arguments; and, looking for them, could not but search into the foundations, scriptural, logical, and traditional, on which the theology of Rome was built. In a very short time the reform in Germany became a national movement, that swept all classes along with it. In England it became so later. But France was differently situated from either country. It was without the practical liberty, the habit of expressing and communicating grievances, so fully enjoyed in the sister countries. France by no means suffered from papal extortion in the same proportion as Germany or Spain.* The Pope and French king united to tax the clergy, but the former received scant contributions from the people. The German clergy were in a manner identified with Rome, whereas in France there had always existed an antagonism between the national church and the holy see; the legists, the middle and lay classes, taking part with the native priests against the foreign. There was no impatience, therefore, in the French to fling off a yoke which they had frequently and successfully combated. The movement in France was thus long confined to the literary reaction against the monks, which the king, his sister, and several of his ministers seconded. But however generous and liberal was Francis, the Sorbonne, or school of theology, was inveterately bigoted. The doctors took the field against Luther†; and although the favourers of learning and reform held their ground

* For the lightness with which papal extortion weighed upon France, and the severity with which it pressed upon Germany, see Ranke.

Charles says in one of his letters, that more money went from his dominions to the Pope, than from all the world besides. Lanz, vol. i.

† In 1523, Cochlæus published two works, on the Sacraments and Infant Baptism. The Anti-Luther appeared soon after.

in the Faculty of the Arts*, that of theology was but the more virulent. Fabre and Farel, menaced by it, withdrew to Meaux, where the Bishop, Briçonnet, silenced the friars, and countenanced the preaching of the semi-reformers.† Such men as Fabre and Farel could not reside in a locality without exercising influence. The population of Meaux was manufacturing: the town contained extensive fabrics for the confection of woollen stuffs. The artisans formed the first Protestant congregation in the north of France. When the heterodoxy of Meaux became notorious, the Parisian clerics, supported by the Chancellor Duprat, who had turned his ambition to become a cardinal and something more, instituted a prosecution. Fabre fled to Nerac, Farel to Dauphiné, where he soon founded churches. Briçonnet retracted in some measure, as did Louis Berquin, a Picard gentleman‡, attached to the court, and a translator of some of the works of Luther and Erasmus. He had been arrested by the parlement and was in the bishop's prison, when Francis sent to have his cause brought before the great council, and himself liberated. Whilst the king thus shed his protection over the learned and well born, he left more vulgar innovators to their fate. Leclerc, a wool-carder of Meaux, who persisted in preaching and publishing Luther's doctrines, was publicly whipped and branded. Being then allowed to depart, he repaired to Metz, where the bishop had him burned at the stake. This first of French martyrdoms did not pass unavenged. The German reformers from Alsace and the Vosges, entered Lorraine to the number of

* The Faculty of the Arts chose Dolet and Faverel to be its Rectors.

† A Franciscan at Meaux having preached that God was so stricken with the humility of the Virgin, that this was his inducement to come down from Heaven to be born of her, Briçonnet silenced him. The friar, not abashed, quoted the most orthodox Fathers for his doctrine. But the Bishop would not countenance it.

‡ Erasmus calls him *Præfectus* and *Consiliarius Regius*.

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40,000, and ravaged the whole country, until the Duke of Guise came with an army and dispersed them.*

The defection of Bourbon, the invasion of the north by the English and Imperialists, the armament of towns, and levy of severe contributions, gave the Paris magistrates other occupation than punishing heretics, and the parlement other victims. But no sooner was the king captive and Duprat master of the government under the regency of Louise, as he already was of parlement by his appointment of new judges, than a papal bull was promulgated and a decree sanctioning it issued, which established a new tribunal, half ecclesiastical, half lay, for the summary trial and despatch of Lutherans. It is remarkable that as long as the king's sister Margaret remained in Paris, there was no execution. But no sooner had she taken her departure for Madrid, than Pavanne, one of the congregation of Meaux, was sent to the stake, before the Hôtel de Ville, for having withdrawn his recantation. The burning of other heretics followed, both in Paris and in the provinces, without intermission. The regent mother and Duprat deemed that they were labouring for the pope's friendship and the king's liberation by such severity. They seized the poet Marot, the translator of the Psalms, and Berquin also once more. Beda and a monk, named Sutor, denounced Favre at the same time, as well as Erasmus, the friend of both. This drew down eloquent remonstrance from the latter, and addresses to the parlement and to Francis; when fortunately the king returned from Madrid, to suspend at least the human sacrifices for which the Sorbonne clamoured.

From the liberation of Francis dates the division of his family, his court and council, into two parties, which continued to dispute the monarch's countenance and favour. On one side was his mother, with the

* Bourgeois de Paris.

Grand Master, Montmorency. On the other was Margaret, Duchess d'Alençon, the Du Bellays, Poncher, and later the Duchess d'Etampes. Politics as well as religion divided these antagonists. The ultra-Catholics leaned at first to the Pope, and afterwards to the emperor; whilst Margaret would have found allies for the king in Germany or in England. Neither could fully carry out their views at first. The war broke out with the emperor, when the pope joining the Holy League against Charles, rendered it impossible for Francis, as Margaret desired, to ally with the princes of Germany. The duchess took both Berquin and Lefevre into her service, and thus defied the Sorbonne. The doctors, in revenge, libelled the king and his sister, and even Duprat was obliged to proceed against them. There was a project of marrying the Duchess of Alençon to Henry the Eighth, and it probably won the approbation of Wolsey. But Henry was already fascinated by Anne Boleyn, and Margaret, in 1527, espoused Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, which removed her from residence and influence at the court of her brother. About the same period the reformers of the capital lost an equally enthusiastic patroness in Renée, daughter of Louis the Twelfth, who married the Duke of Ferrara, but who continued to afford the exiles a shelter when persecution waxed violent in France.

If Francis was opposed to the ignorance of the monks, he was still more displeased by the disgust of ornament and the arts which the reformers began to display. The tastes and predilections of Francis were all Italian, and whilst he was inclined to admit the corruption of the church, he was far from thinking that it sinned in externals. If he thought that indulgences might be questioned, the Bible read, and prayers said in the mother tongue, he admired the pomp of the mass, and could not consent to leave the Virgin with the mere rank of an historic personage. One of the

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images at the corner of the Rue St. Antoine being wantonly broken, Francis offered 1000 crowns reward for the discovery of the perpetrators, devoutly replaced it by one of silver, and went in solemn procession to instal her image in its niche. The polemics of Berquin were principally directed against the worship of the Virgin. Perceiving the anger of Francis at the desecration of her image, the enemies of Berquin, whom, contrary to the advice of Erasmus, he continued to provoke, had him arrested on a fresh charge, and the king now allowed him to be tried by a commission, on which, however, he appointed the liberal Budæus. Berquin was, not the less, condemned to do public penance, to have his tongue pierced, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. The king, they knew, would have permitted no punishment more severe. Berquin, indignant at the sentence, appealed to the parlement. Budæus endeavoured to dissuade him. The parlement was then composed of the creatures of Duprat, and was animated by the spirit of the inquisition rather than that of justice. On learning that Berquin had appealed to them, and that the king had gone to Blois, they met early in the morning, sentenced Berquin by nine o'clock, and ordered him to be brought immediately after the mid-day dinner to the Place de Grève and burned, together with some Lutheran books they had found in his possession.*

Francis was indignant at the advantage taken of his absence. He avenged himself and consoled Budæus by the establishment of the College de France, destined to lay a broad and liberal basis for the education of French youth, and to confine the Sorbonne to the mere teaching of theology. Francis had a true instinct of what

* April 1529. Bourgeois de Paris. One of Erasmus's letters contains a circumstantial account of the martyrdom of his friend, who he maintains was not a follower of Luther, though an enemy to monks. See also De Bezé; Crespin; Actes des Martyrs; and Registres du Parlement.

was requisite to enlighten the mind and elevate the sentiments of his people; and could he have set aside the vain dream of Italian empire he would have done all, at least all that a despotic sovereign can do, for the cause of intellectual civilisation. But it was impossible for him to avert his eyes from Italy. To release his children from captivity he had sacrificed his allies there, whither the emperor proceeded, at the head of an army, to enjoy and consolidate his triumph. A previous treaty with the pope at Barcelona had secured him the complete submission and alliance of the pontiff, at the price, however, of Charles restoring the power of the Medici in Florence. Every prince and state, even those who had most closely allied with France, flocked to the feet of the emperor to crave his forgiveness or his favour. The Venetians made their peace with him. Sforza, on his submission, was allowed to return to Milan. The Duke of Ferrara, notwithstanding his marriage with a French princess, declared himself imperialist. And even the Duke of Savoy, so long connected with France, and almost to be considered its vassal, now received the Orleans appanage of Asti from the conqueror, and accepted imperial suzerainty. Florence alone resisted. For the last time its republican spirit kindled, and, rather than accept the yoke of the Medici, it manned its walls*, and held out for a twelvemonth against the united hostility of pope and emperor. It reckoned vainly on communication or support from France, and succumbed at last. Charles had in the meantime received the imperial crown in all solemnity from the hands of the pope, at Bologna, and soon after, repairing to Germany, had the satisfaction to see the armies of Solyman retreat before him. Apparently secure against French hostility beyond the Alps, the emperor allowed the sons of Francis to be exchanged for 120,000 golden

* Michael Angelo was its principal engineer. See Varchi; Hist. Fior.

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crowns, part payment of 2,000,000 stipulated. Charles's sister Eleonora accompanied them, and the marriage between her and the French king was solemnised in the south, whither Francis had proceeded to meet them.*

Thus was the Treaty of Cambray and the fate of Italy apparently sealed. Francis himself, notwithstanding his humiliation, seemed resigned to accept the ascendency of his rival, and to place his hopes of retrieval in alliance with, rather than in antagonism to him. A portion of his council, of which was his mother, sought to confirm him in these ideas, which of course were also abetted by Eleanora, his queen, as well as by Montmorency in the council. In obedience to this policy, Francis, during the course of 1530, proposed several intermarriages of their children to Charles, hoping to acquire with some of them the reversal of the Duchy of Milan. But Charles gave fresh instructions to his envoys to remain strictly within the *statu quo*. And mistrusting the intentions, or at least the constancy, of Francis, he coldly received all propositions for modifying or adding to the stipulations of Cambray.†

Seeing this, Francis, once more restless and dissatisfied, revived all his wonted antagonism to the emperor, which he proposed to prosecute more by negotiations and intrigue than by arms. Notwithstanding the more amiable and brilliant character of Francis, compared with the cold and methodical habits of Charles, it is impossible not to award to the latter the superior merit of being animated by high and disinterested, however at times mistaken, motives. Whilst Francis was absorbed in mere rivalry towards his antagonist, and desire to wrest to himself a portion of Italy,

* Eleanora's fate was a melancholy one. She was attached to a young German prince, who sought her hand, but whom Charles forbade his court in order to dispose of Eleanora, "his best sister," as he called her, in ways most subservient to his policy.

† Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal de Granvelle, tom. i.

Charles anxiously cared and sedulously provided for the interests of Europe. He alone laboured to throw up an efficient barrier to the conquering Turks, and to restore that unity of Christian belief which he considered indispensable to political strength and social order. When Charles showed himself guided by deep feelings of duty in these respects, the reckless Francis trifled with such great questions, showed some shame but no scruple in allying himself with the Turk, exciting him to ravage Europe, and encouraging the Protestants beyond the Rhine and burning them in Paris, with a strange mixture of affected devotion and selfish indifference. Charles has been falsely accused of aiming at universal empire. He gave the strongest contradiction to the charge when, at the very moment of his triumph over Francis, he succeeded in raising his brother Ferdinand to be King of the Romans, and consequently his successor in the empire. He saw plainly that to resist the Turk and keep down protestant opposition, required a local ruler, and he sacrificed at once the prospect of seeing his son an emperor like himself, to the necessity of having each portion of his wide domain effectively governed.

That seriousness, steadiness, and loftiness of purpose which makes Charles a great monarch, and the absence of which so detracts from the character of Francis, the patron of learning and the arts, were alike wanting to Henry the Eighth, in the early part of his reign. That king, and his minister, Wolsey, were without policy or aim; and, confined to seek small territorial or pecuniary advantages, of which, even when gained, they could make no use. Wolsey, indeed, imitated Francis and his Italian contemporaries in the desire to substitute learning for monkery, and in so doing aided unconsciously in the great movement which was about to take place. But it was not till after Wolsey's death that Henry placed himself at the

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head of that movement, and with great courage shook off the spiritual dominion of Rome.

It would be difficult to find three monarchs more inclined to reverence the popedom than those who then swayed the destinies of Europe. Charles was profoundly and sincerely pious, and could conceive no other form of piety than what had been handed down from remote ages. Francis, who aimed at being what his fond mother had from the first styled him, her Cæsar, was ever eager to have the pope his ally, and, notwithstanding all the provocation of Rome, never seriously entertained the thought of retaliation.* England was more recalcitrant, but Henry, from his religious education and scrúples, and natural love of authority, was the least likely of princes to call the papal supremacy in question. But circumstances forced him to it.

A great dispute has arisen as to the motive which prompted Henry to divorce his queen. Whether scruples of conscience, or a desire of male heirs, or inconstancy and passion, most swayed him, must now be matter of conjecture, not of proof. But no such doubt exists as to the motives which actuated the pope. They are clear as the noonday. He was absorbed in his temporal interests; in the support he might demand, or the danger he might incur. He was for a long time most desirous of acceding to Henry's wishes, and gratifying them at least risk to himself; and did all in his power to induce Henry to precipitate a second marriage, without caring for the legitimacy or the justice, provided it could be accomplished without awaking the emperor's anger. Throughout all the

* When the English king was jealous of the French conquest of Milan, he was also annoyed at the facility with which the Pope acquiesced in it.

Wolsey threatened that the country would become Lutheran, if the pontiff did not take care. This the Pope calls "revenging on Faith the sins of the Pope."

Letters of the Datario, Feb. 1525; Lettere dei Principi, l. i. p. 65.

tergiversations, meannesses, cessions, and withdrawals of the pontiff, one thing was evident—the unfitness of such a tribunal and such a judge to decide upon questions of great national interest. That judge was without either conscience or independence, and totally at the mercy of potentates nearer and more menacing to him than the King of England, to whom they were always rivals and often enemies. The idea of England appealing to such a tribunal or depending on it was an absurdity. But the authority of the pope, as an ecclesiastical judge, was bound up with his authority as arbiter of faith and dogma. Both exploded together.

The kings of England and France encouraged each other in their favourite projects. Francis's envoys were zealous as well as most able champions of the divorce. Henry proposed to the French monarch to make nought of the Treaty of Cambray, and resume antagonism, if not war, against the emperor. Francis hesitated. Henry, having had recourse to the judgment of the several European universities concerning the unlawfulness of his marriage with Catherine, and having already obtained favourable opinions from those of England and Italy, was desirous of getting that of Paris also. Du Bellay, the envoy of Francis, undertook the task, but delayed stirring in it till the French princes were actually liberated. He then addressed the Faculty of Theology, and with the king's support, but not without strong opposition, both from the imperial and fanatical faction, obtained what he desired.*

* Du Bellay brought the question of the legitimacy of Henry's first marriage before the Paris Faculty of Theology on June 13, 1530. He represented that eight synodical councils and eight Faculties or Universities had declared that marriage null. He demanded a similar opinion from the University. The Imperialists here started up to observe that the Faculty was "subjected to the Pope," and could do nothing without consulting him. Others replied that the Faculty was as much subject to the king as to the Pope, and therefore there was no need of suspending the vote. Seeing that this was likely to be carried against

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Whilst Henry, absorbed in his projects of divorce, and Francis, irritated by the determination of Charles to deny him the smallest portion of Italy, would willingly have proceeded even to the extremity of war with him, they were stopped by a newly-born power, the public opinion of Europe. The compulsory retreat of Solyman from before Vienna in 1529, and the failure of his gigantic expedition, instead of deterring him from further attempts upon Europe, had acted merely as a fresh excitement. The Turk had made immense preparations; and Europe, as well as the pope himself, looked to the storm that threatened from Constantinople as something far more serious than the squabbles and impotent wars of the sovereigns of the west. Francis suffered much obloquy from his relations with Solyman, and he was compelled to meet such accusations by loud promises of leading armies against the infidel. The pope pressed him, in 1531, to keep his word, and at least to defend Naples against Mahomedan invasion. Francis replied, that he could not think of defending Naples in order to preserve it to the emperor. The French king, however, did feel that the menacing expedition of the Turks had the effect of rallying all Europe, as well as the pope, to the House of Austria, and that the northern Germans

them, one of the fanatical party took the *rôle* from the hands of the beadle and tore it, which broke up the assembly for the day. It again met, however, and a sentence in favour of Henry was drawn up and agreed to. Concerning the amount of the majority, there are different accounts. It was probably, as first alleged, a majority of 56 to 7; for Beda and the most furious imperialists themselves signed the act. They afterwards regretted having done so. The *Beadle*, who was in their interests, refused to give a copy to Du Bellay or the English; and the Beda party, seeking to falsify it—indeed, having already altered it in a phrase or two—the Archbishop of Sens, to preserve the decree intact, was obliged to carry away the register. In August the Beda party, during the absence of those who composed the first majority, held a meeting and sought to obtain a vote for getting back the register, and *regratting*, or altering it. But they were defeated by Du Bellay, and the original sentence maintained.

Du Bellay's letters in the Bethune and Fontanieu MSS., and in the third volume of Legrand, Histoire du Divorce de Henri VIII.

themselves, much as they dreaded Charles, refused to oppose or disturb his policy as long as it was that of the defence of Christendom against the Turk. Francis therefore sent his envoy Rincon, in 1532, to dissuade Solyman, if possible, from his great project of invading Austria. Rincon arrived too late, found the Turkish army on its march, and could only admire its discipline and numbers, without altering its object or its mission.* Henry and Francis met in October 1532 at Boulogne, and covered their proceedings with the pretext of concluding an alliance against the Turk.† They were, however, more anxious to profit by the destruction of the House of Austria, should Solyman prove successful, or to take precautions against its increased power, were Charles to achieve a victory. Henry urged Francis to uphold the Lutheran princes of Germany, and to break with both emperor and pope, and convert the ecclesiastical wealth of France into the means of war. Francis joining cordially in the desire to humble the emperor, insisted on the expediency of rather winning the pope to their side than making him a more decided enemy. Francis, however, had a bait for the pope, which he knew Clement could not resist, and he promised Henry that one of the results should be the papal assent to his divorce with the emperor's aunt.

This policy having been agreed upon betwixt the monarchs, Francis despatched new envoys, De Grammont and De Tournon, to the pope, recalling D'Interville, who under the influence of Montmorency, had leant to the emperor's alliance.‡ They found the pope equally

* Charrière. Négociations de la France avec le Levant.

† It was to this meeting that Anne Boleyn was invited. Henry asked Francis to bring no one with "l'habillement Espagnol," meaning Queen Eleonora; and at the same time deprecated the presence of any "gaudisseurs," people who would rally or mock him. MS. Bethune, 8840; Fontanieu, p. 232-3.

‡ D'Interville, Bishop of Auxerre, envoy of the French king. He allowed the representative of the King of the Romans to take precedence of him on some public occasion, which

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incensed against Francis for his collusion with the Turks, his insisting on a council, and his support of the Duke of Ferrara. But by degrees insinuating themselves into the papal confidence, they pressed an alliance, not only of the Holy See with France, but of the Medici with the House of Valois.* They offered Henry, Duke of Orleans, second son to the king, as a husband to Catherine of Medicis, daughter of the Duke of Urbino, nephew of the pontiff. The latter was, as Francis hoped, not only flattered at the prospect of so illustrious an alliance, but rejoiced to have Francis bound by such ties to respect the Holy See. He had feared the effect of Henry's exhortations and the temptation of Francis to imitate his brother monarch in the appropriation of ecclesiastical revenues.†

Francis and Clement met at Marseilles (October 1533)‡, when, in return for the honour of the royal alliance, the pope promised Francis no less than Milan for the young spouses, with Genoa, Pavia, Piacenza, and eventually Naples. Although Charles had secured Florence for the Medici, and was again proceeding to take strong measures against protestantism, Clement abandoned him without compunction. Nor was Francis less headlong to neglect, if not forsake, his allies. So dazzled was he with the magnificent offers of the pontiff, that he forgot his friend and ally Henry, leaving him and his divorce project to take care of themselves. This indeed they did to the full, for Henry caused his divorce to be pronounced by the English primate, publicly married Anne Boleyn, and, strong in the support of his nation, defied alike pope, king, and emperor. Such was

provoked the anger of the French Minister and led to his recall. The correspondence is copied in Fontanieu.

* Letters of Grammont in Fontanieu.

† Francis, early in 1533, wrote to D'Interville threatening the Pope, *de chercher autre voye*, and to levy *aydes* upon the church, without demanding or caring for papal permission. Charrière, tom. i. p. 201; Papiers de Granvelle, tom. ii. p. 21.

‡ For negotiations at Marseilles see MSS. Bethune, Nos. 8525, 8563—9.

the futility of the alliances and politics of the period. Henry, urged to the divorce by the friendship of the French king and his supposed influence at Rome, was in the end driven to break with Rome altogether. Francis, relying first upon Henry and then upon Clement for support in another struggle with the emperor for Italy, lost the English alliance by his carelessness, the papal not long after by Clement's death, and was precipitated, alone and unsupported, except by Sultan Solyman, into a war with Charles.

Previous to the interview of Marseilles, the king had received a signal affront which he menaced to avenge by nothing less than war. Duke Sforza of Milan, discontented with the emperor and the exigencies of his Spanish commanders, had made advances to the court of France, which replied by despatching a secret agent, named Maraviglia, to Milan. Charles, alarmed at the intrigues of Francis in Italy, and the possible defection of Sforza, conciliated him, and promised the duke his niece, a princess of Denmark, in marriage. Maraviglia and his mission were thus both out of season and unwelcome at Milan. Instead of keeping it secret, the agent boasted of his employ, and quarrelled on that account with an Italian gentleman named Castiglione. A feud arose, and in a street encounter the Italian was killed. The duke had Maraviglia arrested, and without employing the usual forms or delays, caused him to be summarily decapitated. The indignation of Francis at such an outrage may be imagined, and it led to a long and angry correspondence between the courts.*

But Francis afforded the emperor a still more serious cause of complaint. The Suabian League, composed

* There were already many causes of complaint. Charles had very barbarously sent to the galleys and sold to the Turks the servants of the French princes, taken from them in a fit of imperial choler at Francis's breach of engagement. Francis demanded the liberty or ransom of these servants. Charles demanded that of several of his subjects detained on board the French galleys.

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chiefly of towns in the imperial interest, had attacked in 1519, Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg, and expelled him from his domains, which Charles had conferred upon his brother Ferdinand. This was an immense accession to the power of the House of Austria, connecting its dominions on the Rhine with those on the Lower Danube, and promising to make it master of South Germany. Christopher, the young son of the duke, had managed to escape from the court of King Ferdinand, and under Bavarian protection had appeared at the Diet of Augsburg. The French ambassador, Du Bellay Langey, pleaded his cause on that occasion with remarkable eloquence, and public opinion declared in favour of the old family of Wurtemberg. Duke Ulrich passed the years of his exile in his county of Montbeliard. It so happened that Farel, the future colleague of Calvin, flying from the Sorbonne, had made Montbeliard his chief resort, rendering it and the region round a focus of protestantism. The reformers became thus interested in the restoration of Duke Ulrich.

After having concluded the marriage of his son with the niece of the pope, and arranged his alliance with the pontiff, Francis was anxious to remove from the minds of the Lutheran princes of Germany that he had thereby deserted them. Strange to say, this very period of the French king's alliance with the pope was one of those intervals in his reign in which he most favoured the reformers. The cardinals of Grammont and Tournon, who had negotiated the treaty with the pope, had succeeded in lessening the influence of Montmorency with the king.* The death of his mother, Louise de Savoy, in 1531, had much weakened the ascendency of that party, and the Duchesses of Alençon and

* Their project was communicated to Charles, who speaks of it in his letters, and who would make no use of it, even to warn the Constable.

Etampes, with the Du Bellays, seconded the tendencies of the king to ally with and support the German Protestants, as well as to tolerate them at home. Margaret of Alençon took their preachers into her service, whilst Beda was exiled. The Sorbonnists retaliated by representing, in their stage mysteries, Margaret in the character of a fury exchanging her distaff for a Bible. A monk declared the king's sister as worthy of being sewn in a sack and flung into the river. Far from being induced by the pope at Marseilles to recommence persecution, Francis, journeying to Alsace, agreed to meet the Landgrave of Hesse, the most active chief of the Protestants, at Bar le Duc. At this meeting the German prince represented the restoration of Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg as the greatest check that could be given to the House of Austria, and he offered to undertake and accomplish it if Francis would supply him with funds. It was necessary to veil any such intervention in the affairs of Germany, which was directly contrary to the stipulations of Cambray. The count simulated a sale of Montbeliard and other territories to Francis, who paid down 125,000 crowns. The Landgrave was thus enabled to raise a force of 20,000 foot and 4000 horse, the first army of "a politico-religious opposition to the House of Austria that had appeared in the field."* At the head of this army the Landgrave, on the 12th of May, 1534, attacked at Laufen on the Neckar the troops of the King of the Romans, and gained a complete victory. The result was the reinstalment of Duke Ulrich, and at the same time the establishment of protestantism in Wurtemberg, a double blow to the influence of Austria.

The success of the Landgrave seems to have confirmed Francis in his projects of war; for very soon after he promulgated a decree for raising seven legions

* Ranke's "Reformation," Mrs. Austen's translation.

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of infantry in seven distinct provinces of 6000 men each, 2000 of whom were to be armed with the arquebuss. He was driven to this by the impossibility of enlisting soldiers amongst the Swiss, where Zwingle denounced the mercenary habit, and forbade it in the Protestant cantons, whilst the Catholics were too imperialist for the service of France. This attempt to form a French corps of infantry "failed altogether," records the Venetian envoy and observer, Giustiniano; "for being peasants reared in servitude, without any experience of arms, they passed at once to licence, and refused to obey their officers." The noblesse complained that they became turbulent peasants, as well as bad soldiers.

With such force as he thus raised, and a large body of German lansquenets, Francis, though dissuaded by Henry the Eighth, and no longer counting on his active aid, hoped to pass the Alps against Sforza. He sent to demand a passage from the Duke of Savoy, which that prince refused,—a circumstance which necessarily altered and delayed his plans of invading Italy, nor did the king reap on the side of Germany the alliance which he expected from his efforts in behalf of Duke Ulrich. The Bavarian princes refused to engage in hostilities with Austria.* In this conjuncture arrived tidings of the death of Clement the Seventh (September, 1534). The expedition was in consequence obliged to be abandoned.

Francis was at Blois, meditating, in the worst of humours, upon all these disappointments, when a placard was affixed one morning by an audacious hand to the very door of his chamber† (October, 1534). It

* Lanz. Letter of Oct. 1854.

† There is great reason to suspect that this act was the work of the enemies, not the friends of the Reformation. The Franciscan monks of the neighbouring city of Orleans had fallen into a scandalous scrape. The wife of a magistrate, having left orders, when dying, to be buried without display or expense, the clergy and friars found themselves thereby deprived of the emoluments usually

was a denunciation of the "Horrible and Intolerable Abuses of the Papal Mass." Similar placards were at the same time found upon all the churches and public buildings of Paris, braving the indignation of the clerical population of the capital. The insurrection and extravagance of the Anabaptists in Germany had at this time greatly augmented the obloquy under which the Protestants laboured. Francis was especially indignant at what he considered a personal affront. And having so little reason for satisfaction at the moment with the Germans, or with fortune, he vented his bile by giving full power to his police magistrates to proceed summarily against all heretics. The Sorbonne was in delight, its doctors and inquisitors jubilant. The ecclesiastics of Paris prepared a most splendid *fête* to honour the king's adoption of severity. A procession was prepared, in which every relic of every church was brought forth and paraded, from the head of St. Louis to the lance which pierced the Saviour's side.

Fontaine, a doctor of the Sorbonne, has left a full description of the procession, in which Francis and his family took part, and at which one of the young German princes was present. The conclusion of the *fête* was celebrated by the burning of six Lutherans, with circumstances of extraordinary cruelty. They were tied to the end of a pole, which was lifted up from the fire, and let down into it, in order to prolong the sufferings of the victims. Such was the punishment of the *estrapade*, by which Francis and his court

accruing to them from the pompous funerals of the rich. They avenged themselves by simulating the ghost of the deceased, making it declare that it suffered damnation for cheating the Church. The trick was discovered, and those who played it condemned by the Parlement of Paris, and Duprat himself, to public exposure and penitence. The Franciscans were at their wits' end to defeat a scene so humiliating to them; and it is not improbable that they imagined the affixing of the offensive placard to the king's door. Sleidan; Strobel; Beytrage; and Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême.

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pretended to honour Christianity at the very time when he was leagued with the Sultan, and inciting their admiral, Barbarossa, to ravage Italy; and when he did not, however, disdain to send excuses to the German Protestants, saying they were sacramentarians and seditious people whom he burned, and that there was no German amongst the victims.* The Chancellor Duprat dictated his notorious ordonnances, well worthy of the epoch. One was for the suppression of printing, the other condemning to the same stake as heretics themselves whoever should harbour or conceal them. Francis suspended the anti-printing edict. And the persecution itself, which was general throughout France, ceased at Duprat's death, an ordonnance forbidding the arrest of Lutherans, and allowing their return, being promulgated the very day after it occurred.†

The religious policy of Charles was equally intolerant, but at least it was consistent. Whilst Francis was directing his efforts to Italian conquest, and beseeching Barbarossa to aid him, Charles was collecting forces for an expedition against Tunis, the stronghold of the Corsair. The marauders yearly dragged into slavery thousands of the Christian inhabitants of the Mediterranean coast, and the only mode of putting an end to such ravages, was to attack and destroy their ports of armament and refuge. Bent for these reasons upon an expedition against Tunis, Charles despatched the Count of Nassau (September 1534) to Francis, to propose any marriage or conditions that might satisfy

* Sleidan. Commentaria, lib. ix.

† Sleidan mentions that the decree was issued in consequence of an embassy sent by Zurich, Bern, Basle, and Strasbourg, craving for lenience, and liberty for the exiles to return. Lib. x.

The Bourgeois de Paris (p. 488) attributes the clemency to the intercession of the Pope, who begged Francis to appease his own fury and that of his Parlement, to liberate his prisoners, and allow the exiles to return. Duprat died July 9th, 1535. The tolerant ordonnance is dated the 16th. Du Bellay's mission, related page 535, proves what an incubus of bigotry was removed from the king's mind by the chancellor's death.

the French king, short of the cession of Milan. What the count was chiefly charged with insinuating was the superior advantages which the king would derive from turning his ambition northwards, and concluding a marriage between the Count of Angoulême, his youngest son, and the Princess Mary of England. This, the count was to observe, might be accomplished by means of the malcontents of that country, or despite of Henry the Eighth, and even as a consequence of his dethronement, which a council might sanction, and Francis and the emperor accomplish.* Francis refused to entertain any such project. Indeed, a marriage between Mary and the dauphin was still aimed at by the French court†, whilst that of London wished to induce Francis to betroth the Duke of Angoulême to the infant daughter of Anne Boleyn.‡ Francis, therefore, both by verbal reply to Nassau, and through his ambassador, Vellay, made of the emperor the formal demand of Milan, Genoa, and Asti.

Circumstances had suggested to the French king a much more feasible plan of securing dominions beyond the Alps, than that based on the conquest of the Milanese. He proposed to occupy the dominions of the Duke of Savoy. It was not without feelings of the deepest mortification that Francis had beheld the estrangement, from him and from his crown, of a house so closely connected and identified with France by marriage and by politics. The Duke of Savoy could scarcely be blamed. Francis had proved unequal to protect his Italian allies; and when the emperor offered the duke his sister-in-law, of Portugal, in marriage, with the possession of Asti, the offer could not safely be declined. He consulted Francis, and said he would not accept Asti, the old appanage of the Dukes

* Papiers de Granvelle, vol. ii. pp. 156, 157.

† Montmorency liked the idea. *Ib.*, p. 231.

‡ Giustiniano's account of 1537.

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of Orleans, without the permission of the French monarch.* Francis, although hurt, could display no resentment, but felt it. The Duke of Savoy became more hostile to France; and when Pope Clement came to meet this monarch, the duke refused to receive him in Nice, and even treated young Catherine of Medici so ill, that she was obliged to withdraw to Villeneuve.† The refusal of the duke, in the subsequent year, to allow the passage of French troops towards Milan, filled up the measure of the king's disgust.‡

Whilst the House of Savoy was thus the object of the unjust resentment of the French king, the city of Geneva was pursued by the vindictive hostility of the duke. For twenty years he had laboured to crush its liberties, and the struggles of its patriots against his despotism and cruelty form one of the most interesting portions of history.§ The Geneva patriots were the first who assumed the name of Eidgenossen, or *Eidgenots*, the oath-associated, which the French came to pronounce *Huguenots*. They besought and obtained the alliance of Friburg and the Bernese, the citizens of which not only defended Geneva, but conquered Lausanne and the Canton of Vaud from Savoy, leaving Chillon, the frontier fortress of the duke's dominions. In 1532 Farel appeared at Geneva; the resistance of the town was as much to the bishop as the duke; the doctrines of the Reformation were greedily caught up, and after many vicissitudes and dangers they were publicly adopted and proclaimed. The duke and bishop established a blockade round Geneva, and the northern Swiss being too much absorbed in their

* Letters of De Grammont, May 9th, 1552, in Fontanieu, p. 222, 223.

† Letters of Raincy to the King, MS. Bethune, p. 525. Sept. 1533.

‡ No doubt one reason of the contempt shown to the Duke of Savoy, in this martial age, was his personal defects. "He was small," says Falier, "humpbacked, and of a forbidding countenance."—*Relazione Venete*, ser. i. vol. iii.

§ Mignet. Établissement de la Réforme à Genève.

own quarrels, it was Francis the First who despatched soldiers and officers to lend their aid in the defence of Geneva.*

Towards the close of 1535, Francis despatched Du Bellay Langey to Germany, for the purpose of inducing the Smalcaldic league to enter into an active alliance with him against the emperor.† Du Bellay had a difficult task; the cruel execution of reformers in Paris and throughout France during the previous winter was fresh in every mind. Du Bellay excused these punishments, as inflicted on seditious people, who resembled the Anabaptists and not the Lutherans. Francis, he said, admitted that much that was indecorous and superstitious had crept into the Church, but he could not approve of even these being abrogated without a public decree. The opinion of the French king, Du Bellay declared, respecting the papal supremacy, the Lord's supper, the Mass, the invocation of the dead, concerning statues, free-will, purgatory, and the celibacy of the clergy, approached very much to those of Philip Melancthon. He considered the pope supreme, not by divine but by human right, and he had strongly urged Pope Clement to grant the communion of both kinds to the laity, as had been the custom in private chapels, throughout France, in the memory of many still living. He observed, that the Bavarian Catholics were more hard and more extreme than the Parisian doctors, and he besought the German Protestants to send one of their divines to meet and confer with the moderate as well as the more zealous churchmen of the French Catholics. Du Bellay in all probability gave a true

* Calvin came to Geneva, flying from the persecution of the Sorbonne, about the same time. He soon after published his *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne*, and dedicated it to Francis the First. He immediately after repaired to the court of Ferrara whither the Duchess Renée of France had invited him. It was not till 1536 that Calvin became pastor of Geneva.

† This account of Du Bellay's mission and words are from Sleidan, lib. ix.

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representation of the opinions of his master, at least during his intervals of liberal and generous feeling. But the religion of Francis changed with his humour: and the Germans, whilst they cordially received and allied with Henry the Eighth, refused to intrigue with Francis in his war against the emperor.

Whilst preparing his army to attack Savoy, Francis learned, in the autumn of 1535, the death of Duke Sforza without an heir. Charles had not long returned from the glorious expedition in which he had overcome Barbarossa and captured Tunis. Francis lost no time in repeating his demand of Milan, to the restoration of which to him the great obstacle was apparently removed. Charles, through Granvelle, by no means returned a positive refusal. Could he have the candid alliance and support of the French king against the Turks, as well as against the Lutherans, he might consent to give Milan, not indeed to the Duke of Orleans, who was too near to the French crown, and had also Italian expectations through his wife. He would give the investiture of Milan to the Duke d'Angoulême, the king's third son. Francis refused this proposal to substitute the younger for the second brother in Milan, which he said would give rise to jealousies between them.*

No agreement having been come to, Francis made an extravagant demand of the greater part of the dominons of Savoy as the heritage of his mother, and receiving no answer, for none was possible, or could be expected, Francis pushed his formidable army into Piedmont in March, 1536, and occupied Turin without resistance; Brion Chabot, who commanded, advancing as far as Vercelli.

* Giustiniano says that Francis was then determined upon rupture. He feared lest Charles should accomplish his purpose of holding a great council of the Church, and would thereby rally to him the princes of Germany against the Turk and his French ally. See Granvelle, t. ii., and MSS. Bethune, 8558.

Tidings of the occupation of Piedmont reached Charles at Naples, when the envoys of Francis begged him to accede to the demand of Milan for the Duke of Orleans. The emperor deferred his answer until he reached Rome, and communicated with the pope. There the French envoys being summoned, as well as the cardinals and other notable persons, to meet in the Chamber of the Consistory the day before Easter, 1536, the emperor, in presence of the pope, declared at length his determination, and the motives on which it was based.* He concluded by giving the King of France three options, that of accepting Milan for his third son, withdrawing, at the same time, his army from Piedmont, and giving his cordial alliance to settle the Turkish and Lutheran difficulties. "Milan," added the emperor, "cannot be given to the Duke of Orleans, who, through his wife, might pretend to Florence, and whose presence might disturb the future tranquillity of Italy."

But if Francis insisted on Milan for this duke, then the emperor could merely offer him the choice of a single combat with sword or poniard, on a bridge or in a boat, the duchy of Burgundy being staked by the one, and the duchy of Milan by the other, to be the prize of the victor. The third alternative was war,—a cruel one it would be, so cruel that the conqueror would have little profit. But the King of France left him no other issue, and he trusted it would continue till either he or the King of France were reduced to the state of the poorest gentleman in the country.

It is difficult to reconcile the idea which history gives of the sedate and reflective character of Charles the Fifth, with these bursts of passion and provocations to single combat, so unbefitting his position and his habits. But certainly the repeated breaches by Francis

* Lanz, tom. ii.; Charrière, Négociations dans le Levant.; Du Bellay.

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of his most serious engagements, and the reckless manner in which he re-asserted claims most solemnly abandoned, and renewed ambitious schemes, by resigning which he so frequently had procured liberation or peace, was sufficient to awaken passionate indignation in the breast least formed to harbour or to vent such passion. The imperial speech to the French envoys was of course a declaration of war; the rest passed for what it was, empty phraseology. In May the emperor and his armies were in Piedmont, and to the wordy war of negotiations and menaces, threatened to succeed the decision of arms.

Having determined to provoke the emperor by so glaring an act as the dispossession of his brother-in-law of Savoy, accompanied by the demand of Milan and Genoa in direct breach of the treaty of Cambray, it is incomprehensible that Francis should not have pushed forward his armaments, and displayed vigour equal to his provocation. It is indeed only to be explained by the effects of the malady which already paralysed his activity and undermined his health. He, on the contrary, recalled De Brion, disbanded a great portion of his troops, and left orders to defend the fortresses, but not the open country of Piedmont. The Spanish general De Leyva soon besieged Turin. The Marquis of Saluzzo, to whom the command of the French was entrusted, was at the time a claimant of the succession of Montferrat, which was in the gift of the emperor. He was a believer in astrological predictions, one of which foretold the discomfiture of the French, and Charles's ascendency. Instead, therefore, of putting the Piedmontese fortresses in a state of defence, he apparently hesitated between Cuneo and Fossano until the Spaniards, with whom he was in collusion, came before both. The French, not without difficulty, escaped with their artillery across the mountains.

When Charles himself arrived, Piedmont was to all appearance conquered; there remained to the French

but the fortresses of Turin. Scorning so small an emprise as the siege of that city, the emperor determined to march with his army into Provence, making himself master, if possible, of its seaports, to cut off Francis from communication with his ally Barbarossa, and have himself crowned at Aix, the capital of the once imperial province. The French court was aghast at this bold determination, for they had no troops wherewith to resist. Want of money, of order, or of resolution, had allowed the army to disband. The military system of the monarchy was such, that whilst the king was bound to pay his noblesse for their services beyond the frontier, they were bound to serve the monarch in defending national territory without pay. It was, in fact, this change from expensive foreign duty to obligatory home defences, that left the kingdom for the moment unarmed. To Montmorency was entrusted the task of withstanding the emperor. And he ruthlessly, but wisely, ordered all the country to be ravaged, and its towns dismantled and abandoned, save Marseilles and Arles. Such forces as could be collected, he ordered to assemble near Avignon, (treading under foot the papal sovereignty there,) in a camp at the confluence of the Rhone and the Durance. Six thousand Swiss, under Robert Stuart, of Aubigny, were the first who reached it.

Charles advanced from Nice in July, and occupied San Laurent, the first village of Provence, on the 25th of July, 1536. From thence he marched to Aix, traversing a country stripped of every resource, and unable to receive support from his fleet on account of the boisterous weather. From Aix Charles sent or proceeded to reconnoitre the only towns which the French had garrisoned, those of Arles and Marseilles, but found them both too strong to afford him hopes of reducing them by siege. Whilst wholesome provisions were scarce in his camp, fruit abounded, and gave rise to much sickness in the army; want of communication with the fleet deprived

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Charles of money which he expected from Spain, as well as provisions; he learned that the Counts of Rangone and Gonzaga had invaded the Genoese territories with 10,000 men, and compelled Andrew Doria to bring off his fleet from the coast of Provence to proceed thither. Charles in consequence came, on the 3rd of September, to the resolution to abandon his expedition and retreat. He recrossed the Var into Piedmont two months after he had crossed it, giving one more striking example of the utter inability of the military princes of that day to effect conquests in the dominions of each other. The ablest of the Spanish generals, De Leyva, died during the expedition. Garcilasso de la Vega, the most eminent of their lyric poets, was severely wounded in a skirmish, and expired at Nice.*

An army of imperialists, under the Count of Nassau, had at the same time invaded the northern provinces of France. It took Guise, and laid siege to Peronne.† Fleuranges and Dammartin commanded in the towns, and resisted with the utmost skill and courage. The siege lasted for a month; those within were at one time nearly reduced to surrender for want of ammunition and provisions, when the Duke of Guise succeeded in throwing into it a small reinforcement. Nassau drove a mine under the great tower of Peronne. Dammartin was directing the works of a counter-mine, when an explosion took place and buried him under the ruins. The imperialists immediately rushed to the assault, but could not succeed, and retired, leaving 300 lansquenets and twenty men-at-arms in the breach. The next day Nassau raised the siege.

* Charles has left an account of the expedition in the letter which he wrote to the Count of Nassau, on the 4th of September. Lanz, Correspondenz, tom. ii. p. 248; also Du Bellay, and Paul Giove. For Garcilasso, see Navarrete, tom. xvi.

† This remarkable siege is narrated at length in the Chronique de François Ier, pf. 150.

The king had not, however, triumphed over his enemies, but was still in trouble and suspense from the armies of the emperor, when tidings reached him that his eldest son, the dauphin, had fallen ill at Tournon, and, after four days' suffering, expired. Francis, on learning the sad event from the Cardinal of Lorraine, rose, and approaching a window, expressed in prayer his resignation:—"God had afflicted him," he said, "with diminution of power and reputation, and had now added the loss of his son: what remained but to deface him altogether?" The suddenness of the prince's death gave rise to the suspicion of poison, and one of the Italian servants being put to the torture, confessed, as usual, what was asked of him, viz., that he had been suborned by the imperial general to poison his master. The man was torn in quarters; but he had not long been dead when king, court, and public admitted the absurdity of the accusation and the innocence of the victim.

The diplomatic efforts of Francis were as unsuccessful as his military operations, for the great purpose of humbling his rival. His envoys concluded with the sultan a plan of operations, which, if followed, must have expelled the emperor from Italy. Solyman was to land in the kingdom of Naples with a formidable army, while Francis was to cross the Alps with another. The project was the most menacing one that ever assailed the popedom. Paul the Third, of the family of Farnese, who had succeeded Clement, had pursued a policy not unbefitting his high station, that of neutrality between the contending monarchs. His voice was unheard among the conflict of armies, but in the winter of 1536–7, he laboured, through the party at the French court which was favourable to the emperor and zealous for Catholicism*, at once to bring about a

* The Parisians were for the same reason opposed to the war with Charles. They instituted prayers, processions, and a jubilee

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peace and to defeat the project of the Turco-French alliance. These efforts so far won upon the French king, that he abandoned the project of co-operating in Italy with the Turk, which completely defeated their invasion, and turned his chief efforts towards the Low Countries. The campaign there, however, was limited to the capture and re-capture of the town of St. Pol, where the Archduchess Margaret, Gouvernante of the Low Countries, communicating with Queen Eleanora, managed to conclude a truce for ten months, that is till May, 1538. It was advantageous to the King of France, whom it enabled to revictual Turin. A truce of three months was also concluded for Italy; and the pope, delivered from the terror of any immediate invasion on the part of the Ottoman by the retreat of Barbarossa, laboured with might and main to bring about an accommodation. He succeeded in inducing the rival sovereigns not to meet, indeed, but to approach each other in the vicinity of Nice, the pontiff acting as mediator between them. (May 1538.)

Under his auspices was concluded a ten years' truce, the chief condition of which was, that each belligerent should preserve his position and his conquests. Francis contrived to retain the Bressan, as well as Chambery, Turin, and the protectorate of Mirandola. The House of Savoy, confined to the castle of Nice, seemed finally extinguished,—the natural result, indeed, it might appear, of a small power attempting to preserve independence between two great and unscrupulous potentates.†

Although the conference of Nice had terminated

to avert it. When the imperial armies invaded the northern provinces, the bishop, De Harlay, who was governor of the capital, augmented its fortifications, and destroyed the splendid gardens of the abbey of St. Denis for the purpose. But when he sought in addition to levy men and money, the Parisians mutinied, and clamoured before the bishop's palace. Chronique de François Ier; Bourgeois de Paris.

† Montmorency, however, told the Duke of Norfolk, in 1540, that

merely in a truce, both monarchs had made advances to a better understanding and a more permanent agreement. Francis had from the first declared, that he would never make peace without Milan. Charles had declared himself resigned to make this sacrifice, if it could be done without embarrassing Italy, and laying it open to French ambition. The uppermost idea with Charles at the time was a great expedition against the Turks, and he feared that, were he to instal Francis or his son in Milan, whilst he himself risked his person, his army, and his resources in a far expedition, the French would take advantage of it to overrun the peninsula. To guard against this, he proffered Milan to the Duke of Orleans, on his marriage with either his own or his brother's daughter, but he insisted on giving the duchy to his brother's keeping for at least three years. This mistrust Francis could not understand, and would not tolerate. Upon this the negotiations for peace were broken off, and those for a truce substituted.*

The sovereigns, however, agreed to meet later. Charles, in coasting towards Spain, approached Aigues-Mortes, and Francis, warned of it, not only hurried thither, but went on board the imperial galley. The meeting there, as well as afterwards at Aigues-Mortes, where the emperor landed, was most cordial, and it was soon understood betwixt them that Charles would cede Milan so as to satisfy Francis, and the latter aid the emperor, both in the Turkish war, and in his efforts to reduce the Protestants. The details were referred to Montmorency and the Cardinal of Lorraine for the French king, to Granvelle and Cobos for Charles.†

if the king got Savoy, he would not only abandon Milan, but give the Duke of Savoy, in exchange for his paternal dominions, the Bourbonnais, Auvergne, and Berry. State Papers, vol. viii.

* Relation of Tiepolo and Tommaseo. Documens Inédits.

† Letter of Charles to Queen Maria, from Aigues-Mortes, July 18th. Lanz, tom. ii.

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Between them it came to be agreed that the eldest son of Charles was to espouse Margaret, daughter of Francis, whose son, now Duke of Orleans by the death of the dauphin, should marry either Charles's daughter, the infanta, or the daughter of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and that Milan should be settled on the duke. Charles, in 1539, finally renewed this offer by M. De Brissac; and Francis expressed his full content and unalterable alliance with his former rival. This aspect of politics threw all the favour of the king into the hands of Montmorency, who had moreover so well deserved, by his successful generalship in Provence and in Piedmont, that Francis created him Constable, the office that had been held in abeyance since the defection of Bourbon.

The summer of 1539 was marked by the turbulence of the inhabitants of Ghent, the rich as well as the workmen, the former of whom were discontented at the loans extracted from them and unpaid; the poor at the oppressive salt tax, as well as the new excise on the sale of wine. The movement had a spice of Protestant sentiment in it also, the people complaining that the immense number of ecclesiastics within their walls were exempt from all these taxes, which fell the heavier on the rest of the community.* They expelled the officers of the emperor's sister, the Queen of Hungary, who was stadtholderin. She was unpopular, not only for these exactions, but from a general tendency to disrespect civil rights. Her predecessor, the Archduchess Margaret†, had treated the people of Brussels with similar severity, and deprived them of their privileges, with the sanction of Charles. And the people of Ghent now sent to Francis, who was ill at Compiègne, begging he would *avow* them, and offering to raise 50,000 men to fight under his banners against the emperor.

* G. Paradin, Histoire de son Tems.

† Gachart, Relation des Troubles de Gand.

The French king was then on too good terms with Charles to comply. And the latter, anxious to reach Ghent by a less circuitous route than Germany, or less precarious one than the ocean, asked permission to traverse France. The demand was not only acceded to, but the two French princes went to Bayonne to serve as hostages, if Charles required them. He replied, he would take them with him as companions. The emperor crossed the Pyrenees in October, was first entertained at Verteuil, the seat of the La Rochefoucaults, then at Lusignan and Chatellerault. Francis, though suffering from disease, then met, conducted, and feasted him in his new châteaux of Blois and Fontainebleau.* The emperor might have reached Ghent by a shorter route, for he took three months to traverse France, "hearing the word Milan continually dinned in his ears." That party in the court opposed to Charles assailed Francis with advice probably more jocular than serious. The court fool, who apparently belonged to it, observed that he had just set down Charles in his book as one of his own fraternity, for trusting himself to an old enemy. "Yet, if I let him pass freely?" demanded Francis. "Oh! then," rejoined the fool, "I shall write your name in my book in lieu of his." The Duchess d'Etampes, also an anti-imperialist, gave Francis the advice to retain the emperor. And Francis told Charles what she had said. "If it is good advice, follow it," said Charles, without displaying any anxiety on his countenance. But he soon after seized an opportunity to present the duchess with a very valuable diamond ring.

In Charles's conversations with Montmorency, if not with Francis, during his visit, he always expressed himself as determined and desirous to perform his promise, and though he made no mention of Milan, he

* For Charles's reception at Orleans and Paris, see Chronique de François Ier.

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certainly gave the French king reason to expect that the duchy would in a little time be made over to his son. It was not, however, as yet decided which of the Austrian princesses the Duke of Orleans was to marry, and Charles pleaded the necessity of consulting his brother Ferdinand, and his sister who ruled in the Low Countries, previous to coming to a decision. The monarchs took leave of each other at St. Quentin, with every sign of amity, and Charles reached his first frontier town, Mons, in the last days of January, 1540.

His first care was to pacify the turbulence of Ghent. Strange to say, the citizens of that town had made no preparations of defence, and although they had committed the serious act of offering their allegiance to the French king, they thought this a secret, and relied upon the emperor's doing justice to their complaints, rather than punishing their frowardness. They were sorely mistaken. Francis had shown Charles, in his passage through Paris, the letter of the people of Ghent, and their sovereign entered the city full of resentment. He changed the magistrates, seized and imprisoned those who had been most seditious, and caused five-and-twenty of them to be executed. In April he issued a decree, declaring that the people of Ghent had forfeited their privileges, and that the Count of Flanders, on the day of their first and solemn reception, should no longer swear to observe them. Their books he ordered to be burnt, the clock-tower to be taken down, the artillery to be carried off*, the large debt of the state to them, the non-payment of which had been the chief cause of their turbulence, to be cancelled. The annual contribution of 400,000 crowns to be augmented, and a large fine paid at once. The convent of St. Bavon was converted into a fortress, and the liberties of the people of Ghent apparently consigned to the tomb.†

* Papiers de Granvelle, tom. ii. Sentence against Ghent.

† Notwithstanding this harsh decision, Ghent, like other Flemish

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By the end of March the emperor had consulted the King of the Romans and the Queen of Hungary. Both of them corroborated his own previous views respecting the danger of ceding Milan to the French king. Charles has left a minute record of his intentions and his motives, in a kind of testamentary series of instructions for his son's guidance, in case aught might befall him in his journey.* His conviction was then strong, that Francis would never be contented with Milan, but would merely make it a stepping-stone to the acquisition of Naples, and the domination of the peninsula. It was necessary, however, in refusing Milan to Francis, to offer him something, not merely tantamount, but even more advantageous, and this Charles felt himself able to do, in pursuance of a scheme of partition, which certainly was the fairest and wisest, as well as the most profitable and honourable, both to Francis and to himself.

The idea of Charles was to connect Austria with Spain by the retention of Italy, which would be as a bridge to connect the two realms of the House of Austria, as well as a link between its princes, excluding the French altogether, but at the same time indemnifying them largely by the cession of the Burgundian possessions, including Franche Comté and the Low Countries, with Gueldres and Zutphen. These Charles offered to the Duke of Orleans as the dowry of the Infanta, and he proposed at the same time that the eldest son of King Ferdinand should marry the Princess Margaret of France, whilst his own son Philip should settle the disputed succession of Navarre by espousing its heiress Jeanne d'Albret.

towns, will hereafter be found endowed with the election of its own magistrates, and with large municipal rights. Such institutions were so deeply rooted, that Spanish and Austrian rulers were compelled to respect them. See Gachart, Documents sur la Belgique, tom. iii.

* Papiers de Granvelle, tom. ii. p. 549.

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There can be no doubt that Charles, although he broke his promise about Milan, considered that he offered far more than an equivalent, and there are few who would not be of this opinion. A clause, it is true, was inserted, that were the Duke of Orleans to die without heirs, the Low Countries were to relapse to the House of Austria. But the French monarch in possession, by one of the princes of his house, of Flanders and Brabant, countries which Charles parted with, in consequence of his inability to govern or control them from Germany or from Spain, must have maintained his power over them without any of the obstacles or difficulties which always prevented the permanent hold of Milan. A necessity, no doubt, awaited him, which was for the French kings to have respected the municipal rights and privileges of the Flemings. This was not arduous or impolitic. Never certainly was a more splendid or more advantageous offer made to the French crown.

Francis, however, to the emperor's astonishment, rejected the proffer as an injury. His predilections, his tastes, his pride, were all turned in the direction of Italy. He slighted the magnificent prospect of extending the kingdom of France to the Scheldt and the Rhine, and actually spurned an empire at his door for a visionary and untenable province on the other side of the Alps. The emperor, on learning his refusal, declared that he had gone to the very verge of the credible and the possible, by so large a concession. "Having gone so far as he did, he should hold himself acquitted before God, who would not abandon him, and more than acquitted before man." * The failure of this long-wrought scheme of negotiation, and the consequent rupture between the king and the emperor, were rendered more galling to the former by his total

* Report of De Selva. MSS. Fontanieu under the date of 1533; Bethune, 8588. It is copied into it should be 1539.

inability to proceed at once to war, and to take speedy vengeance. He was without allies, having slighted the Turk, offended England, broken with the Germans. He was equally without resources at home, his treasury empty, notwithstanding the large amount of tallage, of forced loans, and the unscrupulous modes which the crown had adopted for raising money.

Francis threw the blame upon his prime minister Montmorency, who had been the chief promoter of the imperial alliance, who had passed his word for the emperor's restoring Milan, and who on the failure of this promise, was obliged to withdraw from court, retaining, however, the dignity, and several of the functions of constable. Previous to his disgrace, his rival in the royal favour, the Admiral Brion Chabot, had been visited with stronger marks of displeasure. Both as admiral and as governor of Burgundy, he had been guilty of gross peculation, mulcting the fishermen of Normandy and the silk merchants of Lyons with equal rapacity, and, it is probable, holding unallowed communication with the Germans.* The friends of Montmorency, and especially the Chancellor Paget, were active and instrumental in collecting proofs against Chabot. But after his condemnation and exile, and large restitution of money, Madame D'Etampes succeeded in obtaining for him an interview with Francis, who pardoned his old friend.

Whilst these punishments and degradations of men in power are attributed by contemporary writers to female influence, it is manifest that the king was actuated by fear and disapproval of the great powers, which his ministers not only assumed themselves, but granted to their subordinates. To remedy this, he

* A letter of Guise to Montmorency, written January 1541, accuses the admiral of being in communication with M. De Rycz, and states that he had 500 pieces of silk in a chamber at Dijon, sufficient to make him most *gorgias*. MSS. Bethune, 8600. For *arrêt* and condemnation of Chabot, see MS. Bethune, 8521.

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issued a series of orders and ordonnances, revoking the unlimited authority granted by Montmorency to the governors of provinces. He also issued stricter regulations respecting the military force, the commanders of which he enjoined to reside with their corps, and he gave leave of absence to not more than one third. Subsequently the power of the chancellor was also limited, and a Council of Finance was appointed in February, 1542.*

Francis was less the tool of any minister for the remainder of his reign. The disgrace of the Chancellor Poyet followed that of Montmorency and Chabot. He was the principal agent in the condemnation and ruin of Chabot; he incurred thereby the enmity of Madame d'Etampes, and he had no sooner accomplished their ruin than he was himself arraigned in his turn, tried and condemned in the same manner, to the loss of his position and the confiscation of his fortune. The Cardinal de Tournon, who had probably plotted against all, succeeded to the principal share of the king's favour, an ecclesiastic thus filling the first place at court, previously occupied by soldiers and gallants.† Annebaut was chiefly trusted in military administration. The Guises, too, and the family of Lorraine, also grew in power and continued in close connection with Montmorency. But Francis kept a jealous eye upon this imperialist and ultra-Catholic party, which had already secured the confidence and favour of the heir-apparent, Henry, and of Diana of Poitiers, the widow of the Seneschal of Normandy, who exercised most influence over him. The Duchess d'Etampes, wielding similar influence over the king, exerted herself to resist the Guises, the dau-

* MS. Fontanieu, p. 252-3.

† French historians of that day and since consider the Cardinal de Tournon as belonging to the Montmorency faction, and as the great promoter of persecution. Marguerite of Alençon, however, describes De Tournon as one of the enlightened ecclesiastics of the day, and reckons him amongst her friends. See State Papers, vol. ix., Paget's letters of Feb. and Aug. 1542.

phin, and Diana, and she found little difficulty in the task, as long as Francis remained in hostilities with the emperor. But in every interval of reconciliation that faction regained power, and made use of it to burn heretics, and to alienate the king from the English monarch and the German Protestants.

Both confirmed Francis more and more in his principles of absolutism, which became so unquestioned that all difference seemed likely to disappear between the French and the Turkish system of monarchy. The personal favour of king or sultan was the only path to honour and to power, and when a minister attained it, his intimacy with the sovereign was of the closest. Solyman and his vizier, Ibrahim, shared the same couch at night; Montmorency slept in the apartment of Francis. It is precisely this kind of personal favour which is most likely to be interrupted by pique, and turned into aversion. Solyman cut off Ibrahim's head, and Francis not only ruined Chabot, but tried to have him condemned to death. Whenever a French or Turkish minister died, or was destroyed, monarch and sultan alike seized his property and shared the spoils. Francis seized all the ready money left by De Boissy, the guardian of his youth, and the minister of his early reign. He did the same by Duprat. The French monarch, like the Turkish, considered the property of his subjects his own, and he found a chancellor to confirm him in the idea.

Could Francis have retained the friendship of the English king, and at the same time the confidence of the German Protestants, Charles would not have been persuaded to disappoint and provoke him. But Francis had shown contempt for Henry the Eighth*, which,

* Henry VIII., in 1537, proposed to marry the emperor's niece, widow of Duke Sforza. Charles said it could not be done without a papal dispensation, which, of course, Henry could not ask. The English monarch was wont to menace the French envoy at his court with this

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indeed, that monarch, engaged in decapitating his wives and friends, but too well deserved; nor, in fact, could Henry's alliance be preserved, but at the expense of a rupture with Rome, and of the payment of the large pension stipulated.

The German Protestants, in this memorable year of 1541, were lulled by an appearance of moderation and an advance to compromise on the part of the pope. The pontiff proclaimed reform, took Sadolet for his counsellor, sent Contarini, a most moderate man, to Germany: and, indeed, had Francis remained in the sentiments predicated of him by Du Bellay, and had he exerted himself to bring about the concessions to which Catholics and Lutherans were making advances, it might have succeeded. But Francis never looked to anything like a principle; he coveted Milan, hated the emperor, and would not admit a higher motive in his mind. His only ally was the Turk. Rincon, the Spanish refugee, who was continually passing between Constantinople, Venice, and Paris, returned from the first of these cities in 1541, with the welcome tidings to Francis, that he had overcome the disgust of Solyman at the French king's interview and alliance with the emperor, and that the Turk was again prepared to co-operate with France. Rincon was forthwith sent back to conclude a positive engagement, when, in sailing down the Po to Venice, he and his brother envoy were set upon by armed boats, killed, and flung into the river. They had sent their despatches by another route. Du Bellay, who commanded for the king in Piedmont, managed to procure proof that it was the Marquis Del Guasto, Governor of the Milanese, who

alliance, adding that the Princess Mary was at the same time to espouse the Prince of Portugal and have Milan as an appanage. On the emperor's refusal Henry made overtures to the French. The French and imperial ambassadors at the English court communicated their conversations to each other, and were wont to indulge in copious laughter at the king's expense.

had ordered this outrage; and these proofs being forwarded to Francis, gave him the justest cause of war. The emperor himself must have highly disapproved of the act, for being at the moment in preparation for the expedition against Algiers, his last thought would have been to have given such provocation to France. His lieutenant, however, certainly commanded this act. Francis was unprepared for a great military expedition: but fortune and the elements favoured him in defeating the great armament which Charles sent against Algiers. Shattered and discomfited, the imperial fleet returned to the ports of Spain from the unsuccessful expedition, towards the close of 1541.

The destruction of the emperor's fleet and army encouraged the French king to commence hostilities, for which he had amassed considerable sums, and a large number and variety of troops. Contrary to his usual custom, he did not fling these beyond the Alps, but, leaving Langey to defend Piedmont with a small force, he divided his army, sent 20,000, under his younger son and the Duke of Guise, to invade Luxemburg, whilst a much larger body, under the Dauphin and Marshal Annebaut, was despatched to the conquest of Roussillon. The northern expedition was undertaken in order to succour and strengthen the Duke of Cleves, who had become an ardent partisan of France, and at the same time of the reformed religion. The French king had betrothed to him his niece, Jeanne d'Albret, the heiress of Navarre, destined previously to the heir of the Spanish throne. The Duke of Cleves had seized Gueldres, raised 12,000 soldiers, and at their head had defeated the imperial troops of the Low Countries. He was thus an important ally for Francis to support and secure.* And in order to be in full communication with him, the French army, muster-

* Navagero. Relazione Venete, vol. i., Florence.

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ing near Verdun in June, and joined by the Duke of Cleves, as well as by 12,000 lansquenets under Count Mansfeld, soon reduced Luxemburg, and every town in the duchy save Thionville. The Duke of Orleans having thus accomplished his task to his own satisfaction, and wearied with sieges, resolved to betake himself to the king and the army of the south, where a great battle was expected. He dismissed the greater number of his lansquenets, leaving the diminished army to the Duke of Guise. No sooner had the French departed, than the imperialists reappeared, and threatened Luxemburg, which Guise was not able to defend. It was then that the Duke of Orleans made a singular and remarkable appeal to the German Protestants, assuring them that he, the duke, had the greatest desire to see the Holy Gospel preached in France. Fears of his father and brother alone prevented him favouring the Reformed religion in the Duchy of Orleans; in the Duchy of Luxemburg, he was ready to proclaim and support it if the Smalcaldic league would help him to retain it.* Such late protestations of zeal had not the effect of arousing either the Elector of Saxony or the Landgrave of Hesse, to the defence of Cleves, or Luxemburg, and the French were completely driven out of their conquests.

In Roussillon the military operations of Francis were attended with no better results. He had been induced to invade the province by the representations of De Ventadour, Governor of Languedoc, who depicted Roussillon as wasted by pestilence, and unable to muster a hundred horse. Perpignan, he said, was garrisoned by only fifty men, and commanded by one who had never fired a gun. Ventadour boasted of having

* Instructions of Duke of Orleans to his secretary, Maillet, published from the Archives of Simancas, in the *Anhang* or additions to Lanz's 2nd volume. Correspondance de Charles V., p. 644.

bought several of the Spanish chiefs.* Such hopes proved fallacious, Perpignan was not unprepared for defence. The dauphin and Marshal Annebaut sate down before it, and soon found the sandy soil unfavourable for intrenchments, whilst the besieged made frequent sallies, and dragged the guns of the enemy into the ditches. As soon as the autumnal rains set in, the valley round Perpignan was always inundated with the torrents from the mountains. Warned of this, the French raised the siege, and retreated in the first days of October, fortunately for them, for the inundations succeeded almost immediately.

The mercenary army, which had failed to take Perpignan, was turned by Francis to the task of reducing to obedience the inhabitants of the coast. During the years 1541 and 1542, the financial authorities had ordained a very great augmentation of the salt duties. Hitherto this necessary of life had paid but little in the marts and ports of the west, where it was made. The duties on it were principally levied in the great towns in the interior, where it was distributed and sold. This arrangement led to considerable frauds and peculation, to prevent which Francis issued an ordonnance, that the duty on salt (upwards of one-fourth of the value) should be paid by the sender at the place of production.† This was most inconvenient and unjust, and compelled the people of La Rochelle, the principal port, to advance all the duty. It was also ruinous to the fisheries and export trade of the port, previously exempt from the gabelle.‡ The Rochellois displaying turbulence and disaffection, in consequence of this grievance, the governor of the province changed their magistrates, hitherto elective, and complained to the king. Francis sent the Sieur de Tavannes with a com-

* Ventadour's letters to the king, January 1542. MSS. Bethune, 8585.

† Fontanon. Édits et Ordonnances, livre iii. du 2e tome.

‡ Bouchet. Annales d'Aquitaine.

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pany of the regiment of the Duke of Orleans. The citizens, accustomed to keep ward and watch themselves, refused to receive these soldiers *en masse*, but did not prevent them entering one by one. They thus got possession of the town and disarmed it.* The king arrived soon after with an army of lansquenets. The citizens of La Rochelle went to supplicate him with all humility. Francis caused a kind of amphitheatre to be prepared, where, on the last day of 1542, he received the delegates of La Rochelle. He was evidently anxious to make his conduct contrast with the severity of his rival Charles at Ghent. Instead, therefore, of a severe sentence, Francis said, he saw them once more, pardoned them *de bon cœur*, and wishing to gain their hearts, gave them his faith as a gentleman that he extended to them his pardon, restoring the liberty of electing magistrates, of guarding and garrisoning their town.† In the May following, the king promulgated an ordonnance from St. Germain, considerably modifying the severity of the ordonnance of the previous year.‡ By this decree the duty was diminished, facilities given for the payment of the duty, and for sending salt into the interior with power of payment there. Salt for export, used by fishers, or bought by foreigners, was exempt. And the Bretons were allowed to supply the provinces at a far inferior rate of duty.

Notwithstanding some coquetting between the courts of France and England during 1542, the next year saw Henry in alliance with the emperor for the invasion of France. The Queen of Navarre exerted herself to make peace between her brother and England §,

* Mémoires de Tavannes. The English agent writes, that whilst salt used to be sold at 5 or 6 sous the quintal, Francis's edicts went to raise the price to 20 sous. State Papers, vol. vii. December 1542.

† Chronique de François Ier, the MS. of which abruptly terminates with its account of the salt dispute.

‡ Fontanon.

§ See State Papers, vols. vii. and viii. passim. Especially the Queen of Navarre's conversations with Paget in February 1542.

but the party of Guise and Lorraine, connected with the royal family of Scotland by marriage, induced the king to support that country against Henry. Whilst Francis thus provoked the English king, the emperor tried once more to conciliate him, and Henry satisfied Charles by causing an act of parliament to be passed, declaring his daughter Mary legitimate. The first fruits of the Anglo-imperialist alliance was a summons, on the part of both sovereigns, to the French king to abandon Turkish co-operation. Francis refused to listen to what was meant as an insult, and 6000 English, towards the close of the year, joined the imperial armies before Landrecies. The town had been newly fortified by the French, and whilst Charles besieged it with a large army, Francis approached with one no less numerous; but instead of fighting a battle, the French monarch contented himself with revictualling the town. The emperor, however, enjoyed the satisfaction of completely crushing the Duke of Cleves and forcing him to submission.*

More disgraceful and damaging to the European reputation of Francis than any defeat, was his naval co-operation with the Turks. Barbarossa arrived off Marseilles in July. The historians hostile to the French say, that he set up for sale in the markets of that town the captives whom he had taken from the coast of Italy. He found a French fleet badly equipped, and no army ready to co-operate with him, save such Provençals as could be hastily enlisted. Francis and his generals were ashamed. They proposed a joint attack upon Nice, the Duke of Savoy thus finding himself assailed

* Numerous letters from Francis to the Duke of Guise, who commanded in Champagne, attest some anxiety to support the Duke of Cleves; but the want of money paralysed his intentions. Fontanieu, p. 252–253.

Navagero gives it as his own opinion, and that of all military men, that Charles threw away a noble chance of victory offered him at Landrecies. Relazione Venete, vol. i.

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in his last possession by the united force of Turkey and of France. The latter was so ill provided, that they were obliged to borrow or purchase projectiles from the Turk. A combined attack upon Nice terminated in the possession of the town, useless without the reduction of the castle, which still held out. And the Turks carried away a very mean opinion of their Christian allies.* The season being advanced, and the town of Nice burned by the Turks, Francis assigned them Toulon for their winter quarters, compelling for that purpose the inhabitants to give up their houses.†

This sojourning of the infidel in the port of France after a combined attack upon the last refuge of a Christian prince, raised against Francis the disgust of united Europe. The Germans held a diet at Spires, in which the Duke of Savoy denounced his enemies. Charles increased the German horror at the unprincipled policy of the French king, by communicating to them the offers of Francis in 1540 to aid him in crushing the Lutheran princes. And although an exculpatory letter was given in by the French envoy, reminding the Diet of the offer of Francis to pay 30,000 German soldiers to war upon the Turk, there was but one cry against his treachery and baseness, as well as against the cruelty he displayed in burning his unfortunate subjects for questioning the authority of the pope or the sanctity of the Mass, whilst his own generals were leading Mohammedans to the massacre of Christians. Francis deserved as he had provoked the coalition of Europe against him. And yet no portion of his reign attracts and demands more admiration than this year,

* "The Turks," says Montluc, "displayed a strong contempt for our people, and I think that with equal forces on both sides they would beat us. They are more robust, patient and obedient than we; not more brave, but they have the great advantage of thinking of nothing save war."

† This fact was long questioned; but the letters of Francis and of his minister enjoining it, have been recently published.

in which he defied and repelled the united forces of every power around him.

Fortune enabled him to begin the campaign with a victory. From the very beginning of the war Francis had strangely neglected Italy. He gave Du Bellay neither sufficient force nor funds to provide for its defence, merely bidding him keep the towns. Marshal Annebaut, escaping from it in 1543, was well nigh lost on the Mont Cenis. At the commencement of 1543, Francis gave the command in Piedmont to the young Count d'Enghien, with "seven companies of Swiss and as many standards of Provençals or Italians."* The imperial general, Del Guasto, had also been reinforced, and was determined to attack. But the Count d'Enghien had orders not to risk an engagement. He despatched Montluc to Paris to be freed from this restriction. There are few more graphic pages, even in French memoirs, than those in which Montluc recounts his being called before the king and council to repeat and defend his opinions. The Count of St. Pol strongly deprecated the adventuring a battle in Piedmont. The regiments of Swiss and Gascons there formed the only infantry on which the king could depend. If they were destroyed or beaten, there would be nothing left to defend Champagne and Picardy against the King of England and the emperor but the undisciplined legionaries. Montluc, admitting that the army in Piedmont was composed of the best troops, gave that as a reason for fighting. He had a complete confidence in victory, and expressed this with such energy, especially when he saw himself encouraged by the nods of the dauphin, that the king was won, and, despite of St. Pol, gave his

* Commentaires de Montluc. There were already in Piedmont six companies of Swiss. Each of these companies or *enseignes* compised about 1000 men. Besides the Provençals, there were ten companies of French Swiss, called Grueriens, 600 horse. Such was the force at Cerisolles.

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permission for the army to fight. Montluc hurried back, and hundreds of young nobles with or after him, to be present at the engagement.

The French army held Carignan besieged. The immediate object of the Marquis del Guasto, the imperial commander, was to relieve and occupy this town, from which he could menace Turin. The French occupied Carmagnola, in order to defeat this aim. The Count d'Enghien, who had just received the royal permission to engage, and who was in haste to bring on an action before the Swiss and German foot became aware that he had insufficient money to pay them, sallied forth from Carmagnola, on Easter-day, 1544. Both armies came in sight of each other too late to engage on that day, the imperialists retiring from the right to Cerisolles, and the French to Carmagnola. Both, however, were in motion, at an early hour, to march to the encounter, and it was little more than day-break when the French perceived their enemies posted in three divisions upon the heights north of Cerisolles.

The right division of the imperialists consisted of 10,000 Italian soldiers, under the Prince of Salerno, the centre of as many German lansquenets, whilst on the left were the old Spanish and German veterans, commanded by Cardona. By the side of each body of infantry were posted some seven or eight hundred horse. The Comte d'Enghien adopted the same arrangement as his antagonist. Opposite the Spaniards he posted the infantry of the French, the Swiss in the centre to face the lansquenets, on the left the Italians and Gruers*, he himself with his heavy cavalry remaining between them and the centre.

The morning was spent in skirmishing and cannonade, after three hours of which the German lansquenets rushed forward to the attack and made

* Called so from the court and county of Gruyère, in Switzerland.

themselves masters of the artillery. D'Enghien was for a time engaged in keeping firm the Gruers and Italians, who were panic-stricken by the fury of the lansquenets. But the French and Swiss infantry, their front ranks formed of pikemen and arquebusiers mingled, manfully resisted them. D'Enghien, too, charged with his heavy cavalry right through their phalanx, and charged back again, having lost in these manœuvres the greater part of his friends and soldiers. He was, with not more than a hundred horse, completely deserted by the Gruers and Italians, who had taken to flight, the rest of the battle-field hidden from him by a rising ground. His impression was that the lansquenets were victorious and the battle lost; so much so that the young general is said to have twice raised his sword to his gorgeret to put an end to his existence. An officer galloped up opportunely with the tidings that the firmness of the French and Swiss in front, with the charges of the cavalry in flank, had completely broken the lansquenets and put them to the rout. The victory was complete. The Marquis del Guasto fled precipitately from the field, leaving the Spanish division to its fate. It attempted to withdraw in good order and with firm countenance, but, surrounded and overwhelmed, the greater portion perished, Cardona, its commander, remaining a prisoner. The French took sixteen pieces of artillery, ten thousand crowns' worth of powder, and four thousand pairs of fetters, with which Del Guasto had provided himself to secure his prisoners.*

However brilliant the victory of Cerisolles, it merely enabled D'Enghien to capture a few towns. He could not even pay the Swiss, who had gained the battle.

* Du Bellay, Montluc, Vieilleville, Paradin. Account by an eye-witness addressed to the Constable from the field. Pièces Fugitives de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1759, 4to. This account of the battle says "the horses were up to their knees in blood."

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The king could spare no money, and could not even leave him the Gascon infantry, too sorely needed at home. Instead, therefore, of the victory of Cerisolles leading to the reconquest of Milan, it barely preserved Turin, and left the relative strength of the contending parties in Italy as equal as they were before.

Francis wanted, indeed, all his troops in the north; for never did more menacing invasion burst upon him from that quarter. The Germans, one and all, Protestants and Catholics, had come forward to swell the army which was to chastise the ally of the Turk; and the emperor, with 40,000 combatants, after retaking Luxemburg, and reducing Commercy, passed the Meuse, and laid siege to St. Dizier early in July 1544. He had also despatched 14,000 men to join Henry the Eighth, 30,000 of whose soldiers landed in Calais under the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. It had been agreed between king and emperor, that both armies should march straight on Paris, avoiding sieges and delays, and had Henry executed the preconcerted plan, the campaign might have proved disastrous to Francis, who had no force capable of withstanding the combined armies. But the troops of Henry had no sooner landed than, with the usual fickleness and irresolution of this monarch, he gave up the onward march and laid siege simultaneously to Boulogne and Montreuil. The French commander, unable to defend both, had concentrated his force at Montreuil, and Boulogne surrendered to Henry, who made his entrance into it on the 14th of July, and turned out the entire population.* He commanded that "Our Lady Church of Bullen should be defaced and plucked down, where he appointed a mound to be made for the greater force and strength of the town."†

Montreuil still held out, and employed the English

* Paradin says that all, even the ladies, were plundered. † Hall.

troops, whilst St. Dizier at the same time resisted the efforts of the imperialists for five weeks.* Francis collected his forces, including those recalled from Piedmont, at Chalons, limiting his efforts to defend the course of the Marne. When St. Dizier at last surrendered, the emperor feared to march on Paris, unsupported by Henry. His army was in truth by no means so formidable as supposed. It consisted of not more than 30,000 Germans, and scarcely any cavalry, without money to pay them or purchase provisions, which occasioned the delay at St. Dizier, and the town was only reduced by the forging of an order in the hand-writing and with the seal of the Duke of Guise.† Charles was indignant at this selfishness, or supineness, of the English, and whilst sending to summon them to perform what had been agreed, he received through a monk certain propositions from Francis, which led to conferences, but no conclusion.‡ The emperor continued his march along the right bank of the Marne, approached Chalons, without attacking it, and finding the bridge at Epernay unbroken, passed over it, and appeared at Château-Thierry, where he opportunely seized "large stores of provisions." §

Paris was in alarm at the approach of the imperialists, an alarm increased by the orders of the king to have all the cattle brought from the fields around into the city, as his intention was to burn the farm-houses, lest they should shelter the enemy.‖ The

* Owing, writes Wotton, to the imperialists having no gun-stones, or cannon-balls. State Papers, vol. x.

† Navagero, the Venetian Envoy, accompanied the expedition, and has left an account of it. Relazione Venete, vol. i. serie i. See also Bouillé, Hist. des Guises, tom. i.

‡ In July the Duke of Orleans also made overtures through the Bailli of Dijon. He was as much in favour of peace as the Dauphin was averse to it. State Papers, vol. x.

§ Catholic writers, as eager to inculpate the Duchess of Etampes, as Protestant writers are to calumniate Diana of Poitiers, accuse the former of betraying to the emperor all the marches and designs of the king's army.

‖ Régistres de l'Hôtel de Ville. Fontanieu, 254—255.

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population, panic-stricken, embarked with their effects in boats upon the Seine, where many perished.* Francis hurried from his sick bed at Fontainebleau to restore some confidence to his affrighted capital, acquainting the citizens that the dauphin with his army was at Meaux, and that there was no fear of a nearer approach of the imperialists. Francis, however, did not lose the opportunity of coining the fears of the Parisians, levying a heavy contribution from them. Charles withdrew northwards from Château-Thierry to Soissons. Instead of receiving co-operation from Henry, that prince he knew was already in negotiation with the French king, and Du Bellay had been despatched to Boulogne, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation.† The emperor, therefore, listened to the proposals which the French made also to him, whilst continuing his retreat towards St. Quentin and his own frontier. Tidings of the loss of Boulogne, which surrendered to Henry on the 14th of September, rendered Francis more eager to conclude a peace with the emperor, ere he learned that event. And the treaty was accordingly signed at Crespy on the 18th of September, 1544.

The terms were of the same nature, suspended by the same alternatives, and marked by the same incertitude as the accords of Nice and Aigues Mortes. Conquests were to be restored on either side as had been agreed on at the truce of ten years. And the youngest son of Francis was to marry either the daughter of Charles, or that of his brother Ferdinand. In the former case he was to have the Low Countries, and the inheritance of the House of Burgundy—Francis becoming reconciled to what he formerly spurned;—if the latter princess, he was to have Milan; and in either

* G. Paradin.

† Granvelle and Charles both assert (Granvelle Papers, tom. iii. pp. 28, 72), that the King of England first entered into negotiations with the French. But this is doubtful. See Correspondence in State Papers, vol. x.

case a largely increased appanage from her father. Four months were allowed Charles to decide upon the alternative of the marriages. Francis was to give up Savoy, renounce his claim to Naples, his suzerainty over Flanders and Artois, and stipulate, as at Aigues Mortes and Nice, to aid Charles against both Turk and Lutheran.

The Peace of Crespy, however imposed by necessity on either party, created great dissatisfaction in both courts. Granvelle was obliged to defend himself for having signed it. The dauphin and his friends were indignant, not so much at the concessions made to the emperor, as at the aggrandisement of the Duke of Orleans. Everything was sacrificed to his greatness. In this they saw the weakness of Francis and the influence of the Duchess of Etampes, who being detested by the heir to the crown, sought to create for herself a future support in the Duke of Orleans. The dauphin carried his resentment so far as to sign a written protest against the treaty, and to declare that he "would cease to observe it as soon as he was freed from paternal authority."* This circumstance, and the feud from which it sprang, becoming known to the emperor, greatly increased his subsequent reluctance to execute either condition of the treaty.† Francis was in sinking health, and Charles feared that his concession to the younger of the French princes, instead of securing peace, would, on the contrary, provoke the anger and hostility of the future king.

As soon as the peace was concluded, Francis despatched the dauphin with his army, reinforced by no small number of the lansquenets whom Charles had dis-

* Ribier, Lettres et Mémoires.

† The Spanish nobles strongly dissuaded the emperor from giving his daughter to the Duke of Orleans. The Viceroy of Naples and the family of Este protested against his giving up Milan, whilst Henry VIII. represented the danger of ceding the Low Countries to France. State Papers, vol. x. p. 154.

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missed, to fall upon the English.* Henry, however, was informed sufficiently early to withdraw the Duke of Norfolk from before Montreuil; and throwing a strong garrison into Boulogne, he took his own departure for Calais and England. The dauphin taking post at Marquise, ordered 12,000 men to throw themselves, before daylight, into the space between the high and low towns of Boulogne, directing 10,000 Gascons, whom he also had with him, to take post in a valley behind, and support them at need. The English garrison of the low town was overwhelmed by this force; so entirely so, that the victors dispersed to plunder. In the midst of this disorder the English sallied from the high town, came upon them, and put them completely to the rout.† Fouquerolle, who commanded the French, was killed, and Thais severely wounded by several arrows. A like attempt to surprise Portel was also defeated by the English, so that all endeavours to recapture Boulogne proved fruitless.

Francis could not rest contented with so gross an affront as the loss of Boulogne. The winter was spent in preparations against the English. One would think that in this single-handed war the French king might have trusted to French levies. But in addition to 10,000 Gascons, he sent to raise a similar number of German lansquenets. The Mediterranean fleet of twenty-five galleys‡ was ordered to proceed through the Straits of Gibraltar, to join what vessels were already at the mouth of the Seine, and eight or ten Genoese carracks took the same route. At the commencement of July, 1545, there were collected before Havre-de-

* The English king refused to be a party to the treaty, unless he were given the county of Ponthieu. State Papers, vol. x. p. 154. Francis insisted on the Scotch being included in the treaty. If they were excluded he sought to reserve the right of aiding them. Instruction to Bellay.

† Mémoire de Montlui.

‡ The passage of vessels of war from the French ports in the Mediterranean to those in the Channel was first achieved by a French captain in 1512.

Grâce a fleet of twenty-five galleys, not counting the Genoese, sixty *flouins*, and one hundred and fifty large transports.* The latter were to have carried 18,000 soldiers, but they were but half the number, says Cavalli, owing to the usual robbery of ministers. It set sail, and reached the point of St. Helens on the 18th, from whence it perceived the English fleet of sixty sail come out of Portsmouth harbour to the encounter. There ensued a cannonade between the foremost vessels, but the English remaining under their batteries, the French would not advance to a close attack. Already, indeed, they had lost two of their best vessels, including that of the admiral, but the English met a similar misfortune in the loss of the "Mary Rose," which went down in consequence of the water rushing through the open port-holes. Although the English, being as yet fewer in number, would not come forth to an encounter in open sea, their galleys fearlessly penetrated among the French vessels, fired into the poops where they had no guns, and then escaped by their superior agility.

To recompense for their small success at sea, the French landed in the Isle of Wight, and dispersed at first whatever enemies sought to resist them. But having ventured to the top of the hills which traverse the island, they were vigorously assailed, and obliged to fly to their ships. The expediency was then mooted in the council of building forts and holding possession of at least one of the small ports of the island. The naval commanders were opposed to such a project, and the fleet returned to the French coast, landing the soldiers, whom they had on board, to the number of 7000, at Portel, to aid in the siege of Boulogne. The English fleet, being reinforced, followed, some skirmishing ensued, but no engagement, the English taking revenge

* Du Bellay.

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for the landing on the Isle of Wight by committing similar ravages at Treport.

Some 3000 men despatched to Scotland did no better service than those directed to the Isle of Wight. But Francis concentrated his efforts against Boulogne, having a camp at Mont Lambert, and forts at Outreau and Portel. The soldiers who had landed from his fleet not being sufficient for the siege, Francis came himself, took up his quarters at the Abbey of Forêt Moutier, near Rue, and summoned the ban and arrière-ban of Picardy to do service before Boulogne. Instead of serving, as bound, on horseback, they were bidden to come on foot. The Picards obeyed, made no impression upon the English, and dispersed when the days of their feudal engagement had elapsed, mortifying Francis by rendering manifest his inability to recapture Boulogne. Whilst engaged in the siege, the monarch was still more affected by the death of his second and best beloved son, of a short illness, on the 8th of September (1545). The usual cry of poison was raised, but Cavalli declares "the prince was consumptive and worn out." The grief of Francis was poignant, yet he would not allow the court to wear mourning.

On the marriage of the Duke of Orleans with the daughter or niece of the emperor hung the principal provisions of the Treaty of Crespy. Admiral Annebaut and the Chancellor Olivier were despatched to demand a new arrangement, equivalent to that stipulated in favour of the deceased prince, and, amongst other conditions, proposed the marriage of the Prince of Spain with the Princess Margaret of France. Charles was at Bruges, busied in collecting money from the Flemings for his great enterprise against the German Protestants, and in no humour to gratify Francis by the cession of either Milan or the Low Countries. Francis had promised to procure from the Sultan a truce with Germany and King Ferdinand, — a promise which

he seemed neither sincere nor zealous to accomplish; and Charles, to all demands for a fresh treaty, replied by asking the French to restore Hesdin and evacuate Savoy. He, moreover, coolly added, that if the French would not renew the war, he certainly on his part should not. Whilst thus making light of the French alliance, Charles was equally indifferent about that of England. He had probably come at last to the conviction that these repeated alliances were but traps to deceive, and being concluded without sincerity or purpose, caused more embarrassment than they gave strength. Francis, accordingly, disgusted with the emperor, and resolving once more to resume his old projects of hostility, made more urgent overtures to Henry for peace. What the English monarch seemed most desirous to obtain was money. He had spent a large amount in the triumphant effort to keep Boulogne,—more, indeed, it was alleged in the course of these negotiations, than would have sufficed to buy all the land between that town and Amiens.* Moreover, seeing Charles bent upon crushing the Lutherans, he feared lest similar fanaticism might be directed against himself. He therefore consented to restore Boulogne in eight years, on the payment of 2,000,000 of crowns, besides the yearly pension of 10,000, and the liquidation by arbiter of a debt of 500,000 claimed by Henry in 1529.† The Scotch were included in the treaty, but Francis promised to support the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the heiress of the Scottish throne.‡ On such terms was peace between England and France concluded.

Henry the Eighth survived the accord but eight months, Francis ten, both entertaining the project, and the French king even making military preparations, to oppose the emperor's designs in Germany. In their

* Observation of B. of Winchester, MSS. Bethune, 8472.

† Rymer.

‡ MSS. Bethune, 8472.

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days of vigour, such purposes were not followed by much results. In the closing months of their reign, the flashes of their resentment were but idle flame. Charles, though deserted by the pope, succeeded in crushing the Lutherans, defeating them in battles, and making their chiefs his prisoners. If the success of the Reformation depended on the support or fortune of princes, as M. Mignet seems to assert, that movement would have been crushed in its birth-place. But it was not to be so. Such a cause, however menaced or depressed, soon found or formed a champion; and the mighty emperor, who threatened to absorb France as well as Germany, fled before the arms of a petty prince, whose importance he had himself created.

It is as astonishing to the readers of history as it was mortifying to the monarchs of this period, to find that, after all their gigantic designs and magniloquent defiance, the armaments and expenditure with which they crushed their people, the liberties which they sacrificed, and the blood which they spilt, on field or scaffold, the frontier of each empire remained much the same at their death that it had been at their accession. Their wars for aggrandisement and national gain proved idle, whilst those which they both waged with ideas were equally futile. Protestantism spread and established itself in Germany, despite of the emperor and even of his victories, whilst its slow progress in France was much more owing to social obstructions than to the enmity of the king.

That war led to no great change or results must have been owing mainly to the infancy of arms, and the great defects of military organisation; also, perhaps, to each excelling in that which his adversary wanted. The French were superior in their mounted gentry, their gens-d'armes, who won the battles of Marignano and Cerisolles against the more formidable infantry of Swiss and German lansquenets. On the other hand,

the Spanish as well as German infantry were far superior to the French. And could Charles have been able to recruit his Spanish bands, the late wars might have been more successful. But, as Navagero informs us*, the discovery of America opened such tempting prospects to the soldier and adventurer of Spain, that Charles could not raise above 3000 of them, notwithstanding his utmost efforts. In his later campaigns Francis was even less successful. The French legionaries were necessarily a failure, since, instead of keeping them in their regiments, he dispersed them, in time of peace, through farms and provinces. The Swiss would no longer serve: the lansquenets could not be expected to be zealous for France; and hence the necessity of hurrying home the few regiments of infantry that had fought at Cerisolles, to protect the frontiers of the north. Owing to the same cause, all the efforts of Francis, in 1544, to retake Boulogne, failed, and he was compelled to call upon the gentry of Picardy to do service on foot, to which they were unaccustomed, and by which they felt humiliated. With his 3000 lances†, and 50,000 legionaries, Francis was unable, in his late campaigns, to muster an army without having recourse to the old feudal levy of *ban and arrière-ban.*

The correspondence of both sovereigns and of their ministers teems with the most incredible proofs of their poverty. Expeditions that cannot sail, and armies that cannot be brought into action because they are not paid, are events of every day. Resources, scraped together, and amassed with several years of care, disappear in one, or at most in two campaigns‡, and

* Relazione Venete, s. i. vol. i. p. 316.

† A lance, in an early ordonnance of Francis, is calculated at eight mouths, who are allowed to take daily a sheep for rations. But most of them must have been servitors. There are rolls of the pay of Montmorency's and other companies, in which there appear to be about forty heavy-armed knights, and twice as many mounted archers.

‡ Francis told Cavalli that the campaign of 1542 and 1543 cost him twelve millions of crowns.

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then peace became compulsory, not on any political ground, but merely from financial impotence. Charles had much larger revenues, but the greater part being consumed in the provinces where they were raised, left little at the disposal of the imperial government.* Giustiniani estimates the revenues of Francis at three millions of crowns,—15,750,000 francs. Cavalli reckons it at four millions. They consider the taille and the domains as furnishing one-half of the revenue, the salt and wine duties, the octroi, sale of offices and clergy's decimes, then as regularly raised as any other tax, making up the rest.†

Besides, the king borrowed money; he took up 200,000 livres from the Parisians at 12 per cent., and made over the wine duties to pay the interest. He appropriated the capital of the Lyons' merchants in the same way.‡ When the parlement took the finances in hand, on the occasion of the king's captivity, they found the *taille*, which was raised especially to pay the army, diverted to other uses; the *aides* and *gabelles* made over to individuals. It abrogated such donations; and Francis himself, towards the end of his reign, recalled all grants of the royal domains in order to sell or lease them over again.

* A detailed estimate of the revenue and expenditure of Charles is given in the Venetian envoy's *Relazione*, dated the 55th year of that monarch's age. It forms the second piece of the MSS. Dupuy, No. 695.

It estimates the revenue	Ducats.
of Naples and Sicily as nearly	300,000
Castile and Grenada	200,000
Valence, Catalogna, and Aragon	133,000
The three Orders	82,000
Cruciate	200,000
Decima	200,000
Rendite Extraordinaire	433,000
Indies	500,000

† "The French clergy," says Cavalli, "without any sanction from Rome, pay two, three, and sometimes seven decimes a year, each of them being 140,000 ducats." Giustiniani estimates the decime at 200,000 ducats.

‡ To pay his own ransom, and that of his son, Francis levied what was called a *decime* upon the noble proprietors of land. The gentry of the provinces made a stubborn resistance. Henry d'Albret went through the central provinces persuading the nobles to pay. His letters are copied in MS. Fontanieu, pp. 222–3.

"For eight years," writes Marino Cavalli, "the French government has been continually adding to the property of the crown without alienating any. And confiscations, usurpations, and purchases have so diminished the wealth of individuals, that there is but one prince at present, the Duke of Aumale, who has a revenue of 20,000 crowns."*

Francis, who enjoyed the splendour of a court, loved to be surrounded by his noblesse. But it was a courtier noblesse he liked, an aristocracy dependent upon him, and basking in his smile. The nobles themselves, indeed, pleaded that they were functionaries, chiefly military servants of the crown, and as such claimed exemption from taxes. The king admitted the plea, but followed up the rule by forbidding gentlemen to follow any lucrative profession. Agriculture was prohibited as well as commerce; and whilst the nobly born monopolised all posts in court or army, the privilege of making money was with equal rigour confined to the non-noble. The tax-paying and tax-spending portion of the community were kept strictly separate. What the gentleman considered as a privilege and a mark of honour, was not considered altogether so by the legislator. Indeed it would have been ruinous to the noble classes, had it not arisen at that active period when the entire of the naturally productive land of the country had come into cultivation, and when the demand for its produce, caused by the increase of the non-agricultural classes more rapidly than the skill or means of production, enabled the holders of land to extort the bulk of its gains from the civic population.

* "The king's donations," says Cavalli, "are always for his own life, or that of the person who receives it; and if one or other life be too long, the contract is broken." The writer then enters on a disquisition upon the advantage which sovereigns have in making grants for life rather than for perpetuity. His disquisition is most amusing.—*Relazione di Francia.*

Cavalli wrote in 1546. The Duc d'Aumale was a prince of Lorraine, consequently to a certain degree free from the operation of French laws.

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The principles and tendencies of the government of Francis went to render the clergy as dependent as the noblesse. The pope, by the concordat, had given up almost all power and patronage over them. And Francis, for all purposes save those of playing with dogma, was as much the head of his national church as Henry the Eighth of the English. The goods of the Church were, according to the idea of Francis, as much his as the property of the noblesse.* Enjoying the complete patronage of the Church, the prelates, says Cavalli, recognised the authority of the king far more than that of the pope. And the pontiff had really no power or privilege in France, beyond the satisfaction of seeing those burnt who disputed his supremacy in words; for as to acts, no one set them at nought more completely than the king.

The professional classes could not hope to be independent in a country where the nobles had been reduced to servitude. Of old the clergy looked to reputation in their own body, which had the power of election. Now they were completely dependent on the minister, generally the chancellor, who distributed the favours of the crown. This was sufficient to change the entire spirit of the university, and to render it as bigoted as it had been previously liberal. Of its 20,000 students, the greater number entered the Church; but as the doctor's degree was necessary for all who were appointed to places in the judicature, these, too, swelled the list of university students. Duprat, in selecting for judicial appointments, though

* The king maintained that all the ecclesiastical benefices of France are of royal foundation, or of persons of whom the monarch has inherited. Thus he considers he can dispose of benefices as he likes. Cavalli, the Venetian, goes on to say that the king raises as many decimes as he pleases, and begins to dispute the pope's right to the annates, though established by the concordat. The king sends bishops and abbots on his embassies frequently, without appointment or pay, making them build vessels and palaces, and quarter old soldiers to lodge upon them and upon the abbeys as he may please.

he gave them for money, nevertheless selected persons whom he could depend on, and who proved themselves blind servants of the crown and of the priesthood. At his death, and especially after the reforms of his successor, Olivier, the parlement resumed its old feelings of independence. But there were no opportunities or means of showing this until the reign of Francis was brought to a close. Whilst that lasted the corruption of the judicial body kept pace with its servility.* And the legislation of the day was conducted in a kindred spirit. The edict of Villers Cotterets augmented, indeed, the facilities and the number of causes which could be evoked from the ecclesiastical courts and tried in the lay ones, but this was comparatively of little importance at a time when lay and ecclesiastical jurisdictions were assimilated and confounded in one low level of tyranny and corruption. Mignet justly describes the age by observing that France, after having for centuries originated and directed the great movement of European society, had so far declined in the 16th century as to have lost all initiative. Discoveries and progress, political or religious, intellectual or scientific, sprung up elsewhere. As French despotism grew more rigid, France fell behind other countries. And if it awakened and became renascent during the latter half of the century, it was owing to the spirit of inquiry and the free use of reason and thought which the Reformation not only introduced for those who embraced it, but forced upon its antagonists.

Nothing is more remarkable than the total absence in France of that enlightened public which in the cities of Germany became first the auditors and then the sec-

* "It is only the rich who can go to law," says Cavalli, "and a case of 1000 crowns may last two years, and require 2000 for expenses. The king, who used to give judicial appointments, now sells them for 3,000 to 30,000. The judge makes the most of his functions, so much so that those who are not prudent get hanged. All, however, is tolerated until the suitor makes complaint."

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taries of Luther. Protestant principles, indeed, were received, and established their sway over large populations, such as those of Caen, Poitiers, and La Rochelle.* But being persecuted in the capital by the large cleric, semi-cleric, and official population, they found no other centre of importance or independence to allow them to raise their voices or attempt resistance. What could not be done within the limits of the French monarchy, was at least accomplished within the frontier of its language by Farel, and more especially by Calvin at Geneva.

John Calvin was born in 1509, at Noyon, of one of those semi-ecclesiastical, semi-legist families which mark the epoch. Having studied in Paris all of law and of languages that the Sorbonne doctors would permit, he was obliged to complete his education at the more liberal universities of Orleans and of Bourges, where the civil law was allowed to be taught, and where Alciat, a learned Italian, professed.† The Queen of Navarre kept her court frequently at Bourges. Even the civil law was an element too liberal and logical to agree with the theology of the schools or the jurisprudence of the decretals. The towns in which it was taught embraced the Reformation. It was while law-student of Bourges that Calvin first began to preach. He afterwards made Paris the scene of his labours, but still in secret, until at the feast of All-Saints, 1533, Cop, the rector of the Paris University, wanting a sermon, asked Calvin to prepare him one. Calvin executed such a task with alacrity; but when Cop preached the sermon, it was like an offensive projectile that exploded in the face of the Sorbonne, and scattered the Reform tenets on every side. Cop, in consequence, was obliged to fly; Calvin, discovered to be the author, escaped too, and only in time, through

* Cavalli.

† Francis brought the learned professor to Bourges, but durst not give him a chair in Paris, where he would have been most useful.

a window, whilst the lieutenant of police was knocking at the door. From Basle, in 1535, Calvin addressed his "Institution de la Religion Chrétienne" to Francis the First, with a powerful preface, in which every reform tenet is shown to be based upon some passage of the Fathers. The work itself was a complete body of theology discussed and explained in every part, and became a manual in the hands of thousands of French families, from which could be drawn a daily exposure of the errors and corruptions of the old Church. At the same time its tone and principles were as monarchical as Francis himself could have desired, enjoining obedience to authority and police*, and denouncing the extravagance of those who from religious premises drew conclusions against social order, and who proposed in the cause of progress to live in common "like rats in straw." Had Calvin been tolerated under a monarchy, it is probable he would have remained monarchic, and he either would not have become chief of a sect, or that sect would never have been what it necessarily became at Geneva. The state of that town and Calvin's position in it forced upon him to assume political power, and to organise it in conjunction with sacerdotal supremacy. This, not indeed in the reign of Francis, but in that of his successors, gave to French Protestantism not only a political character, but one in such direct opposition to the spirit and tendencies of the French monarchy, that it was impossible for it to prevail or be accepted, without producing a revolution in the government of the state, as well as in the creed of the Church. The French monarchy and its high princely families resisted; the result was the movement and eventful struggle which remains to recount, and which we shall merely anticipate so far as to observe, that the French Reformers undertook a

* Calvin, Institution de la Religion Chrétienne, Chapitre du Droit Civil.

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much more gigantic and more hopeless task than their brethren in other countries.

That Geneva, and consequently Calvin, should have owed their independence of any prince to the exertions of the French king, is remarkable. Francis, however, in this most unlike his rival, Charles, could seldom take a religious view of his religious policy. He looked upon reformers as political malcontents, and as such he was as ready to aid them abroad, as to crush them at home. Charles was animated by much higher views, and not always intolerant ones. He certainly laboured for many years most sincerely to effect a compromise between Catholic and Protestant. With this view he proposed colloquies and conferences, in which he did not despair of bringing the more moderate of both parties to agree. At one time he even brought Pope Paul to share his hopes and join in his efforts. A most conciliatory legate was sent to Germany in the person of Contarini, and Charles, by his chancellor Granvelle, placed before the German Diet a book, *De Concordia*, which he hoped might lay the foundation of a better understanding. Charles, however, and the little knot of liberal cardinals were left alone in their truly Christian endeavour. Luther denounced it, the pope repudiated it, and Francis, notwithstanding his confession of faith, as expounded by Du Bellay, sent to oppose every compromise, and to prevent any reconciliation between German Catholics and Protestants, as highly inimical to French interests.*

If such a compromise as that aimed at by the emperor had been accomplished, it must have been in a local and national council, confined to Germany, undisturbed by the selfish views and intrigues of Italians or of French. Accordingly it was a national German council that Charles proposed. But the papal court and

* Sleidan; Fra. Paoli Sarpi; Ranke's Popes.

legate saw in such an assembly as dangerous an act of independence as that which Henry the Eighth had perpetrated. Cardinal Farnese, the legate, in order to defeat it, invoked a general council which Rome had hitherto deprecated and opposed. Contarini was ordered expressly to demand this also. The emperor could not but adopt what seemed so fair and so specious, and the Council of Trent was convoked.

With the decision to hold a general council vanished all hopes of reconciliation and compromise. The pope, it was evident would completely predominate in such an assembly, before which the Lutherans must appear as criminals instead of joining it as members. Paul the Third himself, however he might have listened for a moment to the exhortations of those who recommended conciliation and reform, abandoned all such ideas. And the anxiety at Rome became henceforth to prepare for spiritual war; and to organise a church militant and dominant, to crush, extirpate, and terrify, since it could no longer hope to win or overbear by argument.

In such a juncture arose one who, in the midst of his hallucinations, perfectly understood the nature, demands, and wants of the epoch. It must have struck many, as it did Ignatius Loyola, that whilst the power of great monarchs was strengthened and rendered triumphant chiefly by the devoted attachment of an entire caste of high born men, who made loyalty a religion, who worshipped the monarch's person, and obeyed his will with a blind zeal as irrational as any superstition, that spiritual potentate, throned above monarchs, was shorn of his prestige, and not only defied by his foes, but lectured and maligned by his friends, without any active or efficient body of men to execute his orders or carry out his will. The loyal enthusiasm which animated the French and the Spanish, and even the German noble, was utterly unknown at the court of Rome's elective potentate. It was this

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weakness of the popedom, this want of the devoted instruments which all monarchs possessed, that Loyola undertook to remedy and to supply. He resolved that the great religious monarch should have his spiritual chivalry as lay sovereigns had their court, and crowns their devoted knights. Loyola drew up his scheme, which was presented to the pope by Contarini, the same cardinal who was the unsuccessful champion of reconciliation. Paul saw in it the helping hand of God. It offered what he wanted: and the Society of the Jesuits was founded.

Whilst the papal court was bent upon proceeding to extremities and appealing to the sword, Charles, actuated by pious and provident motives, led the forces of his empire against the Barbaresques at Algiers. He failed, and on the news of his retreat with his shattered army to the ports of Spain, the hopes of Francis revived, and he resolved to take advantage of his rival's disaster. Francis declared war, and knit alliance with the Turk, thus necessarily adjourning the council, and endangering christendom; whilst, to obviate the odium and reprobation incurred by such policy, he promulgated severe decrees against the reformers. In 1543, on the representation of the clergy, that their judges and the inquisition of faith would despatch and root out heretics with much greater celerity than parlement or lay judges, the jurisdiction was transferred to them.* That the making of the law as well as the execution of it might be given to the clergy, the Paris faculty of theology was empowered to draw up articles of faith, which they did to the number of twenty-five, contradicting every Protestant tenet.† All Frenchmen were bound to accept this form of faith under fear of being treated as rebels, and judges were threatened with imprisonment who refused or delayed to execute this

* Fontanon, vol ii. p. 1014. † Ibid. Vol. ii. p. 1021.

law.* More burning and exile followed this access of persecution inspired by political motives. Marot, the first of French poets, fled to Geneva. Dolet, the first of French latinists, escaped also, but unfortunately returned back to visit his family. He was seized, brought to Paris, the university of which he had rendered illustrious by his lessons. The crime of which he was now charged was atheism, from having translated some dialogues of Plato. His prison verses beautifully disprove that ignorant assertion. Dolet was nevertheless executed in the place Maubert (August 1546), being hanged first and the body burned afterwards. This was one of the deeds recorded of the patron of letters!

Such solitary acts of cruelty, though inflicted upon genius and learning, were thrown into the shade by a wholesale massacre, which unfortunately stains the records of this reign. In general throughout France the followers of the new sect were inhabitants of towns, in which they could assemble, perform their worship, and give mutual encouragement, without provoking or braving the authorities. In Provence there happened to be an entire district of agricultural labourers, who for three hundred years had publicly and fearlessly practised their rites. They descended from a colony of industrious Vaudois or Waldenses, transported by a lord of the county, from the Dauphinese valleys of the Monte Viso, to the banks of the Durance and the district contained between that river and Mont Leberon. It was a barren district, and these industrious people had fertilised it.

The rise and progress of the Reform in Germany and Switzerland could not but awaken the Vaudois and excite their inquiries. After having sent envoys to Germany for this purpose, one of whom suffered mar-

* These edicts clearly indicate in French judges a tendency to be lenient, and to defeat persecution.

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tyrdom on his return through Dijon, the religionists of all the Vaudois valleys held a solemn meeting in the Val d'Angrogna in 1532. The New Testament had been already published in French; they raised 1500 crowns to complete it by a translation of the Old Testament, which was published at Neufchatel in 1535. This was a great crime: the parlement of Provence denounced the Vaudois. But Francis, at that time in a tolerant mood, forbade any prosecution, but merely ordained those of Provence to recant within a certain period.

The Vaudois were not prepared to purchase impunity by such a declaration. And the zealots, who were as anxious to rob them of their property as to punish the crime of printing a Bible, pressed for condemnation. The Baron d'Oppede possessed the château of which he bore the title, at no great distance from Merindol, one of the villages of the Vaudois. He was in the habit of seizing and imprisoning the wealthy of the inhabitants, and extorting from them a cession of their property under the alternative of being burned. In Nov. 1540, he obtained from the parlement of Aix, of which he was a member, an edict condemning twenty-three of the principal inhabitants of Merindol to be burned, their wives and children reduced to slavery, the towns and farms destroyed. The edict, passed in his despite, so shocked Chasseneux, the president of the court, as well as Sadolet, the Bishop of Carpentras, that they interfered and obtained its suspension. Du Bellay, governor of Piedmont, was ordered to institute an inquiry, and he recommended a suspension of the act of rigour. The Vaudois, however, refused to accept the alternative of abjuration upon which Francis insisted.

If the Vaudois escaped for some years the greed and cruelty of their enemies, it was not so much owing to the tolerant nature of Francis. But during these years he was waging war with the emperor, and was not only obliged to listen to the remonstrances of the League of

Smalcald, which took peculiar interest in the Provençal Protestants, but Piedmont and Provence were almost exclusively under the direction of military commanders, such as Annebaut and Martin du Bellay, who leaned to tolerance, and who represented to the king the danger of exciting disaffection in any class. The king accordingly, in June 1544, suspended all persecution against the Vaudois, and commanded the restoration of their property.

This decree was issued by Francis at the moment when he was threatened by an imperial invasion of Champagne and an English descent in Picardy. He was about to despatch an envoy with a letter written with his own hand to Henry to induce him to make peace.* The treaty of Crespy, however, soon set Francis free from such obligations of mildness; and in November of the same year he signed another decree recalling that of June, and ordering the original sentence of burning and destruction to be put in force against the Vaudois in Provence. These letters of revocation, when subsequently examined in 1550, were alleged to have been placed surreptitiously before the king for his signature. It was then sought to clear the memory of Francis from the crime of signing a warrant for the massacre of 3000 innocent persons. Yet his signature of such a document from inadvertence is scarcely less criminal. The assertion is, however, corroborated by the fact that there was no regular counter-signature to the decree, save that of a substitute of the procureur-general, whilst the military order was forged.

In the first years which had elapsed since the original sentence, the elder Du Bellay, as well as the president of the parlement of Aix, had died. Annebaut commanded the fleet in the channel against the English. Oppede had succeeded to the post of president, whilst the mili-

* Henry's letter to the Queen. Sept. in Rymer.

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tary command of the district was in the hands of the Baron de la Garde, who had served with Barbarossa. These men, the judge and the general, after having obtained the sanction of the parlement of Aix on the 12th of April 1545, marched on the following day at the head of some eight or ten thousand soldiers, to which about 1000 papal troops from Avignon were added. Lourmarin was the first village attacked. It was pillaged, fired, such inhabitants as could be taken massacred, the remainder flying into the woods. The ladies of Lourmarin and of Cental flew to Oppede's feet, and craved for some mercy for the unfortunate inhabitants. The massacre was persisted in. Merindol was the next capture, and some women being surprised in the church, were stripped naked, subjected to the worst atrocities, and flung from a rock. But Cabrières was the scene of a more treacherous massacre, for being in the dominions of the pope, the inhabitants awaited the approach of the troops. When these arrived and battered the walls, Oppede finding them stronger than he had supposed, offered them protection and safety if they would surrender. They accepted the offer, and the principal men of the place proceeded to Oppede's presence, their hands being bound. Instead of the protection promised, the ferocious baron bade his followers kill them all, adopting the words as well as conduct of the crusading prelate at Beziers, some centuries previous. After the murder of the principal inhabitants, an indiscriminate massacre of the population followed — four hundred poor women and girls taken in the church, declares the Abbé Guérin, who saw it, being outraged and slain. A score of women who had taken refuge in a grotto, were suffocated by a fire lit purposely at its entrance. Upwards of 3000 persons were slaughtered during this brief campaign; many more had escaped to the woods where they were hunted like wild beasts; all who sheltered them were punished with death, many

more were executed, and about 160 of the last victims were condemned as criminals to row the galleys. A few of the more robust or more fortunate escaped to Switzerland.

Thus was the infamous and wholesale massacre of the thirteenth century, monstrous and incredible even then, renewed in the reign and by the ministers and officers of Francis. Whatever might be pleaded for the king in having unwittingly signed the decree, is effaced by another in which he subsequently avowed and defended the execution. In the subsequent reign, the Lady of Cental having sought to bring to justice Oppede who executed and De Tournon who ordered the massacre, the parlement of Paris thought fit to absolve them, leaving the evidence to pass condemnation on themselves and on all concerned in it with posterity.

It was one of the characteristics of Charles the Fifth to be as much as possible true to principle, too seldom to persons. He was accustomed to make peace and form alliances with ardour, hoping to obtain from them strenuous support and solid advantages. In this he was always deceived. Whether it was with the Pope, the Germans, or Francis with whom he concluded treaties, none gave him sincere or efficient aid in any of his great purposes, either to resist the Turk, to put down the Protestants, or to conquer France. He had concluded the peace of Crespy in disgust with the Germans, who had not aided him, and he turned round in hopes to have Francis's aid against the German Protestants. This Francis readily stipulated, but as usual was in no pains to perform. Charles also, as was his wont, cooled in his friendship towards Francis, hesitated to give a princess or Milan to the Duke of Orleans, and on the death of that prince, declined to renew the treaty altogether.

It is worthy of remark, that Charles was a much more skilful and temperate, as well as humane politician,

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where he encountered resistance, than in circumstances where his will was uncombated. When he felt this to be the case, as in Spain and in Flanders, his bigotry and cruelty were as outrageous as those of his son Philip the Second. But unlike that prince, he could suspend these fierce sentiments when obstacles occurred. Charles made the most laudable and wise efforts to effect a compromise between contending sects in Germany, whilst in Spain and in the Netherlands he would have no milder means than hanging, burning, and burying alive.* In his more rational efforts to effect religious peace in Germany, Charles found no seconder. France, England, and the pope were all hostile. He could make no use of the Fathers of Trent; the majority of whom were Italian, and of that newly arisen school which would make no admission of error nor lend themselves to any measures of true reform. When the emperor pressed them to proceed to the latter task, the prelates replied by engaging in discussions upon dogma. The Protestant princes of course held aloof. And both Francis and the pope abetted them in doing so, neither the one nor the other having a thought beyond the danger that might accrue to both of them, were the emperor to succeed in placing himself at the head of a united Germany.†

But the preparations of Francis for resisting the emperor, and taking vengeance for the non-execution of the cession of Crespy, were paralysed by his sinking health. His premature old age (for he was but 53) presented little that was consolatory. The death of Henry the Eighth occurred to give fresh incertitude to his relations with England. Young Edward's guardians renewed the treaty, indeed, but the permanence

* Gachart, Rapport introductory to Correspondance de Philip II.

† The pope's dread of Charles's success against the Protestants is livelily described in the despatches of Du Mortier, the French envoy at Rome. End of vol. i. of Ribier.

of the reign and its policy was not to be counted on. To his new feud with the emperor, and his failure in attaining every object of aggrandisement, was added the disappearance or absence of every friend. Brion was dead, Montmorency was in disgrace. The young Duke d'Enghien, the victor of Cerisolles, whom Francis cherished, was killed by a chest flung upon him from a window at La Rocheguyon.* The king had but lately lost the son whom he loved the best. The dauphin, who alone remained, made no disguise of his contempt of his father's policy.

An anecdote preserved by Vieilleville, depicts vividly the relations between father and son. The court fool Briardon came into the room where the king was, and addressed him with "Good Day, François de Valois."—"Hoy," exclaimed the king, "Briardon, who taught you such a lesson"?—"I tell you," rejoined Briardon, "you are no longer king; the dauphin is king." And then turning to the chief officers, he told them they were replaced by such and such friends of the dauphin. Briardon had been just listening to Henry playing this game, and proclaiming what he would do, and what officers appoint, as soon as he was king. Francis called for some of the guard, and proceeded to his son's apartments in the extreme of anger. But the dauphin had fled, and so had his friends, none of them reappearing in the king's presence for some time, until their peace was made, which was not effected without difficulty.

Henry however had not long to wait. Through the early part of 1547, Francis kept moving from château to château as if to escape the disease that preyed upon him, and no doubt finding relief from the change. He

* The Duc d'Aumale, son of the Duke of Guise, was accused of having caused the death of D'Enghien. This was little likely. The Duc d'Enghien, with his brother of Vendome, and the Duc d'Aumale, were the three who signed together the protest of the dauphin against the conditions of Crespy. This surely marks the existence of friendship between the Bourbons and Guises.

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was also unable to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. At last, in March, the king at Rambouillet was unable to quit it from a painful ulcer, attended with fever, which distressed him. He was now convinced that his end was at hand, and he summoned the dauphin to receive his last orders. These were to diminish taxation, and to prefer such ministers as Annebaut and Tournon, who were obedient instruments, to avaricious and ambitious men like Montmorency and the Guises, who would soon "reduce the monarch to his jacket, and the people to their shirts." Francis expired on the 31st of March, having reigned 32 years and lived 53.

Never was monarch less controlled by men, by institutions, or by scruples, than Francis the First. With the fulness of despotic authority in his hands, he might be expected to have ruled the progress, or at least strongly influenced the course of events. The same may be asserted of his puissant rival: and yet never were sovereigns more the slaves and the sport of fortune. Never were projects more futile or aims more abortive than those which they pursued. And whilst they failed in every active purpose and political scheme, a greater and a wiser power than they accomplished by the mere current of events the very things which they most combated and deplored. They were despots, to be sure, without the means of despotism. Their armies were hastily put together of mere mercenaries, and as hastily dispersed for want of any certain means of supporting them. And their generals knew not how even to make use of victory when it was given them. Kingship was but for the purpose of conquest and acquisition, for which, providentially, it wanted the sagacity and the means.

It was this exclusive influence of foreign policy, the predominant consciousness of being in the presence of rivals and foes, and of politics being a game of combat in which there was everything to gain

or lose: it was this that gave the two monarchs the pretext for concentrating every power in their own hands, and mercilessly extinguishing the liberties of their people, as inimical to their country's greatness and strength, and destructive of the salutary and necessary authority of the sovereign. This it was which not only made the French king declare himself a despot, above laws, parlement, and estates, but which induced the nobles to applaud the assertion, and even citizens to acquiesce in it. In France and Spain everything was sacrificed to national defence, national greatness and strength. England was far less menaced in its territories, and far less tempted, at least in the 16th century, by foreign conquest. The English and Germans came both of them to have religious convictions to defend, before they had, like the French, surrendered all their liberty into the hands of their king. Henry appears to us a despot, because of his power to strike off the heads of his nobles. But he was more than once obliged to desist from arbitrary taxation, and he respected the forms of free institutions, often as he over-rode them, allowing them to subsist and survive for a future day. The French were not as yet sufficiently awakened to the want of reforms in religion, to organise opposition or resistance. They were much more impressed by the fearful invasions of Champagne and Provence than by the extravagance of the clergy. The popular bugbear with them was the armies of the emperor and of England, and not the pope.

In this great question of religious independence and reform, Francis was as uninfluential as in his schemes of conquest. He favoured, especially at first, the ascendency of learning and the movement of mind. But having no jealousy of the Church, of the patronage and wealth of which he disposed as he liked, he could not but favour and support so powerful, so useful, and so eminent a body. The Protestants were rebels, who

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in Germany paralysed the power of the emperor; how could he favour the success or ascendency of such a party in France? The king therefore delegated his penal authority to the priesthood, who applied it without mercy or moderation to stifle the rising freedom of religion.

But Francis, as a politician, takes no higher ground. In that character he stands inferior to both Charles and Henry. And all, indeed, that his countrymen gave him credit for was his gallant and successful defence of the national territories, with the consequent preservation of the country's unity. It is more in a personal, a social, an intellectual light they regard Francis, and with feelings of admiration not altogether unjust. His early patronage of learning was persevered in against many obstacles, and even obloquy; and though he failed to save Berquin, and abandoned Dolet, he still continued to protect his professors against the malevolence and enmity of both legists and theologians.

His patronage of men eminent in the arts, though not rendering him liable to the charge of favouring reformers, was still not indulged in without exciting jealousy and quarrels. His mode of treating men of genius on a footing of equality, is a trait in the character of Francis much more dear to the present generation of the French, who revere the monarch even more perhaps for allowing Leonardo da Vinci to die in his arms, than for his gallantry at Marignano and Pavia.

But Francis's popularity, with his own age and with that which followed, rested on far different grounds. They saw in him the gentleman monarch, the great respecter of noble though not princely birth. The king's views of having a dependent and functionary rather than landed aristocracy, did not displease the needy nobles of his time. And they admired in Francis the generous, stalwart, chivalrous, and affable

though proud monarch. The French king was revered by the courteous Bayard and the rude Montluc, whilst intelligent observers, like Venetian ambassadors, record the largeness of his information, the acuteness of his intellect, and the readiness of his repartee.

But when Francis was admired by his followers and by the nation itself as the perfect model of a gentleman, how much did the reality fall short of the ideal? For Francis after all was untrue in his friendships, indelicate in his loves. The first quality of the gentleman, that of being true to his word, was unknown to him. He did not, indeed, like his daughter-in-law, Catherine of Medicis, and her sons, erect deceit into a source of pride. He still blushed when he committed it. Nor did he make lying and dissimulation the stepping-stones to murder. Such accomplishments were reserved for the Italian school of politics and morals, destined soon to bear sway. Francis preserved those feelings of the gentleman which were ignored by his grandchildren, and eclipsed during their time to reappear with Henry the Fourth. But for all this, when we consider the treacherous and secret protests of Francis, at the very moment when he was plighting his faith, and his moral reserves, worthy of papal or jesuitical subterfuge, his treaties with the Turk, his dealings with foreign Protestants, whilst offering up holocausts of them at home, one is compelled to regret that his naturally noble and generous disposition was marred by such utter recklessness of principle.

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HENRY THE SECOND.

1547—1559.

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THE Venetian ambassador, Cavalli, in his description of the court of Francis the First, depicts the dauphin as "robust in constitution, melancholy in humour, adroit in arms, clear in expression, and holding *mordicus* to any opinion that he had once uttered." That he was naturally good-hearted, and as firm in his attachments as his opinions, there are abundant proofs. A scrap has been preserved, photographing, as it were, the apartments of Henry, at the time when his father was expiring.* The dauphin, in a sincere and deep access of grief, had flung himself on the bed of the dauphiness, Catherine de Medicis, who lay on the ground, affecting to be equally moved. In the same room were the Count d'Aumale and Diana of Poitiers, not concealing their joy, restless from excitement, and running to the door to gather news of the royal agony, "The gallant is taking his departure," was the ejaculation of Aumale.

When the royal funeral took place, at which no expense was spared, the remains of the Duke of Orleans and of the deceased dauphin were borne to St. Denis along with those of Francis. Henry, who stood at a window of the Rue St. Jacques, to witness it, felt "his

* De Thou, liv. iii. note.

heart rise in his throat. He shrunk back and burst into tears." Thereupon his courtiers rallied him, expatiated on his good fortune, Vieilleville telling a story of the Duke of Orleans, who, on hearing of a narrow escape of Henry from drowning, gave vent to his disappointment, and exclaimed, "he should never be anything but a *bélître*." Angered by such a tale, the new king rose and regarded his brother's coffin, which came first, and observed, "There, then, is the *bélître* that opens the procession of my felicity."*

This corroborates what Theodore de Beza says of this monarch, that "he neither saw nor judged but by the eyes, ears, and counsels of those who possessed him." The persons fortunate enough to wield this influence of familiarity with the new king were Diana of Poitiers, and the Count d'Aumale. The lady was created Duchess of Valentinois, and was given the sums usually paid on a new accession, for privileges, immunities, and the tenure of places purchased.† François Count d'Aumale, who became Duke of Guise in 1550 by the death of his father Claude, was known as Le Balafré, from a severe wound received before Boulogne, when a spear-head entered by the side of his eye, and with difficulty was extracted. He obtained all the vacant lands of the kingdom.‡ To these personal favourites was adjoined St. André, soon created marshal. But the political mentor for whom Henry had most respect was the Constable Montmorency, who hastened from his retreat at Chantilly to meet the king at St. Germains. Montmorency took complete pos-

* Mémoires de Vieilleville. *Bélître, baillître*, a farm servant, a low fellow.

† De Thou For two years the king kept no table, but was accustomed to dine at that of the duchess. Laubespine, Hist. P. de la Cour de Henri.

‡ So large a gift, that he gave a portion of it to Jean de Bourbon, Count d'Enghien, brother of the prince slain by a chest that Aumale flung from a window of La Rocheguyon. De Thou says the gift was made for the purpose of softening his resentment.

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session of the monarch, leading him about from one of his châteaux to the other, until Diana insisted that the court should visit her residence of Anet. "These four influential people," says Vieilleville, "carefully watched all honours, wealth, and place, as they became vacant, or as facilities for appropriating them occurred, pouncing upon them 'as swallows do upon flies,' being equally sure to satisfy their greed." It had passed into a rule of the camp, court, and administration of France, that whatever noble became accused of peculation, or of any other crime, the surest path to acquittal was to win by a large bribe the support of some powerful man of the day. The Count of Chateaubriand, thus menaced, having saved himself by leaving the reversion of his property to Montmorency, the Dame of Cental now came forward to accuse the Count of Grignan, governor of Provence, under whose authority the Baron d'Oppede and La Garde had perpetrated the extermination of the population of Merindol and Cabrières. De Tournon, minister of Francis, was implicated in the accusation, which the present king and court consequently favoured. But the Count de Grignan promised Montmorency the reversion of his Provençal property at his death, and the constable in return quashed the proceedings, and obtained from the parlement a sanction of acquittal.*

It was found impossible to proceed against the chief ministers of the latter years of Francis. Annebaut had not enriched himself; De Tournon was no more than cruel; but Secretary Bayard was put in prison and kept there till he died. Another secretary, De Longueval, accused of having participated in the treaty of Crespy,

* The Marquis of Saluces, being menaced by Henry's government, bought safety in the same way by offering to make the constable his heir. The latter thought fit to decline so large and manifest a bribe, and, on the Marquis's death, the province was united to the French crown. Ribier, vol. ii. p. 118.

saved himself in the received manner, by ceding to the Cardinal of Lorraine a superb mansion that he had built near Laon.* Henry's hatred and that of his courtiers for Madame d'Etampes led the monarch into an attempt of vengeance, not the less disgraceful for having failed. Guy Chabot, Sieur de Jarnac, was the grand nephew of the disgraced admiral of the reign of Francis. His father had married a niece of Madame d'Etampes. The young man appearing at court with more splendour than his fortune admitted, Henry, then dauphin, taunted him with being enabled to meet such expenses by the favour of that lady. Jarnac confessed that he owed it to her generosity. The dauphin concluded and repeated that the generosity was the price of criminal intrigue. Jarnac gave the lie publicly to such a calumny; the dauphin could not take up the quarrel; but one of his followers, La Chataignerai, an experienced swordsman, did so, and challenged Jarnac. Francis forbade the duel; but Henry had no sooner ascended the throne than he gave the permission. It was ordered to take place at St. Germains, with great pomp. Chataignerai especially, proud of avenging the monarch, and certain of his power and skill to do so, made great preparations for a banquet to celebrate his victory.

The Duc d'Aumale was his second. Montmorency favoured Jarnac, but durst not show it. He, however, as judge of the combat, allowed heavier armour than was usual on such occasions, which was supposed to tell against the skill of the superior swordsman. The lists were duly opened in presence of Henry and his court. The combatants rushed against each other at the word of the herald. But Jarnac, instead of aiming at his adversary's body, struck him unexpectedly at the back of the knee, and, cutting the sinew, prostrated

* De Thou.

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his foe. He did not pursue his victory, but threw himself before Henry and gave him the life of his follower. The monarch was so taken aback and mortified, that he was for a long time unable to speak; but at last complimented the victor. La Chataignerai still more mortified, tore the bandages off his wounds and died, unable to survive his discomfiture.*

Henry vented his anger in a way equally characteristic of his ideas of justice. He hastened to Paris *incognito*, and summoned to him the judges, then engaged in the trial of the Maréchal de Biez and M. de Vervins, who were accused, the one of bad generalship in the north, the other, his son-in-law, of surrendering Boulogne to the English. The judges having demanded the monarch's pleasure, he replied that De Vervins must be condemned to death, because he was guilty, and had really sold Boulogne to the English. But as for Biéz, he must be condemned also, as the titles of marshal, chancellor, and constable were so stitched to the heads of the wearers, that there was no having one without the other. Both were condemned as the king desired, and De Biez, thus unmarshalled by his sentence, was pardoned.†

The chief business and purpose of internal policy being the distribution of place and division of spoil, it was not difficult for contending and rival parties to come to an agreement. There was more difficulty with regard to foreign policy, in which it was necessary to choose between war with the emperor and reconciliation with him. Montmorency leaned to the latter, but under existing circumstances it was impossible. Charles was already preparing to march against the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave, to whom Francis had sent a large sum of money in order to

* Le Laboureur, add. in Castelnau; Brantome.

† Vieilleville.

enable them to resist.* Other causes of difference arose. A conspiracy, that of Fieschi, suborned by Francis and attempted by the French party in Genoa against the emperor, had narrowly failed of success. Henry's council occupied six days discussing the matter at St. Germains, at the end of which it was determined to continue the efforts of Francis in antagonism to the emperor, but at the same time preserve the external semblance of peace. Vieilleville was despatched to England to renew the treaties with that country, which, after some wordy squabbles with Somerset, that envoy accomplished. Soon after came the unwelcome tidings that the emperor had beaten the German Protestants in the disastrous battle of Muhlberg, capturing the Duke of Saxony, and rendering himself irresistible for the time.† (April 1547.)

In Italy the effect of the emperor's success was to fill every prince with alarm. The pope especially was troubled, the more so, as he was aware of Charles's inclination to grant the Protestants certain concessions with regard to their religion, which, however insufficient to satisfy them, were of a nature to fill the partisans of Rome with terror. The Pope in consequence, with a desire to thwart the emperor, broke up the Council of Trent, under pretext of removing it to Bologna, and at the same time entered into negotiations with the

* Landgrave's letter to Henry; Francis's letter of Feb. 1547; Ribier.

† Vieilleville says that Henry II. sent a herald to summon Charles, as Count of Flanders, to attend his coronation at Rheims, which was to take place at the end of July; and that the emperor replied, "he would attend to do his duty with 50,000 men." We have Charles's correspondence during those months, which makes no mention of what would have been no less than a breach of treaty, and a declaration of war. The Bishop of Arras writes on the 11th of July from Nuremberg, where Charles was, and says, "The French continue their practices and will do so, till they are assured of the friendship of his Majesty." Their object was to bring Charles to terms, rather than provoke him. Vieilleville's story seems improbable, and but an effusion of that writer's *forfanterie*.

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court of France.* The imperial authority in Italy met with a severe check by the insurrection of the Neapolitans against their viceroy for seeking to introduce the inquisition. That functionary, Peter of Toledo, had established his power by flattering the populace and humbling the noblesse. But both classes united against him to be rid of the tyranny of the Holy Office, and Charles, when he succeeded in putting down resistance, wisely abstained from introducing into Naples the obnoxious institution. The imperialists suspected both the pope and the French king of favouring this movement. They took revenge by suborning a conspiracy against the pope's son Louis de Farnese, Duke of Parma, and Piacenza. Henry had promised to this prince's son, Horace, his natural daughter, Diana, in marriage. The conspirators, encouraged by Gonzaga, governor of Milan, surprised the duke in his palace of Piacenza and poniarded him, Gonzaga taking possession of the town in the name of the emperor. The rage of the pontiff was great, and justly so, on the perpetration of such a crime.† He incited the French to invade Naples, and proffered to them all beyond the Garigliano, the Roman territories being extended to that river. He represented, however, that Naples though easy to take, was impossible to keep without a superior fleet, and the Turks alone could supply that.‡ Henry despatched envoys to the sultan and even to Dragut at Algiers, to obtain the desired succour. But Naples became pacified, the Venetians

* The pontiff made considerable difficulty in granting the indult, by virtue of which Henry might appoint to bishoprics and abbacies, as ruled by the concordat. Paul claimed to exempt from the concordat Brittany, Savoy, Piedmont, Provence, and Bar. But to compensate for such demands, his holiness sent the Golden Rose to Queen Catherine of Medicis, with a valuable collar of pearls to Madame Diana. Ribier.

† The Venetians were indignant that the imperialist general, Gonzaga, should have put the Duke of Parma's secretary, Apollonio, to the torture, in order to make him confess "more than he knew," although the man was no subject of the emperor, and had committed no crime. Charrière.

‡ Ribier.

refused to stir, and French schemes in Italy for the present evaporated. CHAP. XXII.

Henry's projects for war were no doubt counteracted by Montmorency, who never ceased to negotiate with the emperor and his sister*, and who amused the German Protestants, instead of lending them efficient aid. Marillac the French envoy first made proposals for a marriage between the Prince of Spain and Madame Margaret of France; but as this covered or implied a disposal either of Milan or of the Low Countries in favour of France, as agreed upon at Crespy, Charles turned a deaf ear to the French envoy, and rejoined by demanding the restoration of Hesdin and Savoy. Lest Henry should be induced to make any such concession, the Guises brought him in 1548 southward, made him visit Turin, and exercise the right of sovereignty in Piedmont, pointing out to him how much his keeping possession of the gates of Italy enhanced his importance with the princes of that country.† The royal journey was, however, a peaceful one, marked by no more romantic incident than a quarrel between the Dukes of Aumale and Vendome, the former claiming precedence over the first prince of the blood, because he was Lieutenant-general in Piedmont. He took his post nearer to the king than Vendome; the latter was at first inclined to show serious resentment, but on second thoughts, he observed that if the king wished to put his valet on his right hand, the Vendomes had but to bow to his will.

Whilst in Piedmont, tidings reached the court of a renewed insurrection in the west on the subject of the gabelle. Discontent had not ceased to prevail in those provinces since the augmentation of the salt duties,

* Correspondance de Marillac. MSS. Brienne, and Fontanieu, portf. 261-5. Lanz; Granvelle.

† Correspondence of Guises in MSS. Gagnières.

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notwithstanding the more lenient edict of Francis the First from St. Germains. The attempt to raise an excise duty at a period when the authority of functionaries was so arbitrary led to intolerable vexations. Edicts upon edicts issued during the latter years of Francis made matters worse. Whilst that monarch lay in his last illness, his son the dauphin, was obliged to issue a decree, as Duke of Brittany, abrogating the abuse of compelling vessels laden with salt to have their cargoes measured twice on passing through Nantes.* Soon after Henry's accession his council proposed to farm out the salt duties for ten years to the highest bidder.† And the farmers of the gabelle, consenting to pay the usual amount hitherto received, had of course to indemnify themselves by increased pressure and extortion.

The peasants of the region could not behold without a murmur these farmers of the salt duties grow rich in two or three years‡, whilst they were proportionately oppressed. Those dwelling nearest the coast, in the region of Aunis especially, had been inoculated with the ideas of the reformation§, which rendered them more prone to discuss and to resist injustice. An expedition of the excisemen early in August 1548 from Cognac, directed against Jurignac in the county of Angoulême, first aroused resistance. The peasants rose, drove the gabelleurs into Cognac, and ringing the bells of all the villages around, such as Jonsac and Blansac, they collected in thousands, and were soon masters of the country. Jean d'Albret, king of Navarre, commanded for the king in the maritime districts, and led his company of gens d'armes against the *pitaux*, as the insurgents were called. But he was worsted and compelled to retreat to Barbesieux. The insurgents then

* Fontanieu.
† Ibid.
‡ Bouchet, Annales d'Aquitaine.
§ Massion, Histoire de Xaintonge, vol. iv.

electing a man named Puymoreau to be their *Couronnel*, marched to Saintes, entered it, and put all the officers of the gabelle to death. Similar scenes took place at Cognac; Poitiers was saved by the firmness of the officer in command. But a missive from Puymoreau to Bordeaux let loose the populace of that great town. They rose in insurrection, made themselves masters of the arsenal, and plundered the houses of the wealthy inhabitants. De la Chassagne, president of the tribunal, seeking to temper their fury by chiming in with it, they brought him to parley with De Moimeins, the commandant of the town, in the Château Trompette. Deceived by the assurance of the president, the governor came forth as far as the Hotel de Ville, whilst in the act of entering which some ruffians slew him. All the month of August the mob remained masters of Bordeaux.*

Tidings of the émeute reached the court whilst at Tours, and Montmorency who had been appointed governor of Languedoc on the king's accession, proposed at once to set forth and take vengeance on the insurgents. The king approved, but appointed at the same time the Duc d'Aumale, to share the constable's authority, and mitigate his well known severity. On the approach of the royal army the populace shrunk in terror. Their own magistrates were able to send the chief criminals to execution, and represent to the constable that the insurrection was the work of the exasperated peasantry and a few of the rabble. Montmorency would listen to no excuse. He entered Bordeaux in military array, seized all those implicated, and executed an hundred and fifty of them: punished the town by the loss of its privileges, the suspension of its parlement, and the destruction of its walls. Similar severities were practised in all the towns and regions

* Paradin, Bouchet, Vieilleville, Garnier. Don Vaissette, Hist. of Languedoc, bestows but a page on the insurrection of Bordeaux.

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which had resisted the authorities, the Duc d'Aumale showing himself much more inclined to mercy than Montmorency. Notwithstanding this severity, the king and the council, who already meditated a war with England on account of Boulogne, did not wish to exasperate the maritime population. The estates of Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois, were summoned to meet at Poitiers, in January 1545, and they agreed, on condition of the gabelle being reduced to its old standard of the *demi* and the *quart*, to pay 450,000 livres tournois, the *tiers-état* furnishing two thirds, the nobles and clergy the rest.*

At the time when the insurrection against the salt excise had made itself master of Bordeaux, two French vessels rounded the coast of Scotland, took on board its young queen Mary, and bore her off in triumph from a marriage with the young English king, to a betrothal with the Dauphin François, at St. Germains. Thus was the feud and rivalry between France and England once more illumed, no longer by the ambition of the insulars to possess part of France, but of the French to plant their alliance and their power in the northern portion of the British Islands. The Guises of course, of which family was the Queen's mother, had made this the principal aim of their policy. And the cardinal of Guise, when he went to Rome in 1547 to knit an Italian confederacy against the emperor, had made use of most strenuous efforts to procure pecuniary aid, and the permission to levy taxes on the Scotch clergy to support the Anti-English faction.† But far higher cares and deeper interests absorbed the English at that time than the dream of annexing Scotland or invading France. The struggle in the country and in the court between old and new

* Some years later, in 1553, the maritime provinces agreed to pay 1,194,000 livres for the right of vending and transporting salt as they liked. Fontanieu.

† His letters in Ribier, vol. ii.

ideas in religion, and between the aristocratic and cleric magnates which favoured each, diverted the minds of the people as well as of politicians from foreign politics, and rendered the affairs of the continent, unless so far as they affected the great religious dispute, comparatively uninteresting to the British people.

The Guises followed up this triumphal capture of the young queen by a formidable campaign against Boulogne, to which the weakness of the Duke of Somerset, the small-hold that he had of public opinion, or of the strength and resources of his country, seemed to invite. A tournament was announced to be held in Paris*, whither the nobles were invited to come with their retainers. Part of the festivity was the attack of a mimic fortress resembling Boulogne, erected in the Isle of Louviers, and which of course fell before the attack of its assailants. The French army mustered at Neufchâtel, from whence it proceeded to Boulogne. The English hastened to demand the assistance of the emperor, who was at St. Omer; but that potentate, absorbed in his German designs, and little enamoured with the policy of Somerset, declined to interfere unless the French menaced Calais. Henry accordingly opened fire upon Boulogne, on the 23rd of August, 1549, took the forts of Sallenques, Ambleteuse, and Mont Lambert. But the Tour d'Ordre held out, and the autumnal rains setting in rendered it impossible for the French to prosecute the siege further.

The English commander in Boulogne, Acton, offered to treat in September, and held meetings with Chatillon for the purpose.† An Italian merchant also, named Guidotti, who in the capacity of a neutral was enabled to journey between the two countries, informed each

* Vieilleville describes Paris as filled with triumphal arches on the occasion, "on which were inscribed the Greek and Latin verses of Aurat, with the French odes of the divine Ronsard."

† Memoirs, Journaux du Duc de Guise. Letters in Fontanieu, 265-6.

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court that the other was anxious for peace. The proud and spirited Duke of Somerset no longer swayed the councils of England. All the French required was the recovery of Boulogne, which the English had always been willing to restore for the stipulated price. Scotland was the true difficulty, but as the French possessed its young queen, and had betrothed her to the dauphin, this gave them for the future ample advantage, of which the English could not deprive them. After a vain demand to have the young queen brought back to Scotland, the English made peace, on the condition of receiving 400,000 crowns for Boulogne, the sum stipulated by the peace of Crespy. All demands, present and future, of pension from France were finally waived by England. No negotiation was then complete without a marriage, at least in prospect; and accordingly Edward was betrothed soon after to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the French king.* The peace was followed by an embassy, which the Maréchal St. André led to England, and which was as sumptuously entertained as its magnificence seemed to demand.

Whilst the French king thus successfully, if not gloriously, recovered Boulogne from the English without abandoning his Scotch allies†, Charles was absorbed in the gigantic task of reducing the Germans to obedience. After his triumph over the two great Lutheran princes in the field, he had undertaken to establish a compromise between Catholic and Protestant. His personal influence and the success of his arms, induced the German Diet to accept the *Interim*, as the compromise was called, a body of doctrines which accepted the Protestant view of justification, which did not insist on the celibacy of the clergy, and which ordered the cup to be given to the laity. But the schism between the papacy and those who rejected its authority, was no

* MSS. Bethune, 8547. † MSS. Gagnières, 339.

longer a question of dogma, but of church supremacy and government. And as Charles, however inclined to yield some trifling articles of faith, could see nothing but anarchy and impiety in freedom and self-government, whether of politics or religion, his efforts were vain. The north especially, its princes, and its cities, rejected the *Interim*. Could Charles have led and accompanied his own armies, it is probable he would have triumphed in the north as he did in the south. But his health was giving way under his many labours, and he entrusted the Duke Maurice of Saxony, his efficient ally in the late decisive campaign, to complete it by the siege and reduction of Magdeburg.

This was not the only want of sagacity shown by Charles. His inexorable and cruel treatment of the Elector Frederick and the Landgrave of Hesse alarmed and alienated the princes of Germany, especially Maurice of Saxony himself, and those who had most strenuously contributed to his triumph.* And Charles filled up the measure of this terror and disgust by summoning from Spain his son Philip, with the avowed purpose of making him his successor in Germany, in lieu of his brother Ferdinand. Charles had seen how much his Spanish and Italian troops had contributed to his success in the late campaign, and he came to the conclusion that the reduction of that country could not be effected except by a prince who, like himself wielded all the resources of a vast empire. Ferdinand was sufficiently stern and bigoted, but his long residence amongst the Germans had rendered him more tolerant to its princes than Charles thought politic.† He therefore made the monstrous proposal that Ferdinand should resign the succession of the empire to Philip. For the

* See, in Lanz, Charles's atrocious letter, ordering the Landgrave to be menaced with the torture, in order to discover his relations with France.

† Maurice always remained on good terms with Ferdinand. Charles accuses him, in his letter, Nov. 1552, of favouring Maurice.

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first time for many years the King of the Romans declined to adopt the suggestion of his brother; and Charles fell back on the less outrageous scheme of making Philip King of the Romans, to succeed Ferdinand in the empire, but which would bind him equally to lend his utmost to the maintenance of Austrian supremacy in Germany. Even this Ferdinand declined. He would not disinherit Maximilian his son.* So that after distracting himself, his family, and his empire, by this idle and impossible scheme,—for the German princes declared they would never again elect a Spanish ruler,—Charles was obliged to abandon it.

He did not do so, however, until the Germans, and even Maurice, were decidedly alienated. The latter prolonged the siege of Magdeburg more for the purpose of keeping his army on foot, than with the aim of reducing it. A French envoy first encouraged the resistance of that town; but soon an agent from Maurice himself and the German Protestants appeared at the court of France, and demanded succour, especially in money, with an offensive alliance against the emperor. The question of war or peace with Charles was then brought before the French council, and was fully argued. The Constable Montmorency showed himself as usual the partisan of peace; he did not fail to point out forcibly the danger of going to the aid of an already discomfited party against so powerful a prince. Vieilleville has left the report of a speech, which he states himself to have made in opposition to the opinion of the constable, and which concluded for the expediency of giving Maurice of Saxony and his confederates all the aid that they required. His arguments agreed with the views of the war party, to which the king himself inclined. The result was, the conclusion of a

* Maximilian conceived in consequence the greatest hatred for his uncle Charles. See Tiepolo, Relazione Venete, ser. i. vol. iii.

secret treaty, in October, 1551, between the French king on the one hand, Maurice of Saxony, the Marquises of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg and the young Prince of Hesse on the other, to raise an army of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse, of which the king was to furnish one half the expenses, 200,000 crowns down, and 60,000 each month afterwards; the object being to defend the liberties of Germany, of which Henry announced himself the protector.*.

Previous to this important decision there had been considerable bickerings, and even some hostilities between the monarchs and their followers in Italy. The aged pope, Paul the Third, had expired in 1549, and Julius the Third of the name of Damonte, had succeeded, after a long struggle in the conclave between the French, the Spanish, and the Italian parties. The Cardinal of Guise, since Cardinal of Lorraine, had laboured in the interest of France for his own promotion, but his pride occasioned such disgust, whilst he was so inferior to his rivals in cunning, that France was duped by the election of the new pontiff, who soon showed himself more imperial than French. Hence arose to furnish the Farnese princes the means of supporting themselves in Parma. These, in revenge and despair, made over their city to French keeping, the governor of Piedmont despatching soldiers by secret routes and in disguise to form its garrison. Hence arose an open breach between the new pope and the French king, who protested against the alliance of Julius with the emperor, and denounced the Council of Trent. But the political knot which always became more complicated in Italy, was untied in Germany, where Maurice, encouraged by the alliance and the money of France, marched, if not openly, at least with determination, to his great aim of humbling Charles

* MSS. Bethune, 8627; MSS. Fontanieu, 266.

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and liberating his own country and its new religion from the ruthless despotism that menaced them.

This alliance between the Protestant German chiefs and the French king proved more efficient for its purpose and more fatal to Charles than any hostile combination that had ever threatened him. The sagacity of Maurice was of course the first cause of its success, but this was also due to Charles's lack of regular supplies, and his consequent inability to keep together a force sufficient even for his defence.* The result was the surprise of the emperor in Innspruck by Maurice, his flight to Villach, the Saxon prince in the treaty of Passau securing the immunities of the Protestants and the liberation of their chiefs.†

Whilst Maurice was thus showing himself the able chief, the French king held a solemn bed of justice, and took measures therein as if he were about to proceed upon an expedition of remoteness and peril. He could not have done more were he proceeding to the Holy Land. He appointed Catherine of Medicis regent, with Annebaut the late king's councillor, restored to confidence, for her coadjutor. In addition to this, as the monarch was about to enter upon a campaign in conjunction with the German Protestants, he enjoined the parlement to be more than usually severe with all persons of that persuasion in France, thus redeeming what was considered treachery to heaven by more copious shedding of the blood of innocent men. Catherine of Medicis, instead of being satisfied with her appointment as Regent, complained bitterly of her

* Some historians attribute Charles's withdrawal to Innspruck to deep political motives. He has recorded the real ones in a letter to his sister. He would have come to Spain and gained the Low Countries, had he had money. But he was compelled to withdraw to Innspruck, in order not to be obliged to pay the German soldiers at Augsburg and the Spanish troops in Wurtemberg. Lanz.

† For negotiations between France and Maurice see MSS. Fontanieu, portf. 266.

power not being so ample as that given to the Duchess of Angoulême by the late king. CHAP. XXII.

Instead of marching upon Italy or Flanders, the French monarch now directed his arms towards the most vulnerable portion of the imperial dominions. Independent indeed of arms, the influence and language of France was rapidly gaining upon the German along its eastern frontier. The princes of Lorraine attached themselves to the French, not the imperial court, which alone was calculated to render the Vosges, in lieu of the Meuse, the frontier of France. Charles had sought to supply the weakness and fill up the breach by giving his niece in marriage to the late Duke of Lorraine, and it was no doubt to counteract this that the Guises now brought Henry and his armies to Nancy. Nothing can more clearly display how mistaken Charles was as a politician. What was wanting to check France on this side, was a reconstitution of the empire and the establishment in it of a capital, and of a national sovereignty, with a government sufficiently strong to rally to it such outlying princes as those of Lorraine. But the unfortunate idea of making Germany seek for its strength in a Spanish king or an Austrian dynasty, and not in German feeling, independence, and nationality, gave up the country as a prey to anarchy, and its remote provinces to the Frenchman or the Turk.

Henry appeared early in April before Metz, which, though nominally belonging to the emperor, claimed as a privilege to be without an imperial garrison. Montmorency forced his way rudely into it. His army then proceeded to Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, governed by the duchess dowager, sister of Charles, in the name of the young duke her son. Henry carried off this prince, and claimed allegiance of the citizens of Nancy as protector of the liberties of Germany. Had the monarch behaved with more circumspection, and

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with even more apparent respect for the rights of Metz and Nancy, the more important cities east of the Vosges, still smarting under the bigoted and tyrannical vindictiveness of Charles, might have admitted French troops. But Montmorency had a peculiar aversion for civic pretensions and municipal rights. And the contempt which he professed and displayed for them, closed against him the gates of every town in the valley of the Rhine. The French army was therefore compelled to withdraw westward, adding Toul and Verdun to its acquisitions; it overran Luxemburg, but turned homewards on learning that Maurice had come to terms with the emperor at Passau. A French envoy, the bishop of Bayonne had been despatched to take part in the negotiations there. But Charles forbade his brother or his agents to recognise him. Maurice himself indeed seemed anxious for no more than to keep up appearances with France.*

Albert of Brandenburg, one of those who had joined the league against the emperor, and had raised forces for the purpose, was dissatisfied with the Treaty of Passau. He remained in arms, supporting his troops at first by violence and rapine upon the Germans, and afterwards by subsidies furnished from France. His ravages gave Charles the pretext for collecting an army, with which he proposed not indeed to recover his ascendency in Germany, for he enlisted even the soldiers of the league to march against Albert. His real aim was to drive the French from the important towns which they had lately captured, and which opened a way for them to the Rhine.

Charles's foes calculated his army at no less than 100,000 combatants. Half the amount would, perhaps,

* Maurice professed himself ready to abandon France, but would not consent to have such a provision couched in a treaty. Lanz, Letters of early part of June, 1552.

be nearer the truth; and with these Charles approached Metz in October, 1552. The lateness of the season at which he undertook the siege of so important a town induced his generals, the Duke of Alva, and the Marquis Medici di Marignano to remonstrate. But the emperor could not raise or keep up an army at all times, and he was condemned to prosecute military operations whenever he had one at his disposal. Metz is a town naturally fortified by the rivers which almost surround it, and leave but an interval between them. The Duke of Guise had visited the place soon after its capture, and made provisions for its standing a siege. In August he came down to press the works, and brought with him Strozzi, and two other engineers equally famous. They began by rasing the suburbs, and destroying upwards of a score of churches, that of St. Arnoul amongst them, which contained the bones of Louis the Debonnaire. A minute account of the fortifications and defence given by Salignac, Rabutin, and the Duke of Guise himself may be read with interest by the professional soldier.* The garrison was small, not exceeding 6,000 men; but of these four score belonged to the first families, and most tried bravery of France. Guise, too, relied upon the operations of the larger French army which under the king was assembling at no great distance. The Marquis Albert of Brandenburg was at hand with a considerable force, which he represented to be in the service of France. But Charles tempted him with such advantageous offers, that the Marquis rallied to his standard, and, in so doing, attacked a division of horse which observed him, under the Duc d'Aumale, and took that prince a prisoner.

The emperor began the siege of Metz with a can-

* Vols. vi. vii. and viii. of Michaud's Collection of French Historical Mémoires.

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nonade from forty large guns, which soon demolished the obstacles opposed to them. The constancy of the Duke of Guise and his garrison always contrived to make a fosse, and raise a new parapet behind each breach as it was made. A large tower, called D'Enfer, with the entire wall between it and the gate of Champagne, was battered down, but there appeared no opening by which the *aventuriers* of Charles could penetrate. The cannonade then was suspended for the works of the mine. But Guise was on the alert, and as fortunate underground as over. And winter was all the while making fearful ravages in the imperial army.

The tidings which reached the camp of the emperor before Metz was at the same time most discouraging. Brissac, the able French commander in Piedmont, captured several towns. Sienna, which the emperor had made his own, was surprised, and garrisoned by French. Andrew Doria in the Mediterranean suffered a check from Dragut, the Algerian corsair, and lost several galleys. During the autumn De Reux, at the head of the forces of the Low Countries, had taken Hesdin. It was gallantly re-captured by Coligny, nephew of the constable, who had already distinguished himself at Boulogne, and who, with his brother D'Andelot, formed the rising hope of the Huguenots. The army before Metz had already passed the middle of December without making any impression upon the town. The period of service for which the German portion of the army had engaged was approaching. And it became necessary to raise the siege. Previous to doing so, the emperor is said to have caused himself to be carried by four lansquenets to the breach, which having regarded, he exclaimed, "It is large and level with the fosse; why do not my soldiers enter it?" His officers assured him that there was another ditch behind full of inflammable materials. "Then I see," cried the emperor,

"there are no longer men, and that I may bid farewell to the empire and to my designs, if not the world. I am so ill served that I may as well become a monk." At the same period Charles is reported to have observed, that "Fortune was a woman who always favoured the young," a sentiment that Machiavel had anticipated. Seeing the uselessness of persisting in the siege, Charles withdrew his guns with all possible secrecy, burying those he could not take away, and marched off at night, leaving his tents standing, and such a number of wounded, frozen, and expiring soldiers, that the French, with Guise himself, as they issued from Metz, were smitten with compassion. Paré, the famous surgeon, was summoned by the Duke of Guise, with his companions, to give what succour and relief he could.* And the efforts of the victorious garrison were turned, not to pursue the retreating enemy, but to save the lives of the victims whom he had left behind. There are few traits in their history more honourable to the French, and to Guise who set an example which, unfortunately, both the age and he himself soon forgot in the horrors and hardheartedness of civil and religious war.

The remainder of the winter was spent by the French court in jubilation, and in the celebration of the nuptials of Horatio Farnese with Diana, the natural daughter of the king. Financial cares occupied the ministers, but nothing better or more prudent could be invented than the sale of offices, the mortgage of the salt duties, and of the customs of Lyons. The emperor, who could raise money wherever he was present, made use of his sojourn in the Low Countries to procure funds and an army, laid siege to

* The Manuscripts of Paré are preserved at the Library of the Paris School of Medicine.

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Therouanne as early as the month of June, 1533, whilst the king scarcely hoped to get his forces together before the end of July. The constable entrusted Therouanne to his son, in the hope that he would reap as much fame from its defence as Guise did from that of Metz, and gave him D'Essé, a general of experience, to be his guide. The imperialists were determined to redeem the defeat of Metz. Their cannon soon made a breach, but in the attempt to force it they were repulsed. D'Essé, however, was killed, with many of his soldiers. The imperialist general persisted in battering the town, whilst the French court, believing its commander capable of defending any town, left Therouanne to its own strength. On the second assault the imperialists carried Therouanne, slew the greater part of the garrison, and made Montmorency and his officers prisoners. The emperor ordered the town to be rased. Hesdin was also captured from the French. About the same time a well-contested battle was fought at Sievershausen, in Luneburg, between Maurice of Saxony and the Marquis Albert, whom the emperor secretly supported. The army of Maurice was victorious, but he himself fell mortally wounded by a musket shot. The pope having sent envoys to bring about a negotiation, Charles replied that he was in too good a vein of fortune to abandon it, and that Providence seemed determined to make him amends for the disaster of Metz. The capture of Therouanne and Hesdin on the one hand, the death of Maurice on the other, had restored his supremacy on both sides of the Rhine. In addition to this piece of good fortune, the emperor succeeded, towards the close of this year, in overcoming all the obstacles to the marriage of his son Philip with Queen Mary of England. As Scotland and its queen had become the tool of France, so the House of Austria now succeeded in reducing England

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to be the mere aid and second of its continental politics.*

Menaced in the ensuing campaign by the augmented force of the emperor, the French court was under the necessity of keeping up a still larger army, and of course levying increased sums. A bargain was made with the provinces of the west to buy up the quart and demi-quart. In the provinces of the interior, the Hotels de Ville were obliged to redeem the gabelle and the greniers at 12 per cent. All who had got grants of the king were obliged to pay a year's revenue. New offices were created, an entirely new parlement, for Brittany, with double the number of judges in Paris, for each to sit during a semestre.

The campaign of 1554, was not marked by any important event. The French took the offensive, and penetrated in two directions into the east and west of the Low Countries. This was the second year in which Philibert Emmanuel commanded for the emperor. Bred up at Charles's court, the young prince, despoiled by his relatives of France, had distinguished himself in martial exercises, and by an ardour for military glory and experience. At a tournament held in Brussels, no one, writes Marillac†, equalled the Prince of Piedmont at the pike. Later he had attached himself to Philip, and accompanied him to Spain. But the attractions of a court could not retain Philibert Emmanuel from the scene of military operations; and in 1553 the emperor first charged him with a command of the army which captured Hesdin. In 1554, commanding a force inferior to the French, he managed to entice them from the siege of towns, unable to resist them, to the vicinity of places whose strength might defy them: and he

* Laubespine to Marillac, MSS. Fontanieu, 266.

The French strove to retaliate by entering into a league with Albert of Brandenberg. See Egerton MSS. vol. ii.

† Marillac's despatch, MSS. Fontanieu, p. 261, 262.

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thus gained a military reputation. Towards the close of the campaign the French and imperial armies met at Renti, on the borders of the Boulonnais. There ensued a skirmish, in which both Guise and Coligny distinguished themselves, but which led to no results, save a quarrel between these military rivals.

The accession of England to the many realms already possessed by the emperor, and which now surrounded France on all sides, seemed calculated to render the struggle more unequal, and more unfavourable to the French. But the English queen felt how little strength she brought to her husband, by a marriage so unpopular with all classes of her subjects. His advisers, therefore, sought to make use of English power and influence more in negotiation than in the field. Pope Julius the Third had led the way in such an effort, and Cardinal Pole, both as legate and as English minister, proposed to act as mediator between the contending parties. The place of meeting was fixed at Marcq, near Calais, whither the emperor sent the Duke of Alva, and Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, son of the Chancellor. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, with other ministers, went on the part of France.

It must be confessed, that the propositions made by the emperor through the English cardinal were not such as could possibly command the assent of the French. They were, that Don Carlos, son of Philip, should espouse the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, and succeed to Milan; the French in consideration of the marriage waiving their claims. In the same manner the Duke of Savoy was to espouse Madame Margaret, sister of the French king, and his dominions should be restored to him. France was thus asked to give up everything, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, together with Corsica and the Montserrat, all its acquisitions and its claims, in return for the honour of its princesses espousing the heirs of the Spanish and Piedmontese

monarchies. Even Montmorency was obliged to refuse.* And the French envoys took their departure at last without making counter propositions.†

But before the negotiations were broken off, the forces of the rival potentates were rendered more equal, and a compensation was found for the enmity of England in the decided hostility of the new pope, Caraffa, to the emperor and his ascendency. Paul the Fourth was one of those prelates who, with Contarini, had raved an accord with the German Protestants. On its failure, his impetuous temper flung him into a totally opposite policy, and from being a partisan of moderation he became a champion of severity. Caraffa, however, was conscientious, and as determined to reform the abuses of the Romish church as to crush the frowardness of the reformers. But what could a pontiff do with his hands tied, with every surrounding state of Italy owning the imperial sovereignty, and every city in the same interests? Had the emperor defended the church, and rendered it triumphant, such subjection would have had its reason and its recompense. But Charles, who crushed the pope and made the see of Rome, like other prelatures, a mere instrument for replenishing the imperial exchequer and doing the emperor's will, had himself succumbed to the Protestant powers of Germany.

Influenced by such motives, Pope Paul the Fourth soon manifested his hostility to the emperor by seizing and imprisoning those of the Colonna family whom he could lay hands on, and despatched envoys with formal offers to the court of France to form a league for the expulsion of the imperialists from Naples as well as North Italy. The pope was but the more animated to these hostile measures by the small account which the emperor made of him, and indeed of the holy see. Charles

* His letters in Ribier, January 24th, 1555. See Bishop of Arras's letter in Granvelle, vol. iv. p. 429.

† Which angered Mary. Granvelle, vol. iv. p. 443.

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in the course of 1555, was in wretched health, and, disgusted to find the sagest combinations and the utmost efforts of his policy end in utter nullity of result—worse than nullity indeed, for the German Protestants had conquered their independence, and the French, instead of suffering loss in their war with him, had on the contrary reaped from it the possession of Piedmont and Lorraine—resigned to his son Philip the sovereignty of the Low Countries and of Spain, intimating to the electors of Germany that he waved the imperial crown in favour of his brother. Paul the Fourth was highly incensed to behold such solemn acts take place without his intervention. The new emperor, Ferdinand, maintained a close amity with the Protestants. Paul declared Charles's resignation of the empire to be null, as well as the succession of his brother.*

He could scarcely have selected a more critical or momentous period for abdicating power. Paul the Fourth was concluding a close alliance with France, and with all the powers of Italy that could be induced to join them, for the purpose of expelling the imperialists from Italy. And the house of Guise, so influential at Henry's court, was peculiarly interested in it, since the duke was to be the leader of the great army which was to accomplish the conquest. The crown of Naples was to be assigned to a younger son of the French king. But in the midst of all these schemes, Henry and his ambitious counsellors were arrested by the total void in the treasury. Both clergy and nobles were exhausted by the enormity of the demands made upon them.† Even the ordinary tallage was engaged to bankers, and the court was obliged to assume the language of peace. Facilities for doing so were offered them by England, always anxious to bring about an

* Du Bellay; letter from Rome. Ribier, vol. ii. p. 623.

† Renaud's Lettres; Granvelle Papers, vol. iv. p. 556.

accommodation, and by Philip, who, new to the heavy duties and responsibilities flung upon him, was desirous to begin his reign in tranquillity. Accordingly, time and place were again fixed upon for the negotiation, if not of peace, at least of a truce. And Montmorency lent himself to it, partly with the hope of obtaining the liberation of his son and nephew made captive during the late war.* Montmorency signed the truce for ten years at Vaucelles, in February 1556.

The Guises, however, who had come to a contrary determination, did not cease to prepare for war. Previous to the truce in 1555, they had made, in conjunction with the chancellor Bertrandi, who aimed at the cardinalate, an attempt to render the pope more their friend, and at the same time to fill their own coffers and those of their adherents. They caused to be submitted to the parlement for its sanction an edict, the first portion of which established in France the inquisition in all its rigour, and rendered the decrees of its judges final, without any reference to lay courts or to the parlement itself. The second portion of the edict enacted the confiscation of the property of all who absented themselves from the kingdom. The religious persecution of the time had created a crowd of exiles, and the Guises now proposed to lay hands upon their property, thus anticipating the infamous severity of the Convention. The parlement, humbled as it had been,—for Henry's government had doubled the number of judges, so that they were divided into two series, each sitting half the year,—refused to register the decree. An audience was demanded of the king, who granted it indeed, but observed that if he wanted twelve judges

* For the anxiety of the constable to obtain the liberation of the prisoners, see Renaud's correspondence in Granvelle, tom. iv. The constable offered to restore Ivræa and its rich plains to the Prince of Piedmont, if the prisoners were set free.

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to condemn a Lutheran, he would look for them in vain on the benches of his parlement.

When however the king did receive them, it was to hear other arguments than those which he anticipated. The president, Seguier, addressing his majesty, assured him that the 160 judges of the parlement were as good Catholics as any of his courtiers. Lutherans, he said, were to be combated, not by burnings and confiscation, but by a reform in the church, by the residence of the prelates in their dioceses, and the appointment of such clergy as were able to expose error. Human sacrifices, wet with the blood and the tears of the king's subjects, would not stop the progress of heresy. "The grandees," said Seguier, "whom I see around the throne seem to think these ordonnances a trifling matter. They are in favour; wealth and honours are forced upon them. But let them be aware, for the day of misfortune arrives, especially for lofty heads. And then such an edict as this, which puts the lives and property of every man, high and low, at the mercy of an inquisitor with two false witnesses, may be turned against themselves." Garnier, who gives this speech from the registers of parlement, adds, that Montmorency grew pale at the bold apostrophe.* The king himself was moved, and the Guises could not promulgate their infamous ordonnance for the present.

Paul the Fourth was greatly mortified at the first news of the truce which the French court had consented to but a few weeks after its envoy, the Cardinal of Lorraine, had concluded an alliance of a totally contrary nature and disposition. The pontiff was soon no doubt made aware of what better things might be hoped, and he despatched his nephew, Car-

* The scene and the speech are also depicted and reported in the Mémoire et Journaux du Duc de Guise. Michaud, tom. vi. p. 246. For this struggle see extracts from Régistre du Parlement, given by Taillandier in tome vi. in Mém. de Société des Antiquaires.

dinal Caraffa, a dissolute soldier, whom the pope had promoted to the first dignity of the church, to France, nominally to congratulate the Christian princes upon the peace, really to induce the French court to break through those stipulations, and renew the war. On his arrival at Fontainebleau, he found the dispositions of the court in Paris not unfavourable to his designs. The Guises were loud against the truce, whilst the constable and his friends were irritated by Philip's not having released their relatives, his prisoners. On the proposition of Caraffa, a solemn council was held at Fontainebleau to take this into consideration. Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine supported the rupture of the truce, which the Cardinal de Tournon deprecated, representing all the danger and difficulty attendant on a continuation of hostilities. The influence of the Guises, supported by the queen and Madame Diana, triumphed. In a second council war indeed was not declared, but a resolution almost tantamount was taken; that of sending succour to support the pope against Philip's general, the Duke of Alva.

The headlong and resentful policy of the aged pope had placed Rome itself in danger. Paul commenced a formal prosecution in his pontifical court against Philip as vassal of the church, and proceeded judicially to depose him from the throne of the two Sicilies. Such insane insults to the most pious supporter of the Romish Church were accompanied by the march of 12,000 papal troops to Naples. The Duke of Alva, viceroy of that kingdom, repelled the papal invasion, and penetrated without difficulty even to the vicinity of Rome. He could with equal ease have captured the city. But he remembered the fearful consequence of Bourbon's army having achieved such a feat; and, instead of pursuing his triumph, gave the pontiff full time to call French, Swiss, and Germans to his aid. The most efficient of these auxiliaries, those

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which held pious and ultra-Catholic Alva in check, were German Lutherans, who as mercenaries defended the pope, but who despoiled the churches, overthrew the images, derided the mass.* With such aid, however, and with the Gascons brought by Strozzi and Montluc, Pope Paul kept head against the Duke of Alva, having recourse, when he was too menacing, to negotiations or a temporary truce. This was merely for the purpose of gaining time, until the promised French army should arrive for the liberation of Italy.

It came in the month of December, 1556. The Duke of Guise passed the Alps with what he styled the army of the Holy League, consisting of 15,000 foot, 500 men at arms, and 800 light horse†, a force very insufficient for the great task of driving the imperialists from Italy. It is probable that Montmorency did not very cordially second the enterprise of Guise, and that he reserved all the troops that he could retain for his nephew, the admiral, who commanded in the north. Guise nevertheless hoped to be reinforced by the papal army and by the Duke of Ferrara, his father-in-law, to whose territories he proceeded, after capturing Valenza on the Po. About the same time the admiral Coligny openly broke the truce by an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Douay on the *Fête des Rois* (Twelfth Night), a festival on which few good Flemings were supposed to be sober. When Guise reached Ferrara, the advice of its duke was to attack the imperialists in the north, capture Cremona first, and, stopping the passage of the Valteline against German aid, proceed to reduce Milan. Ere Guise could take a resolution, Cardinal Caraffa arrived from Rome, summoning him to fulfil the ostensible aim of the League, in defending Rome from the imperialists, and then expelling them from Naples.

* Navagero; Ranke. † Rabutin.

Whatever might have been Guise's opinion of the best course to be pursued, he felt that he could accomplish little, even in the Milanese, without the pecuniary and other aid which the pope had promised.* Sending the army, therefore, towards Rimini, under the Duke d'Aumale, he himself hastened to Rome with Caraffa, to fight a battle no less difficult, and not less obstinately contested than one in the field. Guise has described it himself. The object was to wring from the pope the sums necessary for the enterprise. The league was to cost 537,000 livres a month; the pope agreed to pay three tenths; 328,000 were already due, and the pope could offer no more than 45,000, and part of this in stores rather than in money. Finding the pontiff so little prepared to meet even his pecuniary engagements, Guise hinted that it would be imprudent for him to march into the kingdom of Naples without having some fortresses behind to retire upon in case of defeat. He demanded of the pope possession of such sureties; but the Roman turned a deaf ear to his insinuations.† Guise rejoined his army at Loretto, where he piously passed Easter. He then marched towards the Abruzzi, sending Tavannes before him with the light horse. Guise laid siege to a small fortress on a height, not many miles from the Roman town of Ascoli. The Duke of Alva had supplied it with a good garrison and a brave commander; and these resisted all the assaults of Guise until Alva appeared with an army not inferior to that of the French general. Guise was obliged to abandon the siege and fall back upon the territories of the Church, quarrelling

* "I send you assurance from the pope," wrote the cardinal to his brother, "that you may demand a million ready money, 12,000 cannon bullets, 200,000 pounds of powder, and 30,000 livres de rente for the Duc d'Anjou." Besides this, according to Tavannes, the pope procured 8000 infantry, and 800 light horse.

† Bouillé, Hist. des Guises, l. iii. c. 3.

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with the pope's commander and relative, the Marquis Antonio Caraffa.*

The Duke of Alva overran the Roman territory, and in August again appeared before the walls of the capital, into which nothing prevented his penetrating, save the remembrance of the horror and the consequent obloquy resulting from Bourbon's capture. The Duke of Guise had withdrawn to Macerata, when he received a letter from Henry recalling him to France, and bidding him save a quarrel between these military rivals.

Important events had taken place in the north, where the Prince of Piedmont had opened the campaign with an army of 40,000 foot and 15,000 horse, far superior in number to the force which the king and the constable could oppose to them. After menacing Rocroy and Guise, they marched to St. Quentin, where an army of 10,000 English were to join them. Queen Mary at the solicitation of her husband, Philip, had sent a herald with a regular denunciation of war to Henry. When Philibert Emmanuel appeared before St. Quentin on the 2nd of August, 1557, that town had but a garrison of a few hundred men. To defend a weak fortress was at this time the great act of heroism, and Coligny, the constable's nephew, at once flung himself into St. Quentin with four companies of men at arms, and about 280 foot. This addition of strength was insignificant. And the French army, which was at Attigny, not outnumbering 18,000 foot and 6000 horse, could neither force their way through the besieging army nor prevent its investment, which the 10,000 English arrived to complete. Coligny, however, informed the constable that there were means of passing reinforcements and supplies by boats and planks over the marsh which covered St. Quentin on the east.

* Whom, according to Tavannes, Guise struck in passion with a silver plate.

On the morning of the festival of St. Laurent, the 10th of August, Montmorency left his quarters at La Fere, and marched to the edge of the marshes with the apparent intention of forcing a passage along the causeway. He placed his guns and opened such a fierce cannonade on the camp of the Spanish troops, occupying the near side of the river, that they were compelled to withdraw. He also carried the fort and intrenchments at the head of the causeway, and occupying it in force, addressed himself to the chief object of his coming, that of passing a body of troops, under D'Andelot, Coligny's brother, over the marshes. This operation took much more time than had been calculated. There were but four boats, the planks were found of little service; not more than 500 men could be conveyed into the town, and even then, not till many hours had been consumed.

This gave time for the Prince of Piedmont to survey the force and position of the French. On being assured of which, he brought his army across the Somme, and pushed it, the cavalry and artillery first, along the chaussée, or paved road, which led to the French. The Prince of Condé, from a mill or high tower, had observed the gathering storm, and warned the constable. The latter relied upon his rear guard holding possession of the intrenchments or fort upon the road, and he also believed that it was so narrow as not to allow the march of more than four horsemen abreast upon it. He calculated, accordingly, that a sufficient time would elapse for his retreat, before the enemy could bring any formidable body of horse to attack him. The constable was mistaken. The Spanish cavalry were enabled to ride thirty men abreast, so that the whole force with its artillery came upon the French before they could even attain the heights. They were thus, as they retreated in three divisions, obliged to face about to receive the enemy. Philibert Emmanuel,

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after a fierce discharge of his artillery, attacked them with his cavalry, also in three divisions, broke in among the French, and put them to almost immediate rout.* The Count D'Enghien with 600 other gentlemen, perished. Amongst the prisoners were the constable, with a broken thigh, his fourth son, the Sieur de Montberon, the Duc de Montpensier, a Bourbon, the Maréchal St. André, the Duc de Longueville, the Rhyngrave, the Count of La Rochefoucault, Biron, La Roche du Maine. The Prince of Condé and the Count of Nevers escaped.. Twenty large flags and as many smaller ones, with eighteen pieces of artillery, remained amongst the trophies of victory.

Philip was at Cambray, at no great distance from the field, whither he hurried on tidings of the French defeat. It was not to take advantage of it, but to check the ardour of his young generals, the Duke of Savoy and Count Egmont, who were for marching onwards into France. Charles the Fifth, in his retirement, took the same view which they did, and asked, on learning the victory of St. Quentin, whether his son was not in Paris. The cautious and methodical Philip, far from venturing such a march, compelled the Duke of Savoy to remain before St. Quentin, which, though little capable of defence, the admiral, Coligny, held for seventeen days longer. On the 27th it was taken by assault, Coligny and his chief officers being taken prisoners, his brother, D'Andelot, narrowly escaping. Catelet, Ham, and the other towns of the Vermandois were captured. But the Count of Nevers, one of the few who had not remained dead or captive at St. Quentin, had time to rally the army, receive reinforcements,

* Coligny has left an account of the siege of St. Quentin, but as he was within the town, he was unable to describe the battle. Not one of the many French military writers of the period were there. Rabutin, Mergei, with De Thou, are the principal sources, with the MS. account in the Escurial published by Navarrete, t. ix.

and show a front sufficiently firm to impose upon Philip, who, in October withdrew his troops to winter quarters, and himself to Brussels.

The defeat of St. Quentin flung at first both court and capital into the greatest consternation. When Queen Catherine de Medici asked the Parisians for 300,000 crowns, they granted them at once in terror and alarm, and the population of other towns showed equal zeal. Henry at once sent for Guise to bring back his army from Italy. When he informed the pope of this necessity, "Go then," said the aged pontiff, "after having done so little for your king, less for the Church, and nothing for your own honour."

Paul concluded a not unfavourable treaty with the lieutenant of Philip, who made submission instead of demanding it, and restored to the pope his fortresses. Guise hastened to Marseilles. Although his unfortunate expedition for ever ruined French hopes and the French party in Italy, and, being the cause of the inferiority of the French army in Flanders, had occasioned the defeat of St. Quentin, still Henry could not dispense with the service of the most energetic soldier at his disposal. Montmorency, as well as Coligny and the Marshal St. André, were captives. Guise on his return was a complete dictator in the court. He was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and was granted larger powers than had ever been given to a subject, which he exaggerated by his arrogance, instead of tempering them by prudence and conciliation.

Nevertheless, the Duke of Guise felt how deeply his character was impugned by his failure in Italy, as well as by the disastrous upshot of a war which he himself had mainly induced the king to declare. To redeem and efface the impression produced by the disaster of St. Quentin, he undertook an enterprise he had long studied and prepared. During the conferences of Marcq, which had been held under the imbecile mediation of

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Queen Mary of England and her minister Cardinal Pole; the French, while pretending to treat, seized the opportunity of largely reconnoitring and making themselves acquainted with the state of the fortifications of Calais. One of their engineers even penetrated into the town.

The English were in the habit of diminishing the garrison for the sake of economy during the winter, when Calais was considered sufficiently guarded by the marshes around it. In addition to this, the town was left, in 1557, completely without stores of any kind. A scarcity in England had occasioned a law against the export of provisions, and Calais was not or could not be excepted. The Spanish authorities of the Low Countries warned the English governor that the French had designs upon the town, and offered to send troops, if not into Calais, at least to Guines and the neighbouring fortresses.* The English governor, Lord Wentworth, wrote to England on the 27th for provisions and for aid. Of the latter there seemed no possibility. There was not a regular soldier at the disposal of the government. On the 2nd of January, 1558, the queen addressed a missive to the nobles and gentry of different shires, to send men to Dover in order to save Calais, the "chief jewel of the realm." † On the previous day, the first of January, Guise appeared with about 12,000 men before the town. The only approach to it from the interior was by a long causeway through the marshes, in the midst of which was the fort of Newhaven Bridge. At the extremity of the causeway was a smaller fort, which Guise instantly attacked, its garrison abandoning it in a panic, on finding that 200 of the enemy had got over the marshes in their rear. Instead of efficient aid having come from England, an engineer was sent. His immediate advice to Wentworth was to flood the approach to Calais with

* Papiers de Granvelle, tom. v. p. 441.

† Calendar of State Papers, letters of Jan. 2, 6, 13, and Feb. 3.

the sea water. This the governor refused to do, as it would prevent his cattle from grazing, and his men from getting water to make bread. Guise therefore felt no difficulty in turning the position of Newhaven Bridge, which so alarmed the garrison, that they deserted it. The other important fortress was the Rysbank, at the entrance of the port, on the sands. Wentworth having no English soldiers to garrison it, filled it by the peasantry of the marshes, commanded by Captain Dodd, and even to him he could give but a scant store of provisions. Guise brought thirty guns to bear on it on the morning of the 3rd, which dismounted those of the fort, and compelled Dodd to surrender.

On the 4th, the batteries of Guise were pointed against the water gate, and D'Andelot passed at low water to sink a trench and make a lodgment in the adjoining quay. The success not answering Guise's expectations, he directed his guns against the castle, in which he made a breach the following evening. Guise, with his brother, Aumale, and Marshal Strozzi, waded across the port at low tide, and finding the breach in the castle practicable, sent across 400 men to the assault. As soon as Wentworth saw the castle wall crumble, he ordered Saul, who commanded there, to blow up the towers. This Saul failed to execute when he abandoned the place. The retiring tide soon cut off the captors of the castle from Guise and the main body. The English advanced to make use of the opportunity, and retake the castle, which might have been accomplished, had Saul done what he had been ordered. But this was now impossible.* The French were masters of the castle and fort, as well as of the outer fortifications; and Lord Wentworth, who had shown but little military skill, surrendered the town on the 8th, an order of Queen Mary of five days later bidding the succours

* La Prinse de Calais. Archives curieuses de France, par Cimber et Danjou, tom. iii. Tavannes, Rabutin.

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not sail from Dover, as a storm had dispersed the fleet. In the negotiation which subsequently ensued for the peace, the Spanish plenipotentiaries excused their master for all share or responsibility in the loss, first by the refusal of their succour, and then by the utter imbecility of the defence.*

The capture of Guines, notwithstanding a gallant defence by Lord Grey, aided by some hundred Spaniards, followed that of Calais. Intelligence of these triumphs was conveyed to Pope Paul at Rome, and to Charles the Fifth in his Estremaduran convent. The latter declared it gave him more pain than any of his own reverses.† The pope, on the contrary, whose peculiar characteristic it was to rejoice in the misfortunes of the most zealous friends of the Church, exulted in the blow that fell at once upon Philip and Mary. Paul declared the loss of Calais to be a fitting dowry for such a queen.

In order to render the pontiff still more favourable to France, the Cardinal of Lorraine had caused a bull to be prepared there, appointing himself and the Cardinals of Bourbon and Chatillon to fill the office of Grand Inquisitors in France, with liberty to appoint vicars. This Henry announced to Parlement in a solemn bed of justice, hoping to stifle opposition by announcing at the same time that the semestre, or double number of judges was abrogated, and the abolition of *épices* also reversed.‡

Although the capital was sorely oppressed by the contributions it had generously voted, but which it had been necessary to employ soldiers to enforce§, the citizens still gave to Guise, on his return from Calais,

* For the siege of Calais, see Lord Wentworth and Lord Grey's Letters in Miscellaneous State Papers, London, 1777; also the Chronicle of Calais, and the account of Lord Grey's defence of Guines, in the Camden Society's Collection.

† Mignet's Charles Quint, p. 6.

‡ Régistres du Parlement.

§ De l'Hôpital, letters to Cardinal of Lorraine; Ribier, t. ii. p. 143.

a splendid ball and opera. The crowd, however, was so great, that the court could not get seated, and the opera itself was a failure. Festivities for the marriage of the dauphin with the young Queen of Scotland followed. The youth of the parties, and weak health of the prince, were objections. But the marriage was necessary for the strengthening of the authority of the queen dowager in Scotland. As part of the ceremony, Mary was induced to make a cession of her rights to her husband.

All these acts and ceremonies tending to the glorification of the Guises, rendered the French king less patient of their control, whilst his two confidants and favourites, the constable and St. André, were most anxious for peace, which would liberate and restore them to their portion of influence. An opportunity, at least for communication, was offered in the summer of 1558, by the desire of the Duchess of Lorraine, cousin of Philip, to meet her son, whom the French held in their power. The meeting was allowed to take place at Cambray, May 1558, and Philip ordered his minister, Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, to be present. The Cardinal of Lorraine went on the part of France, and it is the opinion of Protestant writers*, that the two ecclesiastical statesmen there laid the foundation of that ultra-Catholic league between Spain and France, which became the main fact and the supreme influence in the latter half of the century. Here their mutual horror of the Reformation may have been communicated to each other, and thus have proved a bond of future union. The Cardinal of Lorraine, however, far from favouring peace at that time, made proposals of the most exorbitant kind. He asked Philip to abandon his allies of both England and Savoy, and exchange his conquests of

* De Thou and De Beze. For this interview see Egerton MSS., vol. ii. p. 398.

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Savoy for that of the French in Luxemburg. But whilst the cardinal breathed nothing but war, he was accompanied by Secretary Laubespine, who was the confidant of both the constable and of Henry, and who probably held conversations with Granvelle far more conducive to peace than what the Cardinal of Lorraine had to offer.*

The Guises were bent on war. The duke led Henry and the army north in summer, and formed the siege of Thionville, which important fortress he captured before the end of June, and De Thermes at the same time took Dunkirk; whilst Philip's attention to the defence of his Flemish frontier was disturbed by news of the Mohammedan allies of France, whose fleet ravaged the coasts of Naples, of Elba and Minorca, taking Cividadella by assault, and carrying off thousands to the worst of slavery. Flanders was saved by Count Egmont. At the head of 12,000 infantry and some thousand horse, he marched to intercept De Thermes on his return from the capture of Dunkirk. The latter sought to escape by marching along the sands. But Egmont was equally alert, and a battle ensued between them not far from Gravelines. In the midst of it a number of English vessels approached, and fired an unexpected cannonade on the flank of the French army. It broke immediately, and was for the most part put to the sword, and its general made prisoner.

The defeat of Gravelines humbled the pride and power of the Guises, and gave the French prisoners who were in the Low Countries the opportunity of offering their services to make terms of peace. It was St. André, apparently, who first made the proposal. He

* Granvelle Papers, vol. v. Simon Renard, a diplomatist who does not belie his name, says the Guises gained too much by the war to be ever induced to put an end to it. He advises the expedient of offering to the Duke of Guise a Princess of Lorraine for his eldest son.

was allowed to consult with the constable at Oudenarde, and then to have an interview with the Prince of Orange at the Abbaye of Marchiennes, near Douay. Montmorency and St. André were both brought to Lille, in September, but were not empowered to make any concessions that would satisfy Philip. They asked for the presence of Secretary Laubespine, which the Guises at first refused, but he at last came. Philip subsequently defeated the efforts of the Guises to keep the king estranged from the constable, by giving him permission to visit Henry in his camp at Amiens. The monarch received Montmorency with affectionate kindness, and made him share his chamber and his couch during the time of his stay. The conference was then appointed to take place at Cercamp, the Cardinal of Lorraine being joined with Montmorency and St. André as plenipotentiaries on the part of France.

Montmorency had obtained the king's sanction to make the chief concession that Philip demanded,—the restoration of Savoy.* Having communicated this to the imperial plenipotentiaries, who were the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Alva and Granvelle, a suspension of arms was at once signed, on the 17th of October. Yielding the great question of Savoy, it became impossible for Montmorency to be other than firm in the retention of Calais. His negotiations accordingly stuck fast, and they might have terminated in a fresh rupture, but for the death of Mary of England, which occurred in November, releasing Philip from much of the obligation and the interest which he felt from the recovery of Calais. The conferences were suspended for two months, and only re-opened in the following January, at Cateau Cambresis.

* The constable was for peace, in order to humble the Guises and raise up the Duke of Savoy. The constable's wife descended from the Bastard of Savoy; and the family of Coligny, being of Bresse, were also in the Savoy interest, and promoted it. Tavannes.

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The anxiety of Montmorency was, lest Philip the Second should espouse Elizabeth, and thus maintain the same interest and ascendency in England that he had felt and wielded as the husband of Mary. With this view the constable proposed the marriage of Philip to the eldest daughter of Henry, Elizabeth, who, by previous treaties, was to have been given to Don Carlos. The Duke of Savoy was to espouse Margaret, Henry's sister, a princess "who, not exceeding thirty-five years of age," alleges the French envoy, "wore the appearance of being much younger." Margaret was a princess of great learning, amiability, and prudence. She had declared she would not marry; but reasons of state overruled her determination.

The great difficulty still remained of Calais. The English plenipotentiary, Lord Howard of Effingham, who, Philibert Emmanuel said, was fit for anything but a diplomatist, spoke loud and fierce, and would not bate an inch; till Philip was obliged to say that he had spent 1,200,000 ducats in the last months, and wanted a million more to pay his troops, who were ready for mutiny, and peace he must make.* The French, on their part, were determined not to give up Calais: they knew not, they said, to whom they should give it; it might be to a Spaniard or a German; all depended on the marriage of the queen. Various kinds of schemes and devices were resorted to; amongst others, a betrothal of a future daughter of Elizabeth to a future son of Mary Stuart. This was a sorry palliative of an act of the Guises about this time, who made Mary Stuart and the dauphin Francis assume the arms of England, and thus set up a fatal rivalry to Elizabeth. The Cardinal of Lorraine offered that France should engage to give up, after a lapse of eight

* Granvelle Papers, vol. v. "No hay un real," wrote Philibert Emmanuel.

years, Calais, with its fortifications levelled, itself converted into a purely commercial town. The English preferred to have it restored with its fortifications entire, and were at last contented with a stipulation to this effect, certain merchants guaranteeing to pay 500,000 crowns indemnity, if its restoration were refused or delayed. In addition to Calais, France retained the important conquests of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the empire scarcely taking the trouble to reclaim them. It recovered St. Quentin and the neighbouring towns, in exchange for Therouanne and the fortresses of the Luxemburg. Philip kept Hesdin. The greatest concession was that of the dominions of the House of Savoy; the towns of Turin, Pignerol, Chiere, Chivasso, and Villanuova d'Asti being retained until the amount due to France, from the succession of Louise of Savoy, could be estimated. (1559.)

Such was the Peace of Cateau Cambresis,—a termination for that century to the struggle between the Houses of Austria and Valois, which had occupied and wasted the world, if not convulsed Europe, for forty years. The acquisition in glory and in conquest was small. A regular organisation of finance, as well as of military service, was a necessary preliminary to any large military result. And no prince or monarch, not even Charles the Fifth, seemed equal to the task. What proved most really profitable to each belligerent were its failure and defeats; for these, equally dealt by fortune to all powers, taught them, however reluctant, the vanity of seeking to overleap their natural frontiers. From these forty years the French learned to confine their efforts within the Pyrenees and the Alps. The sovereigns of Austria were taught how vain was the hope of recovering Burgundy or Provence. And whilst France withdrew behind the Alps, and bade adieu to Italy, England was compelled, by an equally profitable though disgraceful lesson, to abandon its last strong-

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hold on the Continent, and to confine itself to insular interests and development. French writers generally consider the Peace of Cateau Cambresis to be inglorious. They do not consider the large frontier gained in the north by the acquisition of Metz and of Calais at all compensated for the abandonment of Navarre and of Piedmont. History has proved how fatuitous is such greed for French possession beyond their mountain frontier. But Henry and Montmorency deserve credit for the great act of justice which they had the courage to perform, in the restoration of the House of Savoy. "In truth," observed that king to Vieilleville, "never was a more tyrannical usurpation than that committed by Francis the First upon the late Duke of Savoy. It was not the part of a good Christian so to fling down a poor prince and rob him. I rejoice," added Henry, "in being able to free my father's soul from so foul a crime. And I restore Savoy, not only for this reason, but also because I like Philibert Emmanuel, who is a *gentil prince* and a gallant soldier." Such kind and honest words from a monarch's mouth do more honour to himself and his nation than the craft of Machiavelli, were it ever so successful.

Fortunate, could the monarch have displayed the same generous spirit in his treatment of those who differed with him in religion. In the score of years which form the middle of the century, the doctrines of the Reformation made immense progress in France. The facilities which Francis had opened to education had endowed the rising generation, or those who were in a position to take advantage of such facilities, with an inquiring and enlightened mind, and a method of reasoning no longer boxed up in the form of logic. The English and Germans, in continued connection of either war or commerce with the French, put before them the new ideas, and challenged their consideration. Geneva was a focus from whence emissaries and

volumes were ever issuing to pervade and illume the provinces of France. The changes which had been effected by the late king and by Pope Leo, instead of placing the Church in a better condition to defend itself, had on the contrary destroyed its spiritual character, and diminished the respect which it had once inspired. Ecclesiastical benefices having been made over to the king, he had converted a great portion of the revenues to his own use, or to that of his soldiers and his nobility. Such ecclesiastics as were appointed were more the pensioners of a court than the pillars of a Church. And ecclesiastics bred in those narrow schools of theology, were far inferior in learning and information to their contemporaries of other professions, or of gentle birth, who imbibed largely that intellectual food which the art of printing, and other causes, placed within their reach. But the very circumstance which lowered and deteriorated the French Church, by depriving it of all independence, and subjecting it to the Crown; rendered the latter still more interested in the maintenance of what became its great source of patronage and wealth.

Several writers attribute the success or failure of the Reformation in different countries to the circumstance of the sovereign taking part for or against it; and, among ourselves, many are inclined to make the peculiar character and caprice of Henry the Eighth responsible for the overthrow of the old Church. But, in truth, that part of Catholicism which rests on papal supremacy was untenable, and certain to become intolerable in countries remote from Rome. To the monarchs of South Germany, of France, and of Spain, the pope was always a useful, and never a dangerous ally. Having their armies and their provinces in Italy, their fleets in the Mediterranean, their cardinals in the conclave, the papacy was a power which they shared or used alternately. England and North Germany wanting

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the contiguity or the means of coercing the pontiff, of sharing or guiding his authority, must necessarily have broken off from a supremacy which to them was fraught with unfairness. England and North Germany would have fallen off from the pope in the sixteenth century, had there been no Henry the Eighth, and no Elector of Saxony. Whatever princes governed Spain, or France, or South Germany, must, on the contrary, have felt it strongly their interest to preserve the old sacerdotal principality; and they did so, less from orthodoxy than expediency.

Such were the motives which influenced Francis. But Henry the Second had a much narrower intellect, one that seldom rose even to an appreciation of true policy. Nothing could be more shocking to those high monarchic ideas, that religion of absolute and indefeasible power in the monarch which prevailed at the French court, though it began to be questioned amongst the Frenchmen of thought and education, than the doctrines of the Reformers. Francis saw plainly, and said, that it aimed at the subversion of existing laws, "and of allegiance, human as well as divine." The regimen of Calvin alarmed the monarchists as much as his tenets did the divines. As long as the preaching of the Reformers confined itself, like that of Melancthon, within the limits of a mild protest, they might excite the dread and horror of the churchman, but did not arouse the ire of the sovereign. When, however, the priesthood set to work to repress even the least objections to their infallibility by the Inquisition and the stake, as well as by every kind of contumely, the Reformers became provocative in their turn, and denounced the impiety as well as absurdity of their foes. They not only scouted indulgences and penance, and battered down the outworks of Rome, but denounced the Mass itself, or the sacrifice of the Mass, as idolatry and abomination. This was a personal challenge and insult to every

Catholic who, during his whole life, had daily heard this Mass, had built hopes upon, and derived consolation from it. This stirred personal anger, sharpened controversy by pique, and lit up a flame of fury in minds which neither felt nor comprehended the subtlety of controversy. Francis had been mild till an adverse placard insulted the Mass. When D'Andelot, the constable's nephew, questioned by Henry respecting the Mass, replied, "There was but one sacrifice, made once for all, that of Jesus Christ; to make the Mass a sacrifice for the sins of the dead and living, is a sacrilege and an abomination," Henry flung a plate at him, and sent him to prison. He felt such heresy to be a personal insult. The same monarch, on another occasion, had a tailor in the service of the court called before him. He replied with calmness and courage to the questions first put to him by king and cardinal; but when Diana of Poitiers ventured a taunt, the man lost patience, and exclaimed: "Content yourself, Madam, with infecting France, and do not mingle your ordures with what is so sacred as God's truth." Diana fell back abashed, but Henry was furious. He not only ordered the tailor to be burned, but declared he would witness his execution. He did so, and had cause to regret it, for the dying victim fixed his eyes so expressively upon the monarch, that the image of the martyr haunted his imagination for a long time. The king said he would never witness another burning. It was these personal collisions, and provocations which angered the narrow mind of Henry, and prompted him to become the instrument of the semi-politic and profound hate of the Guises.

But, indeed, from the very commencement of his reign, Henry was jealously opposed to the Reformers. The Duchess d'Etampes had favoured them, and his brother, the Duke of Orleans, had built ambitious hopes upon them, which was enough to inspire Henry and

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his mistress Diana with hatred. Persecution, indeed, had not slumbered during the last years of the reign of Francis. A Protestant congregation was routed out at Meaux, and numbers of them sent to the stake in 1546. But such dispersal of zealous men led only to the formation of more numerous churches on the spots whither they fled. A congregation was formed at Lyons, and Fabre returned from exile to act as its pastor in 1547. In other countries, Protestants, however subject to persecution, still were allowed intervals of breathing time, for strengthening their convictions and consolidating their faith. But the Church of the French Huguenots grew up under an increasing shower of penalties, confiscations and burnings. Its enemies met with no check, and knew no remorse.

In the preamble of the Edict of Châteaubriand, promulgated in June, 1551, Henry's government very frankly confesses all that had been enacted during the previous years to have been completely inefficient to repress heresy. It gathered in conventicles, it infected schools, it had invaded the bench of justice, and compelled even the provincial prelates to be tolerant. Neither lay magistrates nor ecclesiastical judges could be got to do their duty, though excited by mutual rivalry. The severity of edicts became useless, because there were none to execute them. Special commissioners were therefore appointed in the provinces, where appeals were done away with; and the most bigoted judges of parlement were selected to form a *Chambre Ardente* to judge heretics. The same Edict of Châteaubriand passed the singular prohibition to persons to argue respecting their religion during their repasts or working in the fields; while it enacted that the property of those who went to Geneva should be confiscated.*

* Edict of Châteaubriand; Fontanon. The Parlement would not register the permission to clerical judges to inflict fines remissible at

In despite of such edicts the reformers waxed still stronger. They ventured to form a congregation and a church in Paris, during the year 1555, having Rivière for a pastor; whilst, instead of timid princesses or cautious statesmen, gallant soldiers like the Admiral Coligny and his brother D'Andelot, as well as the King of Navarre, openly inclined to the new doctrine. The Guises, monopolising every influence at court, drove prince and noble from the throne; and these, in their own provinces and domains, weaned from politics, lay much more open to the arguments and preaching of the reformers. Coligny, however, foresaw that the establishment or even toleration of Protestantism in France would be attended with great difficulties. For this reason he made use of his authority as admiral, and despatched three vessels to Brazil, in 1555, with pastors sent from Geneva to found a Protestant colony in the bay where Rio de Janeiro at present flourishes. Religious dissensions, and the dislike of the French for colonisation, marred this scheme. But the effort bears witness to the prescience and energy of Coligny.

The acquisition, however secret, of such powerful chiefs by the French reformers did not escape the Guises. They proposed to combat it by the full establishment of the inquisition, and by the confiscation of the property of heretics. The proposal of laws to this effect has been mentioned, with the resistance of parlement and the triumphant eloquence of President Seguier. There stepped forth another powerful auxiliary, if not of the Reformation, at least to tolerance in religion —that of the judicial body and profession, which the manœuvres of Duprat had formerly degraded into mere instruments of sacerdotal as well as royal tyranny.

The Chancellor Olivier, who had presided over the

their pleasure. This, it was seen, would have been the means of ransoming the innocent and mulcting the population.

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administration of justice during the later years of Francis and the early ones of Henry, was an independent and enlightened magistrate, who remedied many of the abuses of Duprat. Although under his direction vacancies in parlement were filled up for money, these new judges were of the wealthy and educated class, and soon displayed a tolerant, a noble and independent feeling. The Guises, indeed, dismissed Olivier, and filled his place with Bertrandi, one of their creatures; but the places of parlement, doubled and tripled for the sake of raising money, were at least filled with a body of councillors that redeemed its character for independence. Hence the difficulty which the Guises found in registering the edicts of confiscation and of the establishment of the Inquisition. And hence, whilst the *Chambre Ardente* sent numerous heretics to prison and condemned others to the stake, their brother councillors of the other courts contrived, as far as they were able, to reverse the sentence and suspend execution.

But even toleration was obliged to hide its head, when, in 1557, the Paris mob discovered and broke into a secret congregation of Protestants, which had met for the purpose of worship in the Rue St. Jacques on the 4th of September.* These were about 400 persons, most of whom escaped, the women principally remaining behind until the guard came and led them off to prison. Here, by those who came to claim them, it was seen that they belonged to the first families of the capital. Calumny, as usual, attributed the worst

* Whilst the civic orders of other cities in France, as well as the peasantry were rapidly coming to favour the Reformation, the mob of Paris remained inveterately hostile. The clerical population of Paris was very great, especially in the Pays Latin and the Isle of Notre Dame; and perhaps it was this dependence on the clergy that rendered Parisians so invariably bigots. And yet, at the very time when the mob of Paris hailed the Inquisition, that of Rome itself broke into its palaces and plundered and destroyed them, ready to do the same by the inquisitors, had they not escaped.

crimes imputed to sects that are not popular, such as devouring children, and committing such obscenities as monkish vindictiveness likes to imagine. At the commencement of this same year, the Cardinal of Lorraine had obtained from Rome a bull appointing himself, with the Cardinals of Bourbon and Chatillon, as inquisitors, with the permission to appoint vicars. The Chancellor Bertrandi felt inclined to show that the regular judges could condemn heretics also. Those taken in the Rue St. Jacques were singled out, tried by commission, and condemned to the stake. One of them was a lady of rank and property — the chancellor was greedy to grasp this; she was the widow of Philip de Luns of Périgord. Though young and beautiful, she refused all offers to recant or save herself. The executioners proposing to cut out her tongue as they led her to the scaffold, lest she should talk, she offered it with courage to the knife. They, after *flamboyant* (singeing) her face and feet, strangled her ere they lit the fire which was allowed to consume her companions alive.

In the ensuing year the festivities of the marriage of the dauphin brought the princes of the blood to Paris. Since the eldest of them had espoused the heiress of Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret, he had resided continually in Bearn and the other dominions which she had brought him. His quarrel with the Duke of Guise in Piedmont, and the monopoly of influence by the family of Lorraine, kept the elder branch of the Bourbons more estranged from the court; and the king, in all his wars against Charles the Fifth, never adopted the very obvious policy of aiding Antoine de Bourbon to recover Navarre. Another cause of estrangement arose when the Duke of Vendome himself and his brother, the Prince of Condé, listened to the preachers whom the Queen Dowager of Navarre had protected and settled in her dominions. Her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret,

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had been reared in this persuasion; and this was more welcome to the husband, as it was evidently antagonistic to the Guises, their ideas and their influence.

Moreover, on becoming the heir of Navarre by marriage, the Duke of Vendome had also inherited the policy of his father-in-law, Henri d'Albret, who, feeling himself deserted by France, had offered to the Spanish monarch to hold Navarre of him if he was restored to that kingdom. The Duke of Vendome, instead of this proposal, offered to cede his claims upon Navarre in exchange for the duchy of Milan.* Nay, he offered more—to open the gates of Bayonne and Bordeaux to the Spaniards. In 1557 Charles the Fifth, then in his retirement at St. Juste, consented to this arrangement, and formally drew up the clauses of a treaty which his son Philip approved, by which the Duke of Vendome was to have Milan, his son (the future Henry the Fourth) to marry an Austrian princess, daughter of Philip or of Ferdinand. The current of history, at least the part played in it by the chief personages, might have greatly changed had Vendome at once accepted and signed this treaty; but he hesitated: months elapsed, and the emperor and his son victorious, first at St. Quentin, and then reconciled to France, set aside Vendome and his claims on Navarre.

Thus embarked in the policy of an independent prince, the Duke of Vendome felt still more estranged from the Guises and from Henry, and, on visiting Paris in 1559, he frequented the conventicles of the Protestants, took from prison one of his followers who had been arrested by the inquisition, and lent his countenance to the assemblage which took place in the Pré aux Clercs, for singing the psalms of Clement Marol. There were disturbances in the same pleasure ground, created by the students, who wanted to prevent

* Simancas, Inglat, Estado apud Mignet. Granvelle Papers, tom. v. Letters in 1558.

citizens from building and encroaching on it, as they were doing in consequence of grants from the crown.* Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, Charles's plenipotentiary at Cateau Cambresis, had informed the Cardinal of Lorraine that a Protestant plot was in preparation against the government. Perhaps he alluded to Vendome's intrigue, without revealing the person. But this and other indications gave the alarm to the court; and their fears were probably increased by the movement of Protestants, who had a synod of delegates from all parts of France at Paris about this time, for the sake of consulting about their affairs and drawing up a Confession of Faith. All continued to urge the Guises and their fanatic party to action.†

They were also driven to this, too, by the hostile and recalcitrant attitude which the parlement assumed. Menaced in their attributes and in their calling by the threatened introduction of the inquisition and its confiscations, many of the judges openly declared that burning was not the fit punishment for ideas, at least not until those ideas had been examined by a free and solemn council. Banishment was punishment severe enough for such opinions, and that certainly without confiscation. The Chambre Ardente, in the meantime, continued to sentence victims to the stake; but the Tournelle, another court, with equal zeal persisted in acquitting them. The court stopped the payment of salaries to the judges: their remonstrance was met by threats and abuse. The law officers of the Crown summoned a general assembly of the parlement, to consider the present nullity of the law. At the meeting judge after judge rose, but it was to invoke toleration, to deprecate the burnings, and denounce the

* Mem. of Claude Haton.

† Henry acknowledged to the Prince of Orange, who was present as Spanish representative for the purpose of the marriage, that in this measure for extinguishing Protestantism the Spanish and French courts were acting in concert.—Prince of Orange's Apology.

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confiscations which the Guises demanded. A free council to examine the matter was insisted on, whilst, in opposition to the papal bull and the decision of the Council of Trent, a legist read the declaration of St. Martin of Tours, in which that saint declared his total separation from the Spanish bishops as murderers and not Christians, because they demanded the blood of those they were pleased to call heretics.* The judicial assembly concluded by expressing their determination not to add to the severity of the present mode of treating heretics.

This was a bold challenge to the king and his cardinal minister, as well as to the pope, which the former were not inclined to bow to. They summoned another solemn meeting of the parlement, in which the king was no longer to be represented by his chancellor, but to appear himself.

The monarch, accompanied by the Guises, and by the members of the court, made his appearance in parlement on the 10th of June, for the purpose of hearing the conclusion of what was called the *mercurial*.† The monarch began by asking them why the parlement liberated Lutherans who still persisted in their heresy, and why they had refused to register his edicts. The presence of the king did not intimidate the judges, or at least the boldest of them. Anne du Bourg "returned thanks to God for the presence of the monarch to hear how the most atrocious criminals daily escaped with impunity, whilst persons guilty of no crime but that of having discovered the turpitude of Rome by the light of the scriptures, were burned alive." Let us know, exclaimed Du Faur, who it is that troubles the church, lest the words of Elias to Achab might be again fulfilled.

* Pierre Pithou, quoted by Henri Martin. The register of parlement for this memorable year was destroyed by the Catholic party when predominant, for the same reason that the manuscript memoirs of Coligny were consigned to the flames by the Maréchal De Retz.

† Quarterly assembly of the members of the parlement.

When all had spoken, the king rose and expressed his anger to find that there were judges in his parlement who had renounced the faith of Rome. He added, that an example should be made of them; and ordering the Constable to seize upon Du Bourg and Du Faur, they were conducted to the Bastile by Montgomery, one of the captains of the guard. Two of the more independent judges were afterwards arrested by order of the chancellor. A decree was issued against a bishop who had withdrawn to Geneva. And whilst preparations were hastened for the marriage between the prince and princesses of Spain, Savoy, and France, negotiations were set on foot for a co-operation of the three powers to crush Geneva.

That capital of French Protestantism had indeed been wonderfully favoured and protected by the long rivalry and war between the two great Catholic powers, and at the same time by the annihilation of its old enemy of Savoy. Geneva had thus grown in prosperity and importance, which the sudden union of these monarchs in the peace of Cateau Cambresis could not but seriously menace. The cause of the Reformation was never in more signal peril, when an accident occurred which afforded breathing time, and turned the care of the political inquisitors, who had come to sway Europe, in a different direction.

Henry had proclaimed a tournament in honour of the nuptials then in progress. The Duke of Alva, as proxy for Philip, had espoused Elizabeth of France on the 20th of June. The nuptials of the Duke of Savoy with Margaret were to follow. On the 27th, 28th, and 29th the lists were opened in the Rue St. Antoine. The king, the Dukes of Guise and Nemours were the holders, and had shown their usual prowess and address. The tournament was at an end, when Henry declared he must break another lance, and ordered Montgomery, one of the captains of the guard, to tilt with him. The latter declined, but the king forced him. Both

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lances were duly broken in the shock; but as the horses and riders passed on in their headlong career, the king was struck by the broken end of the lance, which Montgomery, against rules, retained in his hand. When the steed bore him to the end of the course, the monarch fell; a splinter of the wood had penetrated his eye. The king, conveyed to the palace, lingered for the space of eleven days. In the interval he caused the marriage of his sister Margaret to Philibert Emmanuel to be celebrated in his presence. The Guises he feared might break the match, and refuse the restoration of Savoy. Henry expired on the 10th of July, 1559, one month after the scene which his presence had caused in the parlement. The Protestants, and above all Geneva, exclaimed it was the judgment and the mercy of God.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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